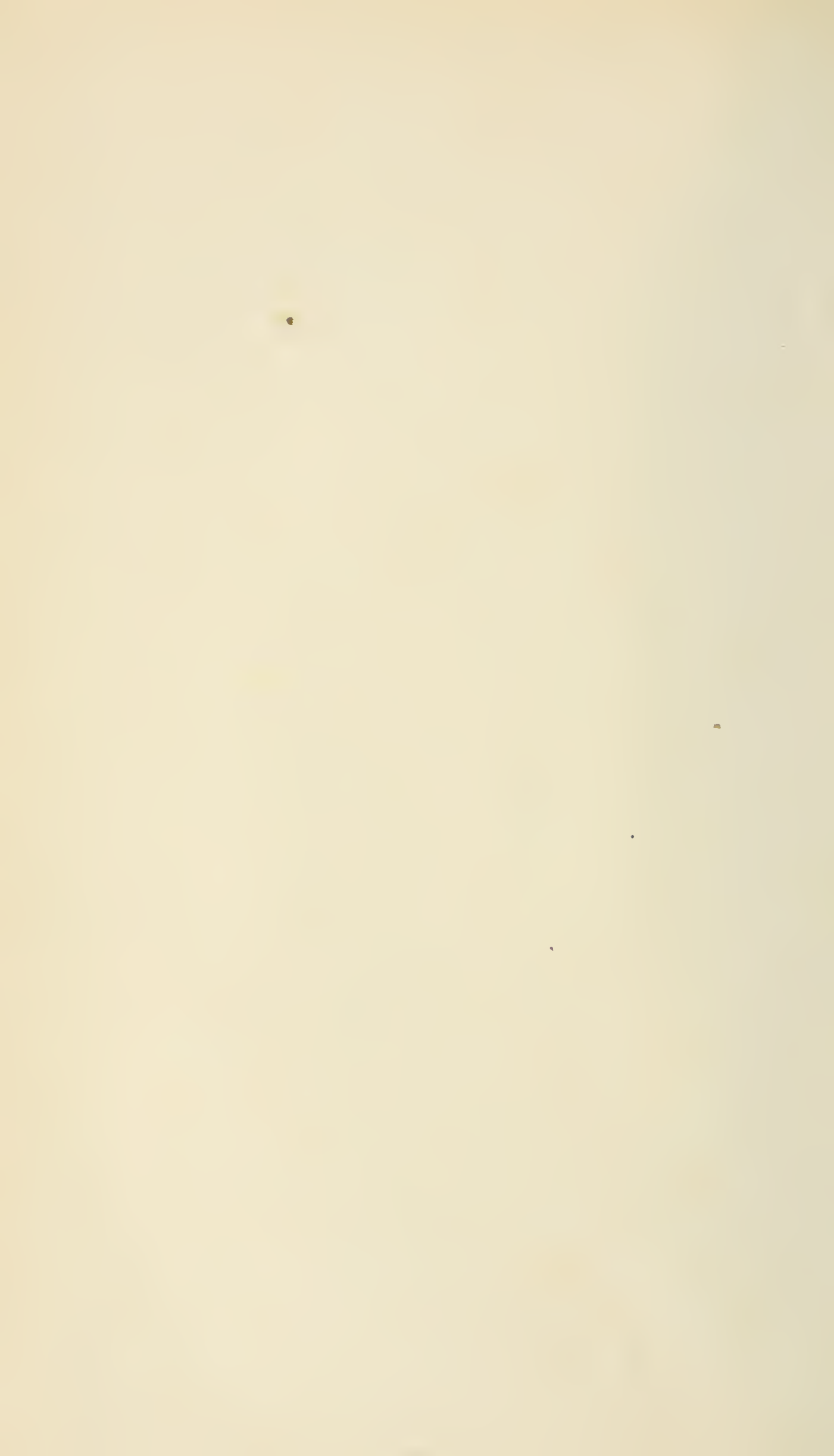








Transactions
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VOL. V.

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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. V.

JUNE, 1876.

PART I.

THE FIGHT BETWEEN BEL AND THE DRAGON,
AND
THE FLAMING SWORD WHICH TURNED
EVERY WAY. (GEN. iii, 24.)

Translated from a Chaldean Tablet

BY H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S.

Read 7th March, 1876.

THIS is one of the most striking narratives of the Chaldean mythology. It is found on a tablet lithographed in plates 44 and 45 of Delitzsch's work *Assyrische Lesestücke*. Plate 44 describes Bel arming himself for the battle: the Dragon is merely mentioned on this plate, but does not appear upon the scene.

Plate 45 describes the battle, with much animation. The weapons which Bel wielded were numerous and formidable, but by far the most curious was the Flaming Sword which turned every way, "to the South, to the North, to the East, and to the West, so that none could escape from it," which resembles so strongly the Sword of the Cherubim in Genesis which "turned every way, to keep the way of the Tree of Life," that the same celestial weapon must surely be intended. It

is here supposed to be in the hands of Bel, the beneficent deity who, according to plate 42, had created Mankind.

Several lines at the beginning and end of each face of the tablet are broken off, which causes some obscurity.

FRONT OF THE TABLET : PLATE 44.

LINE

1. [broken.]
2. and with it his right hand he armed.
3. His flaming sword he raised in his hand.
4. He brandished his lightnings before him.
5. A curved scimitar he carried on his body.
6. And he made a sword to destroy the dragon,
7. which turned four ways ; so that none could avoid its rapid blows.
8. It turned to the South, to the North, to the East, and to the West.
9. Near to his sabre he placed the Bow of his father Anu.
10. He made a whirling thunderbolt, and a bolt with double flames,¹ impossible to extinguish :
11. And a quadruple bolt, and a septuple bolt, and a bolt, and a bolt of crooked fire.
12. He took the thunderbolts which he had made, and there were seven of them
13. to be shot at the dragon, and he put them into his quiver behind him.
14. Then the lord of the storm raised his great sword ;
15. He mounted his Chariot, whose name was " Destroyer of the Impious " :
16. he took his place, and lifted the four reins² in his hand.

[The rest of this portion of the inscription is broken off.]

REVERSE OF THE TABLET : PLATE 45.

Bel now offers to the Dragon to decide their quarrel by single combat, which the Dragon accepts. This agrees with the representations of the combat on Babylonian cylinders in Mr. Smith's *Chaldean Genesis*, page 62. &c.

¹ Forked lightning.

² Their war-chariots had two horses.

LINE

1. [*Why*¹ *seekest thou thus*] to irritate me with blasphemies?
2. Let thy army withdraw : let thy chiefs stand aside :
3. Then I and Thou (alone) we will do battle.
4. When the Dragon heard this,
5. Stand back ! she said, and repeated her command.
6. Then the tempter rose watchfully on high.
7. Turning and twisting, she shifted her standing point,
8. She watched his lightnings : she provided for retreat.
9. The warrior angels sheathed their swords.
10. Then the Dragon attacked the just prince of the gods.
11. Strongly they joined in the trial of battle,
12. The King drew his sword, and dealt rapid blows,
13. Then he took his whirling thunderbolt, and looked well behind and before him :
14. And when the Dragon opened her mouth to swallow him,
15. He flung the bolt into her, before she could shut her lips.
16. The blazing lightning poured into her inside.
17. He pulled out her heart ; her mouth he rent open ;
18. He drew his *falchion*, and cut open her belly.
19. he cut into her inside and extracted her heart,
20. he took vengeance on her, and destroyed her life.
21. When he knew she was dead he boasted over her.
22. After that the Dragon their Leader was slain
23. her troops took to flight : her army was scattered abroad,
24. and the angels her allies, who had come to help her,
25. retreated, grew quiet, and went away.
26. They fled from thence, fearing for their own lives,
27. and saved themselves, flying to places beyond pursuit.
28. He followed them, their weapons he broke up.
29. Broken they lay, and in great heaps they were captured.
30. A crowd of followers full of astonishment
31. Its remains² lifted up, and on their shoulders hoisted.
32. And the eleven tribes, pouring in after the battle
33. in great multitudes, coming to see,

¹ Several lines appear to be broken off, including the first part of line 1, which I have restored from conjecture.

² Viz., those of the dragon.

LINE

34. gazed at the monstrous serpent

35. and

36. And the god Bel

(The rest of the tablet is lost.)

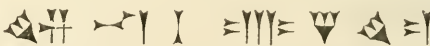
The 32nd line is very obscure. The word 'eleven' is written in words at length, and very distinctly, *istin isrit* (one and ten) which is the Hebrew term for 'eleven' viz. עשתי עשר, so that there can be no doubt about the word. But *twelve* is usually the sacred number, and therefore the thought suggests itself that in this Legend something had happened to one of the twelve *nabniti*, or created races, and reduced their number to eleven. Perhaps the story ran that the angels were at first divided into twelve tribes or races, and that one of these joined the Dragon in the rebellion, so that "after the battle" (if that is the phrase employed by the scribe) only eleven were to be found in heaven. This certainly does not accord with the statement in plate 43, but this is a different tablet, and the scribe may have followed a different tradition, for these minor points vary much in mythology.

I will now give the cuneiform text, but I must premise that the text given by Smith in vol. 4, plate 6 of our Transactions varies notably in some places from that given by Delitzsch, apparently owing to the addition of a small new fragment to the tablet. I have endeavoured in each case to select what seemed the better of the two readings.

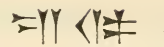
CUNEIFORM TEXT OF THE FRONT OF THE TABLET: PLATE 44.

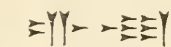
LINE

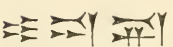
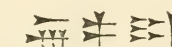
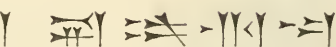
1. [Broken.]

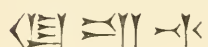
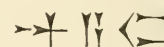
2.		
	.....	imna-su usakhiz
	[a weapon]	to his right hand he gave

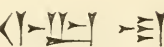
LINE

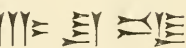
8.      
 im im sisi im
the South point, the North point, the East point,

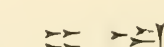
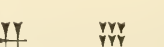
 
 im martu
the West point

9.   
 idu's sapara ustakriba
by the side of the sword he placed closely

   
 kisti abi su Annu
the bow of his father Annu

10.     
 ibni im hulla, im sina
he made a whirling thunderbolt, a bolt of double

  
 mikha ai ukaptu
flames never to be extinguished

11.      
 im arba, im sibitti, im
a bolt quadruple, a bolt septuple, a bolt (. . .),

 
 im nu dia
a bolt crooked,

LINE

12.         
 useza - mma sari sha ibnū
he brought out the bolts which he had made

     
 sibitti sun
seven of them.

13.         
 pishpish tisallat sutlukhu
(for) the scaly dragon he placed them in

     
 tibu arka su
his quiver behind him

14.         
 issi - ma billu abuba
lifted the lord of the storm

   
 kakku - su raba
his sword great

15.         
 rukub sinat la makhri galatta
his chariot "Destroyer of the Impious" so called

 
 irkab
he mounted

LINE

and Arabic root **שב** 'to burn' whence the Hebrew **שביבא** 'flames,' found in Daniel iii, 22, "the flame of the furnace slew those men."

4. *Iskun*. This verb is frequently used of the god **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶** brandishing his lightnings. To this god the king often compares himself, when destroying his enemies in battle.

5. *Gizzir*, a Sword, literally Cutter, from Heb. **גזר** *gizir*, to cut asunder.

Takhmithu, 'curved,' feminine participle from **חמט** incurvare.

Untalli 'he carried,' for *untalli*, from **נטל** *gestavit portavit*.

6. *Sulmu*, to slay(?) Heb. **שלם** to make an end of: to finish, or consume. *Ex. gr.* Isaiah xxxviii, 12 "from day to night wilt Thou *make an end* of me." **תשלימי**

pishpish is a doubtful word. It may mean 'scaly.' Heb. **קשקש** *squamæ*. (1) Scales of a fish. (2) Scaly armour or breastplate. The change of P for Q would be like *κοτε, κως* for *ποτε, πως* in the Ionic dialect.

7. *Irbitti* 'four.' **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶**. The first sign and part of the second are broken off, but there can be no doubt of the reading, for *irbitti shari* occurs frequently, and always means the four cardinal points, north, south, east and west; and 'the four winds' which is only another name for the same thing.

Shari **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶** 'the Winds.' Heb. **סערי**. The four cardinal points are generally called the four **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶**, as for example **𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶** *im sidi*, the North (the others are named in l. 8). The Hebrew **סער** is rendered in the Lexicons by *tempestas*, *turbo*, *ventus turbinis* (whirlwind). But the Latin *turbo* includes 'lightning' (*turbo igneus*). See Virgil *Æn.* vi, 592.

At pater omnipotens densa inter nubila telum

Contorsit

. præcipitemque immani turbine adegit.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 is an Accadian word, which corresponds to *sharu* or **סער** in these various meanings. One of the

chief Assyrian deities was 𐎶𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎺𐎠 the god of the wind, or of the storm, or of the lightning. He is also called Ramanu the Thunderer (Heb. רעם *tonuit*), and he corresponds to the Latin Jupiter Tonans.

Ustizbita 'it was turned or directed.' Istaphel conjugation of שפת *posuit, disposuit, ordinavit.*

Tsi, to avoid nimbly (or escape). Heb. צעה *ivit de loco ad locum, abiit, discurrit.*

Ragmi, Heb. רגם to strike rapid blows.

9. *Idu*, Heb. יד 'the side.'

Ustakriba 'he placed closely.' Istaphel conjugation of Heb. קרב *appropinquavit, propè accessit.*

Kisti, Chald. קשת 'a bow.'

10. *Im hulla* 'a whirling thunderbolt,' from *hulla* 'a whirlwind' Arab. هاول *vertit, convertit, contorsit, turbavit.* هولا *ventus, omnia turbans et subvertens (Schindler).*

Ai Ukaptu 'which never can be extinguished'—from the verb *kabab* כבה 'extinctus fuit ignis (*Schindler*). In this verb the letter 𐎶 is rendered by *kab* because both of them mean 'the hand' (Heb. כף *manus*). At other times we find 𐎶 rendered by *qat*, which also means 'the hand.'

11. 𐎶𐎶 written twice (one over the other), was the name of a weapon peculiar to Bel. It is mentioned in 2 R 43, 26 and in five following lines.

Nu dia, crooked or zigzag, an epithet of lightning. It is explained in 2 R 17, 43 by *la isharu*, not straight.

13. *Sutlukhu* seems to be the T conjugation of שלה *immisit, he put them into (his quiver).*

Tibu, quiver or case, is the Chal. תבור *arca, cista (chest or case)* Gr. Θιβη.

14. *Issi*, from נשא to lift.

Abuba, 'storm' is a very frequent word. Arab. هبوب *habub, wind (blowing furiously).* See Catafago's dict.

15. His war-chariot was named *Sinat la makhri*, 'Destroyer of the Impious.' So Sennacherib named his chariot *Sapinat zairi* 'Sweeper away of my enemies' 1 R 41,

LINE

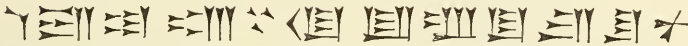
57. Observe that in both instances the chariot bore a feminine name.

La makhri, non-worshippers: impious people: elsewhere called *la magari*. The word takes various forms; *migir* 'worshipper'—*makhar* or *magar* 'worship.' See several examples of the change in 4 R in the plate which is a calendar of the additional month of Elul. *Galatta* is a feminine participle agreeing with the feminine word 'Chariot.' It means *vocata*, from Syriac קָלָא vocavit; from קָוָל 'vox.'

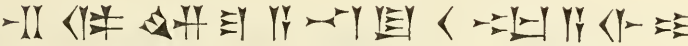
16. *Nazmadi*. from צִמְדִּי *jugum*: means *Frena jugalia*?

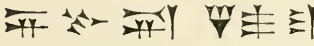
REVERSE OF THE TABLET: PLATE 45.

1. 
 limutta-ki tukt-inni
 [wherefore] with thy blasphemies dost thou irritate me?

2. 
 lishdat ummat-ki, lu-siddurus-sun
 let go back thy people, let stand aside


 tukulti-ki
 thy armed servants (or Chiefs)

3. 
 ... indimma anaku u kasi
 ... Alone I and thou


 nibus sazma
 we will do battle

LINE

4.         
tisallat annita ina semi-sa
the dragon this in hearing it [i.e., on hearing this]

5.         
makkhur itimi usanni
(go) back! she commanded, (and) repeated

  
din-sa
her command

6.         
gissi-ma tisallat sitmurish
sprung (then) the dragon watchfully

  
elita
on high

7.         
sursish malmalish itrura
..... she shifted

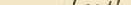
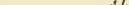
  
isdā-sha
her standing-point

8.         
imanni mikhita ittanamdi
she observed the fire-bolts, she watched for

  
tairat (?)
a retreat (?)

LINE

9.    
u ili sha takhazi
and the gods of battle



 ushailu-sun kakki-sun
sheathed (?) *their swords.*

10.     
innindu-ma tisallat rubu mi ili
Attacked then the dragon the just prince of the gods

11.   
 sazmish iddibbu kitribu
fiercely *they joined* *the struggle*

ᠲᠠᠬᠠᠵᠢ
takhazi
of battle

12. usparir-ma billu sapara-su
drew his sword (?) the king, (and) his sabre



 uragmi

dealt rapid blows

13.                  
im hullu zabiti arkati
His whirling thunderbolt he took, behind him

	
panus-su	umdashir
<i>and before him</i>	<i>he looked</i>

LINE

14.        
 ip-ti-ma pi-sha ti-sallat ana
 opened her mouth the dragon to

   
 la-ha-ti-su
 swallow him

15.      
 im hul-la us-ti-ri-ba ana
 the whirling bolt he sent into her so that

   
 la ka-tam si-p-ti-sha
 not she could shut her lips

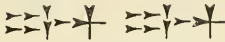
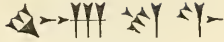
16.       
 iz-zu-ti shari kar-sha-sha
 the fiery lightnings her belly

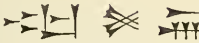
  
 iz-a-nu-ma
 poured into

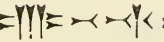
17.      
 in-sal-lat lib-ba-sa-ma pa-sha
 he pulled out her heart, and her mouth

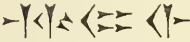
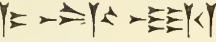
  
 us-bul-ki
 he rent open

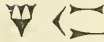
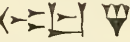
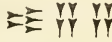
LINE

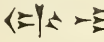
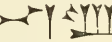
18.   
 issuk mulmulla ikhtipi
he drew his falchion (and) cut open

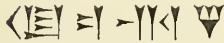
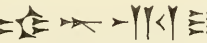
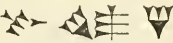

 karas-sa
her belly

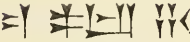
19.     
 kirbi sa ubattiqua usallat libba
her inside he cut into (and) extracted her heart

20.   
 ikmi-si-ma napshata's ubulli
he took vengeance on her (and) her life he destroyed

21.     
 salam sha idda eli-sha izaza
(when) her death he knew, over her he boasted.

22.     
 ultu tisallat alik pani inaru
After that the dragon their Leader had been slain

23.   
 kisri-sha uptarirra bukhar-sha
her troops took to flight her army


 isippikha
was scattered abroad

24.    
u ili ritzu-sha aliku
and the angels her allies who had come

idi-sha
to help her

25.  ittaru
retreated

 ibsukhu
grew quiet (and)

 usikkhiru
turned away

arkat-zu
backwards

26.   
usitzu-ma napshatu's ediru
they fled thence, for their own lives fearing

27.         
ustalamu naparsu ana la
they saved themselves (and) were scattered to [places] not


 lihu
pursued.

28.     
tibu (?) sunuti-ma kakki-sun
he followed them, and *their weapons*


usabbir
he broke

LINE

29.           
saparish nadu-ma kamarish
in a broken state they lay in heaps, in multitudes (?)

usbu

they were captured (?)

30.           
gadu (?) dubqati malú
a crowd of followers full of

dumami

astonishment

31.           
sirit-zu nasu ukatibu
its remains they lifted up (and) on their shoulders [hoisted]

32.           
u istin isrit nabniti supar
and the eleven tribes after

bulkhati

izanu

the battle (?) pouring in (?)

33.           
milla galli aliku
a crowd (?) great coming (to see ?)

34.           
ittadi tsir rieti
gazed upon the serpent monstrous

LINE

35. 
 gadu duk mati sun

36. 
 u ilu makh
 and the god Bel(?)

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE REVERSE.

LINE

1. *Tukt-inni*, thou dost irritate (or prick) me, from Heb. נקר to prick. Used in Arabic for the sting of a *serpent* (Gesenius): also, to goad.
2. *Lishdat*, 'let them go back': probably from שטט a reduplicate form of Ch. Syr. שטא recessit.
Ummat 'people,' Heb. עמ populus.
Lu-siddurus-sun 'let them stand aside,' Ch. Syr. שטר or סטר 'the Side.' We also find בסטר used for 'backwards.'
3. *Sazma* probably means 'battle.' In the annals of Assurbanipal p. 124 Ishtar gives her Bow to the king, and says "Go to the battle"! *tanadala ana epis sazmi* (I read  "and wherever thy camp is placed, I will follow" *tibaku anaku*, which is a permansive present from the Arabic تבע 'to follow.' And compare the adverb *sazmish* 'fiercely' or 'with battle' in col. ii, line 2 of the present inscription.
5. *Makkhur*, retrò. This word occurs frequently. Compare מאחור à tergo (Buxt.) *Emu makkhur*, they turned back, 3 R, 15, 21.
Itimi, she commanded: from טעמ a command.
Usanni, from שנה iterare.

LINE

6. *Gissi*, 'she darted or sprung,' seems to be from גזי transiit celeriter (Schindler).
Sitmurish 'watchfully': from שמר custodire, observare.
 This adverb occurs in other passages.
7. *Sursish* seems to mean 'in a rolling manner,' or 'twisting herself': from שרץ serpsit, movit se. *Malmalish* has probably a nearly similar meaning. We have מול declinavit, convertit.
Itrura 'she twisted.' דרר torsit. Gesenius renders it *drehen*.
Isda. Heb. יסד fundamentum.
8. *Imanni* she observed (?) מנה to observe.
Ittanamdi is probably for *ittanandi*, (M for N) which would be a variant conjugation for *ittadi*, a frequent verb, meaning 'he or she watched or gazed upon.'
10. *Innindu*, attacked (?) literally 'joined' (i.e. battle).
11. *Kitrubu* may be the peril or trial (of battle), Arab. غرب periculum fecit, tentavit (Schindler).
12. *Uragmi* Heb. רגמ to strike rapid blows.
13. *Im hullu*, see note to col. i line 10. I think *im hullu zabit* is only a quick pronunciation of *im hulla uzabit*.
Umdashir for undashir, M for N, as often happens. This is the T or D conjugation of נצר observare, custodire protegere.
14. *Lahati*, לחת maxilla, gena: 'the jaws.'
15. *Ustiriba*, Istaphel or ST conjugation of the Assyrian verb ereb 'to enter.' The S conjugation is *useriba* 'I caused to enter.'
Katam, Arab. כתם 'to shut.' The same phrase occurs on the Deluge Tablet p. 554 *katma sapta-sun*, they shut their lips (remained silent).
16. *Karsha*. Chald. ברש, the belly.
17. *Insallat* 'he pulled out,' may be Niphal of *Sallat*, which verb is found in l. 19 with the same meaning. Derived from the subst. שלל spolium, præda.
Usbulki. S conjugation of פלג or פלח to rend or split.

LINE

18. *Issuk* 'he drew out.' Heb. נסח.
Ikhtipi. Ch. Syr. חטפ diripuit, abripuit, &c. Heb. חטב
 "to cut out." is nearly the same. Compare also קטב
 of similar meaning.
20. *Ikmi si*, 'He took vengeance on her.' Heb. נקמ, vin-
 dictam sumpsit.
21. *Salam-sha*, her end, or her death.
Idda, 'he knew of.' Heb. ידע 'to know.'
Izaza. One copy reads, יזז יזז, the other יזז יזז-יזז, *iziza* (Smith). Heb. יזר, 'to boast or triumph.'
 Buxtorf says superbivit: superbè vel arroganter egit.
23. *Uptarrira*. T conjugation of Arab. فرر fugit: evasit
 in bello.
Isippikh 'was scattered, or put to flight.' Heb. שפח
 fudit (put to flight), Gesen. p. 967. We have also
 שפך fudit. I have pointed out in my Glossary
 No. 326 that the verbs *uparrir* and *usippikh* generally
 are found together. For example, *Bukhar-sun usappikh*,
uparrir kharranat-zun, 'I put to flight their army, I
 destroyed their hostile invasion.' Bavian l. 39, and the
 same in the Taylor cylinder 4, 42, but interchanging
 the substantives *kharran* and *bukhar*.
25. *Ibsukhu* 'they were calmed.' Chald. פסק cessavit,
 quievit. But here Smith differs from Delitzsch, and
 reads *iblakhu*, 'they feared.'
Usikkhiru 'they turned back' Chald. סחר reversus est:
 conversus est.
27. *Ustalamu* 'they saved themselves.' T conjugation of
 שלם.
Lihu 'to follow,' Rabb. ליה to follow.
28. *Tibu* 'he followed.' Arab. تبع to follow.
29. *Saparish*, 'in a broken state.' Heb. שבר, 'to break.'
Usbu. Heb. שבה, to capture (doubtful word).
Nadu 'they lay in heaps.' Heb. נד acervus.
Kamarish adverb from חמר cumulus: acervus, ex. gr. it
 is used for 'heaps of slain lying on the ground.'
 Schindler, p. 603.

LINE

30. *Gadu*, Heb. גֹּד a crowd: Lat. turma.
Dubqati adherents or followers דִּבְקָה to adhere or be joined to (*Burt.*).
Dumami, astonishment. Heb. תִּמְהָה obstupuit.
31. *Sirit* 'the remains' (*i.e.* of the dragon). Heb. שְׂאִירֵית Reliquiæ.
Ukatibu 'they raised on their shoulders,' from Heb. כָּתַף, the shoulder.
32. *Bulkhati* means 'division' or 'war': it is used in both senses. Perhaps *supar bulkhati* means 'after the war.' It may be the Syriac word פִּלְחֻתָּא *pulkhuta*, war.
34. *Ittadi* 'gazed upon.' This verb occurs in several places. *Rieti* 'conspicuous': 'wonderful': from רָאָה 'to see.' So Θάυμα, a wonder = Θεαμα, a Sight.

Line 14 of col. I should perhaps be translated

He lifted his great sword called "Lord of the Storm."

So that both the Chariot and the Sword had names, which are mentioned in two consecutive lines.



THE HAMATHITE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

Read 2nd May, 1876.

THE following paper will be one rather of conjectures than of facts; but where facts are not attainable, even conjectures have their use. So long as we have no clue to the interpretation of the inscriptions known as Hamathite, every suggestion which has any probability in it is worthy of consideration.

The Hamathite inscriptions are written in hieroglyphics; but the hieroglyphics are, in most cases, so far removed from their original form as to be quite unintelligible. Most of the inscriptions have been found at Hamah, the ancient Hamath; one, however, (a copy of which I have not been able to see,) has been discovered at Aleppo, the Helbon of ancient history, while another accompanies the bas-relief found by Mr. Davies at Ibreez in Lycaonia, which has been figured in the Transactions of this Society (vol. iv, part 2, pp. 336-346). Inscriptions in the same character also occur on five seals brought by Mr. Layard from the record-chamber of Sennacherib's palace, (where they had probably been deposited after Sargon's conquest of Hamath,) and are now in the British Museum. The stones found at Hamath (Hamah) are four in number, and the inscriptions upon them are all in raised characters. Burkhardt was the first to notice them, and imperfect copies of them have been given by the English Palestine Exploration Fund, and in Burton and Drake's "Unexplored Syria." We owe our only accurate copies to Dr. Hayes Ward, who published them in the Second Statement of the American Palestine Exploration Society, from

17. 7

18. 𐎎

19. 𐎎

LIST OF HAMATHITE HIEROGLYPHS (from Dr. Hayes Ward), COMPARED
WITH THE KYPRIOTE CHARACTERS.

HAMATHITE	KYPRIOTE.	HAMATHITE.	KYPRIOTE.	HAMATHITE.	KYPRIOTE.
1.	? (<i>ke</i>)	20.	?	30.	?
2.	? (<i>ti</i>)	21.	?	40.	? (<i>pi</i>)
3.	? (<i>ni</i>)	22.	? (<i>ti</i>)	41.	? (<i>te</i>)
4.	? (<i>na</i>)	23.	(<i>na</i>)	42.	(<i>na</i>)
5.	(<i>ro</i>)	24.	(<i>ro</i>)	43.	?
6.	?	25.	?	44.	?
7.	(<i>ty</i>)	26.	?	45.	(<i>po</i>)
8.	(<i>o</i>)	27.	(<i>ni</i>)	46.	? (<i>ae</i>)
9.	? (<i>aa</i>)	28.	?	47.	(<i>me</i>)
10.	(<i>to</i>)	29.	(<i>ta</i>)	48.	?
11.	? (<i>y</i>)	30.	(<i>a</i>)	49.	? (<i>ay</i>)
12.	(<i>no</i>)	31.	?	50.	(<i>ay</i>)
13.	(<i>ly</i>)	32.	(<i>lo</i>)	51.	?
14.	(<i>re</i>)	33.	(<i>na</i>)	52.	?
15.	(<i>ma</i>)	34.	? (<i>py</i>)	53.	(<i>ra</i>)
16.	(<i>ne</i>)	35.	? (<i>ky</i>)	54.	?
17.	?	36.	?	55.	?
18.	? (<i>yi</i>)	37.	?	56.	(<i>ya</i>)
19.	? (<i>ra</i>)	38.	(<i>pe</i>)		

squeezes and casts taken in Beirut by Lieut. Steeves and Prof. Paine. Dr. Ward has, further, drawn up a list of the characters met with in the inscriptions.

The four stones from Hamath are now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. The first contains three lines of writing, all broken off at the ends, together with a fourth line, which has not been inscribed. The second contains two complete lines of writing, and a third uninscribed line. The third inscription is, again, complete, consisting of two long lines of writing and a shorter third line. The fourth stone is a large one, and is inscribed on one side and at one end. The larger face has five lines of writing, and the smaller face four lines, below which is an additional line not engraved. It is remarkable that the inscription on the larger face is identical with the inscriptions on the three other stones, with the exception of variant portions which occur towards the end of each of the first three inscriptions, as well as of a variant portion at the end of numbers 1 and 2, which is not found in Nos. 2 and 4. Number 4, however, contains a large amount of additional matter. It is curious that a portion of the inscription which answers to the second line of Nos. 2 and 3 has been purposely erased in No. 4. Dr. Ward has shown that the inscriptions read from the direction towards which the characters look, the first line reading from right to left, and the remaining lines in *boustrophedon* fashion. The inscription on the smaller face of No. 4, however, begins from left to right, while the fourth line of the inscription on the larger face of the same stone runs from right to left, breaking the *boustrophedon* order, and suggesting the commencement of a fresh inscription. The similarity of the inscriptions on the four stones may imply that they are votive tablets to some deity, in which the formula remains the same, while the proper names change.

Each of the inscriptions commences with the representation of a human head and arm pointing to the face  This must signify either the first personal pronoun "I," or else denote the act of speaking or of worshipping, or else finally be the determinative of an individual. The last supposition is excluded by the fact that the character does not

precede the variant portions of the inscriptions, while in the shorter inscription of No. 4 it precedes two characters  .|.

which occur so frequently in the legends as to be probably some common grammatical termination. Nor is it likely that the act of speaking would have been expressed by so elaborate a sign instead of the more convenient hieroglyphic of "mouth," and we therefore have to decide between the meanings of "I" or "dedicated." The analogy of other Semitic inscriptions makes me prefer to regard the character as expressive of the first personal pronoun; in which case, as the first personal pronoun in Northern Syria would have been *ana* or *ani*, we should have to attach the value of *na* or *ni*, (or *a* or *i*;) to another character,  or , which accompanies the hieroglyphic just discussed. At the end of the shorter inscription of No. 4, the hieroglyphic which I have thus supposed to mean "I," is followed by two characters,  .|. which, from their frequency and position, I fancy must denote the plural. This would be *in* as Hamath, but conjoined with the ideograph of the first personal pronoun they would have to signify "we" or "us."¹

The same two characters, which we will term the mark of the plural, occur in the shorter legend of No. 4, at the end of a group of hieroglyphics which elsewhere appears alone.

This group is   In one place instead of  we find    Now the first character of this group  or

¹ On second thoughts, however, it seems to me very possible that the two characters in question may stand for *sar*, "king." The first may represent a row of teeth, that is *shen* or *she*, (*sa*;) and the second the two eyes and nose for *resh*, (*ra*;) "the head." They generally occur before the name of a State, and once in the composition of a proper name. Perhaps the same word is represented

on two of the seals where we find  and  the latter character being identical with that numbered 23 in the list. In the larger inscription of No. 4 we find these two characters twice replaced by .|.  and preceded by the two characters numbered 10 and 51.

Ⓒ is found several times in places where towns seem to be signified, and I believe that it is used as the determinative of cities or countries. We may compare the Egyptian ⊕ with a similar signification. I have a suspicion, though based on no definite reason, that the name either of Hamath or of the Hittites is denoted by this determinative when followed by the two characters ⤴⤵. The other group of characters may represent the name of a Syrian people, especially when followed by the "plural sign."

We occasionally meet with the hieroglyphic of a hand holding a sceptre, . This may denote "action" in general, but I think it is more probably the determinative of "king." A not unfrequent affix is , which I have sometimes thought might be the determinative of deity, but more probably it represents some grammatical suffix. We ought to find the name of the god Rimmon in these inscriptions. We know from the Old Testament that Rimmon was worshipped at Damascus; the Assyrian monuments also speak of a Car-Rimmon or "Fort of Rimmon" as a Hittite town, and Shalmaneser refers to "the god Rimmon of Khalman" or Aleppo. The deity represented in the Ibreez sculptures with a stalk of corn in one hand and bunches of grapes in the other may be the same god. Hadad (not Hadar) was another divinity of Syria, as Macrobius bears witness.

Dr. Ward's list of Hamathite characters which is appended to this paper consists of 56 different characters. The original form and meaning of some of these is still clear, though the greater part have lost all trace of likeness to the objects which they previously represented. No. 1 seems to represent the hand; 8 is a knife; 10, a hatchet or sceptre; 16, possibly the eyes; 17, a hook; 26, perhaps the mouth with the nostrils above it; 27, some kind of quadruped; 31, the human foot; 32, 33, 47 and 49, the hand holding certain objects; 34, a beetle; 36, water flowing from a vase; 37, probably a bee; 38 and 39, species of snakes; 41 and 42, a

plant or tree; 42 and 43, species of vegetables; and 53, perhaps a boat. If only we knew the language spoken by the inventors of this curious writing we might obtain a clue to the phonetic powers of some of the characters.

The large number of these shows that the writing is not alphabetical. On the other hand they are too few to serve for a complete system of hieroglyphics, and this, coupled with the fact that the separate words (as determined by a comparison of passages) consist of several characters, proves clearly that we have to deal with a syllabary. Some of the hieroglyphics, however, were evidently used as determinatives as well as representatives of mere phonetic sounds, while others might probably be employed as ideographs. We doubtless have to deal with a mixed system of writing like that which meets us in the inscriptions of Egypt or Assyria.

The writing, however, has nothing to do with that of Assyria, and could not therefore have been borrowed from thence. Nor, again, does it seem to have any connexion with the hieroglyphical system of Egypt; at all events the characters are generally unlike those found on the Egyptian monuments, and Mr. Dunbar Heath's attempt to provide them with Egyptian values has been a signal failure. So far as our present materials allow us to infer, the Hamathite hieroglyphics appear to have been an invention of an early population of Northern Syria. Their occurrence in Lycaonia is probably due to Syrian conquest. The seals found by Mr. Layard show that the writing continued in use down to the time of Sargon and Sennacherib, and the inscriptions from Hamah are probably not much earlier in date.

Now, it is difficult to understand a hieroglyphic system of writing being invented by a people who spoke an inflexional language. The first requisite of such a system is that the same sound should represent different parts of speech, the pronunciation remaining the same, whether the word be used as a substantive, an adjective, a verb or an adverb. Another requisite is that the grammatical terminations should be easily separable from the roots or stems to which they are attached. These two requisites are found in China, in Turanian Chaldea, in Egypt, and in Central America; in

fact wherever hieroglyphic writing has been invented. If, therefore, the Hamathite hieroglyphics were the invention of a Semitic people, they would be a singular exception to the general rule, and their origin would be all the harder to explain from the fact that Semitic flexion depends so much upon internal vowel-change. The probability, then, is that the North Syrian inventors of these Hamathite characters did *not* speak a Semitic or inflectional tongue.

Who the inventors were it is of course impossible to determine with certainty, but it is extremely likely that they belonged to the great Hittite race. It is true that M. de Rougé and others have tried to explain the Hittite proper names found on the Egyptian monuments as Semitic; but the attempt seems to me unsuccessful, and the Hittite names that occur in the Assyrian inscriptions, which, as being themselves in a Semitic language, would represent foreign Semitic words in a recognisably Semitic form, have nothing Semitic about them. To take only one instance, the Hebrew form of the Hittite city Carchemish gives some colouring to the view that the name denotes "the fortress of Chemosh," though Chemosh was a Moabite and not a Hittite god; but the etymology becomes impossible when we find the word always written Gargamis in Assyrian. We have but to compare the proper names of Hittite princes and countries given in the Assyrian inscriptions with those belonging to Hamath and Damascus, to be convinced of the non-Semitic character of the former. My own belief is that the Hittites, or at all events the main part of them, spoke dialects that were not inflectional.

The Hittites, called Kheta in Egyptian, and Khatti in Assyrian, first appear on the monuments of Thothmes III. Naharaim or Mesopotamia (the Assyrian Nahri) holds the chief place in Western Asia in the time of Thothmes I; the Rotennu or Syrians make their appearance in the reign of Thothmes II, and finally in the reign of Thothmes III, when Babylon, Assur, and Nineveh, as it would seem, pay tribute to Egypt, the Hittites come upon the scene. But it is not till the wars of Seti I¹ and Rameses II, in the XIXth Dynasty,

¹ Can this Seti be the "king Shet" of the Phœnician pottery found at the base of the Temple of Solomon?

that we find the empire of Naharaim has been replaced by that of the Hittites. The latter are now the suzerains of the various tribes of Naharaim, whom M. Fr. Lenormant holds to be Ugro-Altaic, but who more probably belonged to the Alarodian stock. When we come to the era of the Assyrian Tiglath-Pileser I, B.C. 1130, the Hittites are still paramount from the Euphrates to Lebanon. Their dress resembles that of the Assyrians in the robe that descends to the ankles, the long beard and curled hair, and leads to the inference that the bas-reliefs of Ibreez, which agree in these respects with the Egyptian representations, are the records of a Hittite conquest. Among the principal Hittite towns may be named Carchemish and Helbon or Aleppo, though the latter seems to have been acquired by conquest from the Semites. At any rate this would appear to have been the case with Kadesh, the "holy" city of the Phœnician goddess Ken or Kesh, the consort of Resheph (the sun-god). We find a tribe of Hittites as far to the south-west as Hebron in Gen. xxiii. The cradle of the nation, however, was the tract of country between the Euphrates and the Orontes, and it was over this that the kings mentioned in 1 Kings, x, 29, and 2 Kings, vii, 6, bore sway. We possess a copy of a treaty of peace made between Rameses II and the prince of the Hittites, the original of which was inscribed upon a plate of silver in the language and writing, Dr. Birch thinks, of that people.¹ The prince in question was Kheta-sar or Kheta-sira, the brother and successor of Mautenaur, and the son of Maur-sar or Mara-sara, "the great chief of the Kheta," the son of Sapalel or Sapalala. The latter name recalls that of the Hittite prince Sapalulme, king of the tribe of the Patinai, on the Orontes, mentioned by Shalmaneser on the Kurkh Monolith. The names Kheta-sar and Maur-sar must be compared with those of Kirep-sar and Kau-sar, two Hittites referred to in the monuments of Rameses II; and since Kheta and Khirbu are the Egyptian forms of Hittite and Helbon, while Kau clearly represents the Kahuians or Kuans of the Assyrian inscriptions, it is plain that *sar* must signify "prince," and

¹ See the translation by Mr. Goodwin in *Records of the Past*, iv, pp. 25-32.

perhaps have been borrowed from the Assyrian *šarru*, "king," which is itself an Accadian loan-word.¹ Now, the order in which the words stand in these compound names, the genitive preceding the governing word, is a decisive proof that the language in which such compounds were usual did not belong to the Semitic family of speech. The Egyptian monuments also make mention of a certain Kirab-sar, "writer of the books of the miserable (chief) of the Hittites," and the determinative shows that the books were either of papyrus or parchment. M. de Rougé² reminds us that Hebron, the Hittite town of Palestine, once bore the name of Kirjath-Sepher, or "city of books," a fact which seems to imply that the Semites of the West associated literature and the Hittite race together. If the Hittites were non-Semitic, and the inventors of the Hamathite hieroglyphics, we should find another parallel in the history of these hieroglyphics to the borrowing of the writing of Turanian Accad on the part of the Assyrians, and of that of Egypt on the part of the Phœnicians. The small number of characters used in the Hamathite inscriptions shows that the Semites of Hamath and Northern Syria (like the Semites of Phœnicia) must have made a selection from the whole body of hieroglyphics employed by the inventors. They were, doubtless, helped in this by the number of Semitic words and ideas which contact had introduced into the dialects of the Hittites, whom we find worshipping the deity Ken or Kesh in the sacred town of Kadesh, as well as a goddess Ashtaroth (unless, with M. de Rougé, we are to read Antarata).

The origin of the names assigned to the letters of the Phœnician alphabet is enveloped in obscurity. We now know that these letters were derived from the hieratic forms of certain hieroglyphics used by the Egyptians with alphabetic values; but the names given to the letters by the Phœnicians naturally do not correspond with those given to

¹ In Accadian, *ša* meant "judge," "to judge," *ša-ra*, "judge," or "monarch." From this the Semites seem to have got their שרר, which appears in Assyrian as *šarru* (also *sarru*), "king."

² *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, ii, 3 (1875).

them by the Egyptians. The character which denotes *a*, for instance, represented an eagle in Egyptian, which was called *Ahom* in that language; no Semitic word, however, with such a signification began with the sound of *A*, and the Semites accordingly called the letter *aleph*, since in Semitic *aleph*, "an ox," began with the sound in question. But we may ask why was the word *aleph* chosen as the name of the first letter of the alphabet out of the many possible words beginning with *a* which might have been selected? I would suggest that the Semitic people who first adapted the simple and convenient Egyptian alphabet to their own use had already been accustomed to a mode of writing in which the representation of an ox (or of some part of an ox) stood for the sound of *A*. If the first Semitic employers of the so-called Phœnician alphabet were already acquainted with the Hittite or Hamathite hieroglyphics, we can well understand their applying to the letters of the new alphabet the names of the objects represented by the characters they had hitherto employed. In this case the names given to the letters of the Phœnician alphabet would have been derived from the Hamathite hieroglyphics. Now it is a curious fact that the names of the letters of the Greek alphabet all end in *a*, showing that it must have been brought to Greece not by the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon, but by the Aramæans of the Gulf of Antioch, since the *emphatic aleph* is a characteristic of Aramaic, not of Phœnician. Even the names of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet disclose their Aramaic origin, *בֵּית*, *יֵשׁ*, *יָם*, &c., being perfectly Aramaic, and we may therefore conclude that the alphabet was introduced rather by Aramæans than by Phœnicians, and that it was the Aramæans rather than the Phœnicians who first traded to Greece and elsewhere. If the Aramæans had already known of another system of writing it is easy to understand the welcome they gave to the simpler alphabet from Egypt.

If my reasoning has any truth in it, we may possibly assign as syllabic values to those Hamathite hieroglyphics whose primitive forms can be recognised the names of the letters of the Phœnician alphabet expressive of the objects intended to be represented. Thus No. 1 would be *yod* (*yad*) or *i* (*ya*);

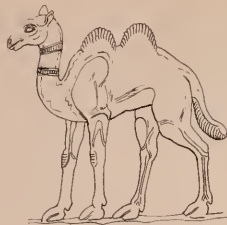
No. 17, *waw*; No. 27, perhaps *gimel* (*gi*); No. 36, *mem* or *me*; No. 39, *dhadh* or *dhe*. If  denotes "Hittite," (*Khath*) it would exactly answer in form to the meaning of *kheth*, the name of the 8th letter of the Phœnician alphabet, since *kheth* is literally "a fenced place." In this case we might go on to conjecture that the character which follows represents *tin* or *tim*,  being simply *ti* or *ta*, (like *taw*, "a cross," the name of the last letter of the Phœnician alphabet,) and two horizontal strokes being added at its foot  to denote the plural.¹

I now pass on to the last conjecture I have to make. It will be noticed that the character just referred to, , has the same form as a character which represents *ti* in the Cypriote syllabary. Now the origin of this syllabary is a question of great difficulty. The theory of Brandis, that it was derived from the cuneiform characters of Babylonia, cannot be maintained, for a moment, and it is equally impossible to connect it with the hieroglyphics of Egypt. But the forms of the characters, as well as the syllabic values they bear, show that it is a late and corrupt form of some earlier system of writing. Some time ago I expressed the opinion in the *Academy* that this earlier system of writing was none other than the hieroglyphics of Hamath. The number of characters in both is about the same, and Cyprus, where the syllabary maintained itself long after it had disappeared elsewhere, lies just in the way of trade from the Orontes. Its antiquity must be considerable, since Mr. Smith discovered a terra cotta cone with Cypriote characters upon it in the palace of Assurbanipal, and three or four of the terra cotta disks found by Dr. Schliemann in the lower stratum of remains at Hissarlik also bear inscriptions in the same character. Since nothing of the kind has yet been met with in continental Greece, we may perhaps infer that the

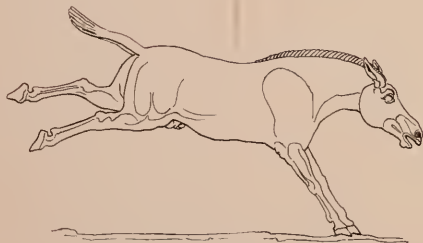
¹ The name of Hamath, however, may very probably be intended by this combination of characters, since  signifies "arx."

first system of writing known there was the Phœnician alphabet, introduced about the 9th century B.C., as it would seem. from a comparison of the forms of the letters on the Moabite Stone with those of the earliest Greek inscriptions. In the islands and on the shores of Asia Minor, however, the old syllabary was used until superseded by the more convenient Phœnician alphabet, conservative Cyprus alone retaining it down to a late date. Local alphabets, like the Lycian, preserved some of its characters to represent sounds which were wanting in the Phœnician alphabet. A comparison of the forms of the characters in the Cypriote syllabary with those of the Hamathite inscriptions seems to me to render it highly probable that both have the same source. Of course it does not follow that the values attached to the characters agreed in the two cases; still we may expect that it would be so in some instances, and it is possible that one of these is the instance mentioned above. In reproducing Dr. Ward's list of Hamathite characters I have added those of the Cypriote syllabary, with which they may be compared. I need hardly say that some of the comparisons are very doubtful; others of them, however, seem to me sufficiently exact.

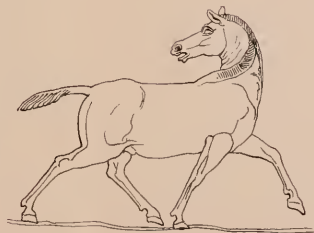




Bactrian Camels; Black Obelisk (Palace, Nimrud).



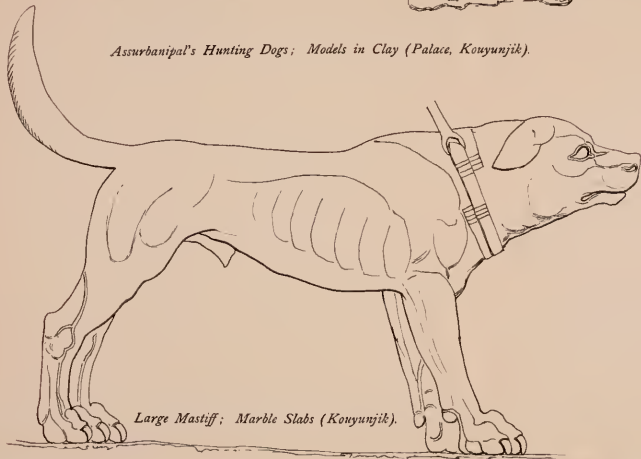
Wild Ass.



Wild Ass.



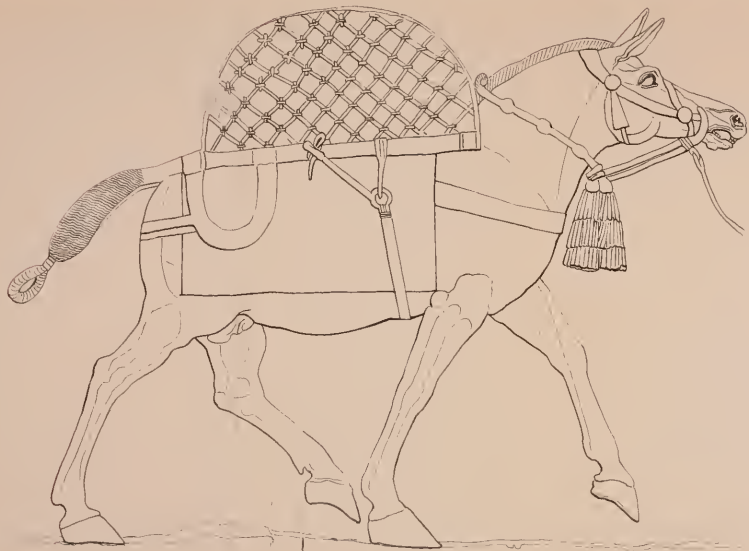
Assurbanipal's Hunting Dogs; Models in Clay (Palace, Kouyunjik).



Large Mastiff; Marble Slabs (Kouyunjik).



Assurbanipal on Horse-back, Hunting (Konyunjik).



Hunt of Assurbanipal; Mule carrying Nets for Deer-hunting (Kouyunjik).



Assurnatsirpal Hunting Wild Bulls (about B.C. 884) Marble Slab, N.W. Palace, Nimrud.

ON THE MAMMALIA OF THE ASSYRIAN SCULPTURES.

BY REV. WILLIAM HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S.

Read 7th March, 1876.

PART I.—DOMESTIC MAMMALIA.

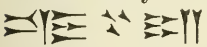
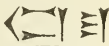
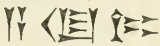
THE subject which I have undertaken to treat of is one of considerable interest, though by no means devoid of difficulties in that part of it which relates to the wild animals, for names of animals do not always give us a clear intimation as to the animals themselves. There are three ways in which animals may be represented: 1st, by *pictorial or sculptural representation*; 2nd, by *description*; and 3rd, by *picture and description combined*. In the first case, the pictorial or sculptural representation may be either (1) so true to nature as to point out at once the *animal* intended, though the picture alone would tell us nothing as to the *name* by which such and such an animal was known to the engraver or painter; or (2) the figure may be so badly executed, either from want of skill in the sculptor, or from the fact that he was drawing from indistinct recollection of some animal he had seen, or from a description given to him by some other person, as to leave considerable doubt what creature is intended, unless the animal is represented with some very striking peculiarity which we know it to possess.

2. Passing from *representation by figures of the animals themselves*, we come to that afforded by *description*, and here again the description may be so *graphic* as to point out at once the animal, or it may be so *meagre* as to throw little light on the matter, or the mere name alone may exist and we may be completely in the dark.

3. In the third instance, that, namely, of *pictorial representation and description combined*, we have the undoubted clue both as to the animal and its name. An animal may be described by many words, and in cases of nearly allied species where resemblances are close, minute description is generally necessary for the purpose of identification, or by few words, or, sometimes, even by *one*, when the name expresses some peculiar habit or character of the animal. How, for instance, could the little active animal of our woods and plantations, that springs from tree to tree, be better described than by its Greek name *σκίουρος* "shadow-tail"? or what more descriptive name than "flitter mouse" could be found for one of the commonest species of our British bats? Similarly rhinoceros and porcupine tell their own story. Let me now apply these remarks to the animals of the Assyrian monuments. There are numerous instances of representation by figures on marble slabs, terra cotta tablets, bronze dishes, &c.: sheep, goats, wild-goats, ibexes, oxen, both domesticated and wild; camels, both the one-humped Arabian and the double-humped Bactrian species; stags, both the Platycerine and non-Platycerine type, gazelles, hares, dogs, lions, horses, and wild asses, monkeys, &c. In nearly all these instances the pictorial representations are so good—nay, in several, so artistic—as to speak for themselves, and declare what they are; at the same time occasionally we meet with badly executed forms of animal life, bearing no general resemblance to any known animal, such, for instance, as the bull-like beast of the Black Obelisk, which, however, by the occurrence of the characteristic horn, though placed far too high up on the head, can proclaim itself to be no other animal than the one-horned rhinoceros.

Of representation of animals by description—if by that term we mean anything pretending to stand on a zoological basis—the monuments, so far as I believe is known at present, afford us no instance. There may have been Assyrian Aristotles who wrote on natural history subjects. May future excavations lead to the discovery of such interesting relics! It is true there are bilingual tablets containing the names of animals, trees, stones, &c., but the

scribe who executed them had no other purpose in mind than to represent the Assyrian names side by side with their Accadian equivalents. The zoological, botanical, and mineralogical tablets were merely part and parcel of Assurbanipal's grand idea, that is, the publication of a complete comparative dictionary and grammar of the Assyrian and Accadian languages; a certain order more or less corresponding to a natural order was for convenience sake observed. But, as I said just now, a single well-chosen name may itself furnish a clue to, or at once declare the animal intended. Names given to animals from the sounds they utter, are often certain indications of the animals for which they stand, "a moo," "a mê-ou," a "bow-wow," "cuckoo," all speak for themselves; but such a mode of naming animals by onomatopœia would often prove fallacious; for instance, the peculiar sound which the stag gives forth at a certain period of the year sounds more like the voice of some fierce carnivore than a deer.

Names given to animals from the countries from which they came often indicate the animal, and give us, moreover, interesting information. Now this method of naming animals prevailed much amongst the Accadian inhabitants of the Babylonian plains; the "horse," for instance, was  'imiru kur-ra, i.e., "the animal from the east," Armenia and Media; the "wolf" was  num-ma, i.e., (the animal from) "the high-lands," i.e., Elam; the camel was  'imiru a-ab-ba, i.e., "the animal from the sea." At first sight, perhaps, this description may appear erroneous, camels being creatures of the plains and deserts rather than of the sea. Nevertheless the name is perfectly correct, for the sea is the Persian Gulf, across which the Accadian inhabitants of the Mesopotamian Valley first brought the camel from his original home in Arabia. Or a name may be given to some animal from some characteristic habit, and the identification thereby rendered probable; thus one of the Assyrian names for "a wolf" was  a-ci-luv, i.e., "the eater"; similar is the meaning of the

Accadian word    *lik*- $\begin{cases} kas- \\ bi- \end{cases}$ *ku*, "the eating beast," a term proverbially characteristic of the greedy, devouring, "ravening wolf."¹

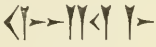
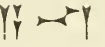
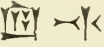
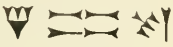
Passing now to the third division, the method of representing animals by combination of figure and description—the most certain of all methods—we find no instance of it amongst the Assyrian records. The ancient Egyptians frequently made use of this excellent method in their hieroglyphic system. What, for instance, can be more clear than the following combinations.  *ba*, "a ram";    *māu*, "a cat";  *sesh*, a bird's nest"? each word being followed by its determinative affix, that affix being a correct representation of the animal whose name, phonetically spelt, precedes it.

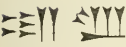
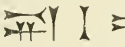
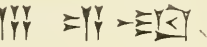
I have already said that the animals sculptured or otherwise figured on the Assyrian monuments for the most part speak for themselves, at least up to a certain point—a "goat" is "a goat" generically considered; but if we wish to be more accurate, and to become acquainted with the particular kinds or species of goats known to the Assyrians and the Accadians, we must ascertain, if possible, what species of the family *Capræ* are now known, or likely to be found, or to have once existed in Assyria and the bordering countries; what is the geographical range of the various species; and how far do they in nature resemble the figures on the monuments. Questions such as these must be asked in all cases. But we have not only to identify the various *species figured*, we have also to determine the *names* by which they were called. What aids, then, can we call in to assist us in our attempts to identify the *names* of the animals?

If the word be an Assyrian one, we may expect to find a similar word in Hebrew or Arabic, or some other cognate Semitic language; if we find that the unknown Assyrian name corresponds with the known name in one of the sister

¹   "like a lion" or "dog" is translated by the Ass. *mitkharis* "ferociously," "vehemently" (?); "he that devours like a lion."—[A.H.S.]

languages, there is generally fair reason, amounting in some cases to absolute certainty, for inferring that *identity of word implies identity of signification*. Two or three instances will be sufficient to demonstrate my meaning; such names as these are of frequent occurrence on the inscriptions, *dabû, calbu, gammalu, alpu, tsêni* (collectively), *zêbu*; now all these correspond with the well-ascertained Hebrew names, *dôb, celeb, gâmâl, eleph, tsôn, z'êb*, being the names of "a bear," "a dog," "a camel," "an ox," "sheep," "a wolf," respectively. In these cases, even if other evidence were absent (which is not the case), there is sufficient proof to establish, beyond a shadow of doubt, the identity of the Assyrian and the Hebrew animal-names. A clue to identification is occasionally afforded us in the context, by some expression or simile, as in the following passage (W.A.I. I. pl. xxxix, line 77):—

				
cima	ar-me	a-na	suk-ti	sa-qu-te
like	arme	upon	the	high cliffs,

		
tsi-ru-us	-su-un	e-li
over	them	I ascended.

Clearly here some gregarious wild sheep or goat, or caprine antelope (chamois), is intended by the word *arme*, a word which, in the absence of other evidence, might perhaps have remained entirely unknown. What more definite animal is intended may be considered when we come to treat of the *wild animals* known to the Assyrians.

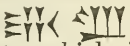
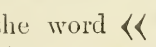
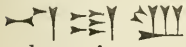
Sometimes the juxta-position of the name of some unknown animal with *ascertained names* of animals found in similar places may serve to put us on the right track. Again, the derivation of the Assyrian word—though this point really refers itself to the corresponding word in the Hebrew or other cognate tongue—is always a matter for consideration. Next to the establishment of the meaning of an Assyrian animal-name with a Hebrew or other Semitic animal-name,

comes in importance the Accadian equivalent of the Assyrian word in the bilingual list. When Assurbanipal's scribe came to the zoological portion of his great dictionary, following his plan he gave in parallel columns the names of various animals. On the right hand of the tablet is the Assyrian name: directly facing that name on the left hand is the corresponding Accadian word; thus, opposite the Assyrian name *zibû* there stands to the left the Accadian word *num-ma*, the first being the Semitic-Assyrian, the second the Turanian-Accadian name of the "wolf." Now the Accadian word often gives a clue where the Assyrian fails, for that language is very full and precise in its compound words; the whole idea embodied in the word is absolutely seen to exist in it; there are no indications of what philologists happily express by "phonetic decay." To give two or three illustrations, the sign $\mathbf{\Sigma IIII}$ (*ê*) means "a house," and $\mathbf{\Sigma Y}$ (*gal*) is "great": the compound $\mathbf{\Sigma IIII \Sigma Y}$ (*ê-gal*) is "great house" or "palace"; $\mathbf{\rightarrow \rightarrow Y}$ (*an*), amongst other kindred meanings denotes "the heaven," and $\mathbf{\leftarrow \Sigma \Sigma}$ (*mi*) "black"; the compound word $\mathbf{\rightarrow \rightarrow Y \leftarrow \Sigma \Sigma}$ (*an-mi*) stands for "an eclipse" (lit. "black heaven"); $\mathbf{\Sigma \Sigma Y}$ (*šu*) = "increase"; $\mathbf{\rightarrow \Sigma \nabla}$ (*kû*) = "eating," the compound word denoting "famine"; but to come more immediately to words bearing directly on the subject of my paper, $\mathbf{II Y}$ (*lik* or *lig*) means "a dog," and $\mathbf{\rightarrow \Sigma II}$ (*makh*) is "great," hence $\mathbf{II Y \rightarrow \Sigma II}$, *lik-makh* stands for one of the strongest and fiercest of wild animals, "the lion"; the dog is $\mathbf{II Y \nabla}$ (*lik-cu*), literally the "serving" or domestic beast from *cu* "to serve."¹

Now, if in the bilingual animal-lists we could always get such definite help as in these instances just given, difficulties of identification would be considerably reduced, and in many cases absolutely removed. But, unfortunately, the tablets are often much broken; the Accadian equivalent of the Assyrian animal-name is often altogether lost, and on the other hand, sometimes, the Accadian is preserved to us, whilst the Assyrian equivalent has been obliterated.

¹ I am not sure whether *liccu* was not the full word, contracted into *lic*.—A.H.S.]

Before I proceed to the consideration of the various mammals mentioned or figured on the monuments, I should desire to make a few remarks on the bilingual list of animals printed in Rawlinson's "Inscriptions" (vol. ii, pl. vi), because by a careful examination of that list I think we shall be able to discover to some extent the *order* which the writer of the tablet had in view, and thus, by looking at the names of the animals as far as possible from his standpoint, we shall be able to secure some little though not invaluable help towards the determination of these animals.

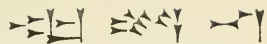
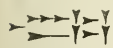
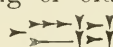
In columns A and B we find to the right the Assyrian word  *Kir-ru* (Heb. כֶּרֶם) "a sheep" or "lamb," opposite which is the ordinary Accadian word for sheep,  *lu*; then follows in the Assyrian column the sign  meaning "ditto," opposite which, in the Accadian column, is the sign  *gar*, "food"; hence I conclude that "sheep as food," *alias* "mutton," is intended; in the third line we have  "ditto," and the syllable  *num*, "high-land," probably "mountain sheep" being intended. The fourth and fifth lines by the sign , meaning "ditto," also refer to sheep, in the Assyrian column, but I do not see what are the meanings of the Accadian equivalents of   (*guk-kil*)¹ and  (*gik*). In the first five lines the scribe gives various Accadian words, all referring to the Assyrian *kir-ru*, "sheep." The sixth and seventh lines by the two thick lines which enclose them appear to contain words which refer to the same animal; in the sixth line there is the word  (*nis-dhi-nu*); in the seventh,  *du-ma-mu*, both probably denoting some stealthy prowling beast of prey, as a leopard or a lynx; the Accadian equivalent opposite *nis-dhi-nu* is *guk-kil*,² same word as in the fourth line; the Accadian equivalent to *du-ma-mu* I can make nothing of. In the eighth line the Assyrian word  *na-adh-ru* occurs; the corresponding Accadian column is somewhat broken, but the word  (*se-ga*)

¹ I fancy = a "sheep-walk," or else "a flock of walkers."—[A.H.S.]

² "The sheep-walk" prowler, perhaps.

“good,” plainly appears. Now all the remaining lines on columns A and B contain words which evidently refer to “dogs”; and there can be no doubt that the Assyrian word *na-dha-ru* in the eighth line means the “protecting” or “defending” dog, which in the Accadian column is called “good,” or “useful.” Let us cast back. Beginning with “sheep,” we see after a few lines, which also refer to “sheep,” that the scribe’s mind reverts to some stealthy beast of prey in the word *nisdhimu* (Heb. נִסְדִּים, “to lie in wait”); immediately afterwards he thinks of the protecting dog, and here is a natural sequence of ideas: the sheep suggests the sheep’s enemy, some prowling species of Felidæ, and this, again, suggests the shepherd’s friend, the sheep’s protector, the dog. And now the scribe keeps to this latter animal and enumerates various kinds of dogs: water dogs, greyhounds, hounds that hunt in packs, old and decrepit dogs, savage dogs, dogs of different colours, bitches with whelps, &c.

[illegible]

the Accadian by the expression  (*ca-zin-na*), which means "face of the desert." The zoological order from ruminants to the rodents has certainly been broken; but the transition from the light swift little antelope of the desert (gazelle) to the swift "hare" was quite natural, and no doubt the scribe's mind *thus* reverted to the latter animal; this supposition has especial force if we consider that the species of hare intended is the *Lepus Sinaiticus*, an animal of the plains and deserts rather than the woodlands. After the hare come, in line nineteen, bears, and then follow other beasts of prey, indicated by the sign  (*sakh*) the D.P. of some carnivorous animal in the Accadian column. I cannot at all agree with Dr. F. Delitzsch that the *khussû russû* of the thirty-first and thirty-second lines (Assyrian column) have anything whatever to do with gazelles either young or old, as he conjectures, especially as the Accadian D.P.  (*sakh*) occurs opposite the Assyrian words, and, indeed, is seen continuously up to the forty-first line, where the tablet is broken.

Thus what happened in columns A and B has been repeated, though in inverse order, in columns C and D; in A and B the scribe began with "sheep," and then went on to the dog, the sheep's protector; in columns C and B he began with "the wolf," the sheep's enemy, and then went on to give the names of sheep, goats, gazelles, and such like ruminants. Then, after starting with the "bear," he continues to speak of carnivorous animals, though it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine what particular animals are denoted by several of the names that follow.

From the above considerations we can see that the scribe observed, in the arrangement of his subject, some degree of zoological order, a fact which we should do well to bear in mind.

In treating of this first part of my subject, the Mammalia of the Assyrian Monuments, it will be convenient to divide it into two sections, viz., (1st) the domestic, (2nd) the wild animals.

I.—THE DOMESTIC MAMMALS.

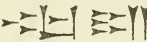
Those known to or employed by the Assyrians were oxen, sheep, goats, camels (two species), asses, horses, mules, and dogs.

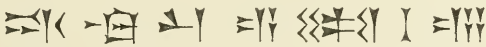
Cattle.—The cattle represented in the bas-relief on the monuments, or otherwise depicted, show a fine strong breed, generally of one type; they have a hump more or less developed on the shoulder, calling to mind to some extent the humped Zebu (*Bos Indicus*) of India. There appear to have been both a long-horned and a short-horned variety, the former being that generally represented; the horns of the former are round and thick at the base, curving forwards, and the whole animal reminds one forcibly of the wild bull or wild ox of Western Asia, not unfrequently represented in hunting scenes on slabs of the time of Assur-natsir-pal. This wild species, the Assyrian *rîmû*, is identical with the *rêm* of the Hebrew Bible, mistranslated “unicorn” by the translators of the authorised version, and “buffalo,” by most of our modern Assyrian scholars. It is an undoubted *bos* and no *buffalo*; but this question must be fully considered when I come to treat of the *wild animals*. The horns of the short-horned breed are somewhat similar in form to those of the long-horned breed, but much shorter. Both breeds are, doubtless, varieties of the common ox (*Bos Taurus*), the parent of the numerous races of cattle, whether of home or foreign produce. Cattle formed one of the principal animal-spoils captured by the Assyrians in their wars with other nations, and, judging from the enormous quantities taken, beef must have entered into the Assyrian lists of diet more frequently than is usual in Eastern nations, though perhaps the soldiers after successful campaigns would generally be the class of persons who consumed most of the captured food. Representations of killing oxen and sheep, and of the various joints, such as the leg, the loin, and the shoulder, similar to those of modern England, occur on the monuments. Cattle were employed as beasts of draught. Captive women in a cart drawn by oxen is a subject not unfrequently depicted on the monuments. The Hebrews used their cattle

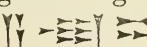
for ploughing and threshing; so did the old Egyptians. Were they ever so employed by the Assyrians? The Assyrian word for an ox is *al-pu* (𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵), generally represented ideographically by the sign 𐎶𐎵; the Accadian equivalents are *gut* and *khar*, which Mr. Sayce thinks must be connected with *Guti* or *Gutium* (the country between the Euphrates and Syria), and *Akharu*, "the West"—the Semitic name of Phœnicia. Considering the custom amongst the Accadians of naming animals from the countries from which they were received, this suggestion seems to be highly probable.

The sheep of the monuments have long curved horns with a fat tail, often turned up at the tip. The domestic varieties of *Ovis aries* (Lin.) are very numerous; they differ in general form, in the number of their horns, in texture of wool, and even in their habits, for the sheep of Tartary are said to eat bones like a dog. The variety generally figured on the monuments is the same which is found in Palestine and the plains of Belkah; it is the *Ovis aries appendiculata*, with white body, head and neck black or dark brown, wool thick; tail of moderate length, "with a thin excrescence at the end like a pig's tail," about an inch in length. It is a variety of the broad-tailed sheep (*Ovis laticaudatus*), the fat tail of which amongst the ancient Hebrews was part "of the sacrifice of the peace-offering made by fire unto Jehovah"; "the fat thereof, and the whole fat tail (שֶׁמֶן וְשֶׁמֶן), it shall be taken off hard by the back bone" (Lev. iii, 9). Other varieties probably were known to the Assyrians, as the one just mentioned, the Persian sheep and the Bucharian sheep of the Caucasus and Persia. The Assyrian name of sheep is 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (*tséni*), used collectively, being the equivalent of the Hebrew שֶׁמֶן; the Accadian name is 𐎶𐎵 *lu*, though 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *lu-lim* appears also to designate "a sheep," whence the Assyrians borrowed the word *lu-li-mu*; this expressing a sheep *individually*, whereas *lū* and *tséni* stand usually for sheep in a *collective* sense. The ram in Assyrian is 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (*ai-luw*), answering to the Hebrew שֶׁמֶן, which has with much reason

of the sheep, like the eye of most animals in health. is bright, though perhaps this animal would hardly be especially marked out as possessing great brilliancy in this respect; and we still have to explain the Accadian second syllable *bat*. I may mention that *lubat* in the bilingual list is identified with *lulimu*, and that word with *šar* "king," or "leader," from the idea of the ram or he-goat taking the lead of the flock. So amongst the Hebrews. (Cf. Jer. v, 8, Zech. x, 3, Isa. xiv, 9.)

Goats.—The domesticated goat of the monuments has high horns curving backwards, or nearly erect; in the former they divaricate, in the latter they are nearly parallel. Of the goat there are perhaps as many varieties as the sheep. All the numerous varieties of the domestic goat are probably descended from the paseng, or *Capra aegagrus*, a species common all through Asia Minor, Persia, extending even into Scinde. and must have been well known to the Assyrians. The ordinary Assyrian word for a goat was, until lately, supposed to be  *ca-ra-nu* (generally represented by the ideogram , i.e., "a horned animal," of which *gis-din* was supposed to be the Accadian equivalent; but on this point Mr. Sayce writes to me, "I have been convinced that this must be given up, and *caranu* and *carunnu* regarded only as 'vine' and 'wine.'" A tablet has been found giving a list of *carani*; they are called  *ges-mes*, "trees" and the "wine of Helbon" figures among them. Delitzsch points out that the Accadian *gis-din* = "tree of life," i.e., "vine." For the wine of Helbon see Ezek. xxvii, 18. This idea of *caranu* being "a vine" or "wine" suits the epigraph accompanying the *bas-relief* representing Assurbanipal pouring a libation over some dead lions he had killed in the chase "an offering over them I presented":


carana ak - ka e - li su - un
wine I offered over them;

the very thing the king is represented doing. The he-goat was called  *a-tu-du*, which answers to the

Hebrew עֵמִיד. In the bilingual list of animals (Accadian column) we find a certain expression [𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶] which, it is explained, is to be pronounced 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *mu-na*. In another place (W.A.I. II. 4, 662) *a-tu-du* is explained in Accadian by the word 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, *ši-ik-ka*, which means "horn raising," and well expresses the high-horned animal represented on the monuments. I think there is little doubt also that the Assyrian word 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *sap-pa-ru*, which answers to the Hebrew or Chaldean עֵפִיר *tsápér*, "a he-goat" (see Daniel viii, 58), is another name for this animal, not only because it agrees with the Chaldee, but also because it occurs just under the *atudu*—the scribe still keeping to words denoting sheep and goats—and because it is explained by the same Accadian word which was used for *atudu*, with the addition merely of the syllable 𐎶 *bar*, which perhaps here denotes "strength";¹ the *sapparu* may thus denote either a large and strong specimen of the domestic he-goat, or the male Paseng or wild *Capra wagarus*, which perhaps mixed and crossed at times with the domestic variety.

The flesh of the goat, especially of young animals, was no doubt eaten, and its milk used as food. Goat skins were employed for various purposes; after removing the head and legs, the skin was prepared—perhaps steeped in tannin—and filled with air. It served as a swimming buoy or bladder; or a number together would serve to float rafts, &c. On the monuments may be seen representations of Assyrian fishermen sitting in the water cross-legged, each on one of these inflated skins, with fishing line and baited hook, and fish around them; on the bas-reliefs representing the campaigns of Assur-natsir-pal (circ. B.C. 884), figures of fugitives swimming to a fortress are seen, each one using an inflated goat-skin as a buoy.

Camels.—Both the Arabian and two-humped Bactrian camels are represented on the monuments. The former species (*Camelus Arabicus*) is fairly enough depicted. It was

¹ Can it be "white"?—[A.H.S.]

used chiefly by the Arabians, though other nations employed it. Frequent mention of camels as part of spoil occurs in the Assyrian records. In Assurbanipal's expedition against Vaiteh king of the Aribi (Arabia), an immense number of camels with other spoil was captured.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
alpi	tсени	imiri	D.P.	gam-	mali	
<i>Oren,</i>	<i>sheep,</i>	<i>asses,</i>			<i>camels,</i>	

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
a-me-	lu-	tu	is-	lu-	lu-	u-	ni	ina	la me-ni
<i>men,</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>had</i>	<i>taken</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>spoil</i>	<i>without</i>	<i>number.</i>		

Again, "camels like sheep I distributed and caused to overflow to the men of Assyria." Some idea of the great numbers captured in this Arabian war may be formed from the fact that after the war camels were sold in Nineveh for half a shekel of silver a head (see Smith's Assurbanipal, p. 274).

The Bactrian camel is also fairly enough represented, though it occurs only on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II (circ. B.C. 850). The whole inscription on this monument, now in the British Museum, has recently been translated by Mr. Sayce. It is a valuable addition to the many already valuable translations contained in that excellent publication, *Records of the Past* (vol. v, p. 61). Accompanying the sculptures are epigraphs recording the nature of the articles received by the Assyrian monarch as tribute from conquered nations. Bactrian camels were part of the tribute of "Su'a, of the country of the Guzanians." The presence of more than one hump on a camel no doubt excited the curiosity of the Assyrians, and the scribe generally takes care to record the fact of the animal possessing two humps; thus of the tribute of Su'a we read, "camels, of which two are their backs, I received." The same animals also formed part of the tribute of the Eastern Muzri in Armenia. Shalmaneser received, with other things, as the tribute of A'su king of Gozan, "two camels which have two humps," and from

Asahu king of Gilzan or Guzan, seven double-humped camels. In these two places, instead of the ordinary word for camel,      *a-ab-ba* in Accadian, or    *gam-mal* in Assyrian. we have the word *par-ra-tu* or *par-râ-tu*, thus:—

          
 7 par - ra - te sa 2 gu - un - gu - li - pi
Seven beasts with their two humps

   
 si - na am - khar
I received.

The female camel, when distinguished from the male, was called *anakâtu* (  ), as in the following passage:—

      
 D.P. a - ab - ba - ti (D.P. of female) a - na - ka - a - te
Camels camels

       
 a - di D.P. ba - ac ca - ri si - na
together with their young ones.

There can be no doubt that this Assyrian word, like the ordinary one for camel (*gam-ma-lu*) is, with the one-humped animal itself, of Arabian origin, *nâkat* being the modern Arabic name of the female. A similar word, *'inka* (אִנְקָא) occurs in the Talmud.

The Ass.—The domestic ass, though frequently mentioned in the Assyrian records, is nowhere represented on the monuments, which fact is a matter of regret to the zoologist who would desire to see what kind of an animal the domestic ass was in its own native land in the time, say of Assur-natsir-pal, more than 2,500 years ago. This useful animal must have been known to the Assyrians from the earliest times; and no

doubt in the genial warmth of its native land the Assyrian ass must have been a far superior animal to those we are in the habit of seeing in this country. Indeed, we know that in our day the ass in many parts of the East *is*, as a matter of fact, a far superior animal. Of the white ass of Baghdad, Mr. Layard—a name never to be mentioned without feelings of pride and gratitude by every student of Assyrian history—Museo Britannico teste!—of this white ass of Baghdad Mr. Layard thus writes:—"The white ass of Baghdad is much esteemed in the East. Some are of considerable size, and when fancifully dyed with henna, their tails and ears bright red, and their bodies spotted, like an heraldic talbot, with the same colour, they bear the chief priests and the men of the law, as they appear to have done from the earliest times" (Judg. v, 10).¹ The domestic ass of Assyria is probably descended from the wild ass of the Mesopotamian plains, the parent of the various races wheresoever found. The wild ass of the monuments—of which I hope to speak more fully when I treat, on another occasion, of the wild animals generally—more closely resembles the *horse type* than the domestic animal of modern days, or the wild ass of Western Asia, of Syria, or Africa. The absence of any figure of the domestic ass on the monuments prevents us from ascertaining how far this equine appearance is due to fact or to want of skill in the sculptor. The ass was known to and used as a beast of burden by the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia, doubtless *before* the horse; for the usual determinative prefix to denote a beast of burden such as the horse, mule, camel, is itself, without any adjunct, the representative of the ass, thus we have seen that the camel, for instance, is thus represented—

, and the horse

D.P.,
a - ab - ba
D.P.,
kur - ra

the first character informs us that some “beast of burden” is before us. In the first instance, it is the animal from “the sea,” *i.e.*, as we have seen, “the camel”; in the latter it is

¹ Nin. and Bab., 472.

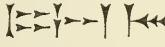
the animal from "the east," namely, "the horse"; but the same sign or determinative prefix, *itself*, without any explanation, is the word for "ass," which, in the Assyrian word, would be read *'imiru*, the equivalent of the Hebrew חמור (*chamôr*). I now proceed to say a few words on

The Horse.—These animals are represented more frequently than any other on the Assyrian monuments; they are depicted with much spirit and truth to nature. As the Assyrian monarchs were frequently at war with other nations, or, when not engaged in war, were amusing themselves with field sports, such as lion-hunting, the chase of the wild bull, wild ass, and other animals, the horse was an animal constantly in request, while the frequency of the horse on the monuments, and the care bestowed on its appearance, as manifested by the mane, tail, and other decorations, show what a pride and interest they took in their horses. The figures on the monuments present us with an animal of noble form; the head is small, so are the ears, the eye often fiery—so far as can be expressed in cold marble—and full of life; forehead good, as would be expected in entire animals; muscles largely developed, pasterns of moderate length. The whole animal was more fitted for war-purposes than for those requiring speed; in the chase of the wild ass—one of the swiftest quadrupeds in existence—the Assyrian horse must, one would suppose, have been left far behind. Horses were used in war as chariot-horses, either yoked four abreast or two, or as cavalry, which must have been a powerful and effective branch of the Assyrian army in countries tolerably free from hills and woods. Horses are not represented drawing carts or carrying baggage of any kind, and it may, I think, be affirmed that they were not used for these purposes, for which mules and asses were employed. The horses of the Assyrian army were a terror to the Jews. Nahum has in a few words graphically described the tumult of an Assyrian battle-field. "The noise of a whip and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses and of the jumping chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear, and there is a multitude of slain and a great number of carcases; and

there is no end of their corpses; upon their corpses they stumble" (iii, 2-3).

Horses trained to the yoke     *susî nûri*, are often expressly mentioned. There is a peculiar word in the inscription of Esarhaddon (W.A.I. I, pl. 46, line 53, col. iv) which seems to stand for some kind of horse,

							
pa	ka	- di	D.P.	mur	- ni	- iz	- ei
<i>charge of</i>				<i>war-horses</i>			

	
D.P.	pare.
<i>and</i>	<i>mules.</i>

See also line 26, same column, and col. vi, 46. Mr. Norris reads the word *kharnizki*. The reading above is that of Mr. Sayce, who does not know to what the word is to be traced.

We have already seen that the Accadian name of the horse, *'imîru kur-ra*, "animal from the east," gives us the interesting information that these ancient inhabitants of the Mesopotamian plains obtained their horses from some country or countries eastward to them. Armenia and Media appear to be the original home of the horse, so far as we are able to trace back its history. The Jewish prophet Ezekiel, who wrote of events which happened in his own time, mentions the importation of horses from Armenia to Tyre:—"They of the house of Togamah traded in thy fairs with horses and horsemen and mules" (Ezek. xxvii, 14). Classical writers bear similar testimony to the excellent qualities as well as to the great numbers of the horses of Armenia and Media. At this day the pastures on the plains and mountains in Armenia sustain fine breeds of horses.

The Assyrian name of the horse was *šu-šu*, the Hebrew סוס (*sûs*), a name which, by some writers, has been referred to Susa, the Persian capital; similarly the Hebrew *parâsh* is thought to be connected with פרש, or Fars, the ancient name of Persia. Egypt was celebrated for its horses; the

take to mean some stealthy beast of prey, and an enemy to the flocks. In the Accadian column we have as the equivalents of the Assyrian *nâdhru* the words  (*se-ga*) “good,” and  (*lik-ka-gab-a*), which probably means “the mouth-opening dog”; then follows the Assyrian  (*cab-bi-luv*), from  “to tie” or “chain up,” represented by the same Accadian *lik-ka-gab-a*. I think that *nâdhru* and *cab-bi-luv* both stand for some strong dog which was used both as a “watch-dog” to guard the house, and as a shepherd’s dog to guard the flocks. The idea embodied in the Assyrian and Accadian words *cab-bi-luv* and *lik-ka-gab-a*, “the chained-up mouth-opening dog,” answers well to a house-dog; similarly the notion conveyed by the Assyrian and Accadian words *nâdhru* and *se-ga*, “the good protecting dog,” is quite descriptive of the same kind of dog when used as a sheep-dog. The ordinary Assyrian word for “a dog” is  (*cal-bu*), Hebrew ; then in the list follow the words  (*mi-ra-nu*),  *tur* Accad., “a young male dog”;  *ca-lab e-lam-ti*, “dog of Elam”;  *ca-lab pa-ra-sî*, “the swift dog,” or “greyhound,” from  “to spread out the feet”;  *calab mē*, “water-dog”;  *calab ur-tsi*, “of the earth,” perhaps some small burrow-entering dog;  *calab samas*, “dog of the sun,” in Accadian *mul-lik-an-ud* (see W.A.I. II, 49, 63A), “dog-star”; then in lines 22 to 24 in the Accadian column dogs of different colours are mentioned, as  *dir*, “grey,”  *nu*, “red,”  *ara*, “yellow,” for which no Assyrian equivalents occur in the list;¹ then follows  *su-mu*, represented by  *bat* in the Accadian column; after this we have  *cal-bu se-gû*, which

¹ The 5th volume of *Records of the Past*, p. 169, contains a translation of a terra cotta tablet in the Brit. Mus., by Mr. Sayce, of a table of omens furnished by dogs as believed in by the Babylonians. Dogs of various colours are there mentioned, as blue, yellow, black, white and spotted dogs.

if any real dog be intended, I think a dog fond of “sunning” itself is meant, a habit common to most dogs, which are fond of basking for a time in the hottest sun, and not the jackal (*canis aureus*); but perhaps the expression is only astro-mythological, as Mr. Sayce reminds me. The dog was used by the Assyrians as a house-dog, as a protector of the flocks against wild beasts, and in the chase; but it is rather in this latter capacity that we have direct evidence of its employment, being thus represented in bas-relief on the monuments, and mentioned in the historical records.

In the writings of those classical authors of ancient Greece and Rome who have treated of dogs and field sports, the *canes venatici* were divided into three divisions:—1. The *pugnaces* or *bellicosi*, “pugnacious dogs of war”; 2. The *nare sagaces*, “keen-nosed scent-dogs”; and 3. The *pedibus celeres*, or “swift-footed dogs” that ran on sight of the game. This triple division is alluded to by Gratius in verse:—

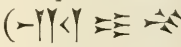
“Canum quibus *audacia* præceps,
Venandique *sagax* virtus, *viresque* sequendi”—

(Halieut. 98.)

and by Seneca in sober prose: “In cane *sagacitas* prima est si investigare debet feras; *cursus* si consequi, *audacia* si mordere et invadere.” (Ep. lxxvi.)

“In the dog *sagacity* is the most important quality if it has to pursue, boldness if it is required to bite and attack.”

Whether the Assyrians ever employed large savage dogs in war, as some other ancient nations used to do, I am unable to say. “The people of Colophon and Castabala,” says Pliny, “kept troops of dogs for war purposes, and these used to fight in the front rank and never retreat; they were the most faithful auxiliaries, and yet demanded no payment.” (Nat. Hist. viii, 61.) The horsemen of Magnesia in the Ephesian war were accompanied to the battle-field each with a war-hound, the dogs in a body attacking the enemy, being backed now by the foot soldiers, now by the cavalry, and thus rendering great assistance. Ælian, who tells us of these Magnetian war-hounds, also tells us a story of a certain dog (*συστρατιών κύνα*) who rendered so great assistance to his

master at the battle of Marathon as to be honoured with an effigy on the same tablet with his lord. (De Nat. An., vii, 38.) The powerful dogs of the Assyrians were certainly capable of being used as war-dogs, but as to any such actual employment, the Assyrian records hitherto, I believe, are silent. The dog figured in bas-relief on the sculptures was chiefly used in the chase of the wild bull (), the lion, wild ass, perhaps the wild boar, if this animal was hunted by the Assyrians, the bear, and other savage carnivores, whose capture required strength and courage. It was evidently a mastiff. The figures, as a rule, are admirably depicted on the monuments with considerable skill and artistic power. The Assyrian mastiff was probably a breed allied to the Indian dog known to Alexander, mentioned by Herodotus, Aristotle, Xenophon, Strabo, and other *Greek* writers, by Pliny and Solinus amongst the *Latins*. According to Aristotle (Hist. Anim. viii, 27 and 8) the belief prevalent in his time as to the Indian dog was that it was the produce of a female dog and a male tiger! Ælian (Nat. An., viii, 1) repeats the story. If there is any truth in the story Ælian tells of the Indian dog that seized a lion in the presence of Alexander, and suffered first his tail to be cut off, then the four legs, one after the other, then the head (which still retained hold of the lion!), these dogs must have had the pertinacity of the British bull-dog. It is this Indian dog which is connected with the story Ctesias, Pollux, Strabo, and others tell us of the race of the Cynamolgi, a barbarous tribe in the south of Ethiopia, who reared these great powerful dogs, which they used in the destruction of herds of wild cattle. From the summer to mid-winter these people are said to have fed themselves and their huge dogs on this wild beef; but the rest of the year they lived on dog milk—hence their name—which they collected in a pail, and which they drink, adds Ælian, “as we the milk of sheep and goats.” There is a figure in terra cotta of a large mastiff in the British Museum, which resembles the dogs of Assurbanipal’s hunt, whose models in clay I will speak of by and by. This slab was found,

I believe, at Nimroud, and is labelled the Thibetan dog. It is this breed, of which, doubtless, there were several varieties, which Oppian seems to refer to in the following words:—"But others are impetuous, possessed with staunch courage, such as will attack noble wild bulls, and will rush upon and destroy savage wild boars, such as fear not strong (well-fed) lions, their kings; they are of a large size like lofty hills, somewhat truncated in the muzzle, and the space between the eyebrows shakes with loose skin beneath; their fiery eyes shine with bright-eyed vision, the skin is hairy, body strong, back broad; they are not swift, but have immense courage, marvellous strength, pluck and spirit undaunted." (Cyneget I, 413-23.) The general description suits the Thibetan mastiff tolerably well, while the mention of the folding skin of the eyebrow is quite characteristic.¹ The high mountain herd of Asia is said to be black, or very dark, partially tanned about the face and legs, but there appears to have been a race of dogs allied to this mastiff-breed, which was fawn or ochre coloured, with a dark muzzle like the ordinary British mastiff of the present day. Such, perhaps, was the dog of the Assyrian monuments. It is the same or a closely allied breed as the Indian, Albanian, Iberian, and Hyrcanian dog of classical authors, for it is difficult to trace any real difference between them. All these countries

¹ The mastiff of Thibet must be placed in the general division with the dogs of India and ancient Assyria, though the pure breed could not have been used by the Assyrians. Of the modern gigantic mastiff of Thibet we have the following account:—"These noble animals are the watch-dogs of the table-land of the Himalaya mountains about Thibet. Their masters, the Bhoteas, to whom they are most strongly attached, are a singular race, of a ruddy copper colour, indicating the bracing air which they breathe; rather short, but of an excellent disposition. Their clothing is adapted to the cold climate they inhabit, and consists of fur and woollen cloth. The men till the ground and keep sheep, and at certain seasons come down to trade, bringing borax, tincal and musk for sale. They sometimes penetrate as far as Calcutta. On these occasions the women remain at home with the dogs, and the encampment is watched by the latter, which have an almost irreconcilable aversion to Europeans, and in general fly ferociously at a white face. A warmer climate relaxes all their energies, and they dwindle even in the valley of Nepal." (English Encycl. Nat. Hist. i, p. 750.) Specimens were placed in the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park, by Dr. Wallich, some years ago, but they soon died. Assyria, therefore, would doubtless have been too relaxing for the pure breed.

are near the Caspian sea. According to Pliny (Nat. Hist. viii, 40) Alexander received as a present from the king of Albania a dog. "inusitatæ magnitudinis," of unusual size, though the Roman historian does not tell us where the dog came from; most probably it would be from Albania, whose dogs were celebrated. Strabo, speaking of the excellent qualities of the Albanian dogs, calls Alexander's dog an Indian one, perhaps India being the country from which this powerful race of mastiff originally came. It was this breed of dog which Marco Polo noticed and described as nearly the size of asses. In his time (13th century A.D.) they were used in capture of certain wild cattle. The Assyrian sculptures represent this powerful mastiff, either as a limehound, led with a cord round the neck by an attendant, or as hunting in a pack. On one of the marble slabs in the British Museum there is a representation of a number of these dogs pulling down a wild ass. Unless the wild ass had been previously wounded these dogs could seldom have been able to catch one of the swiftest of quadrupeds, the wild ass. These dogs would run chiefly by sight, not possessing a very acute sense of smell, though, doubtless, they used their noses in tracking out wounded game in the forests. From an inscription on one of the five clay models of dogs belonging to Assurbanipal's hunting kennel, found at Koyunjik, and now in the British Museum, there is reason to conclude that the pack did not always run mute. The inscription runs thus:—

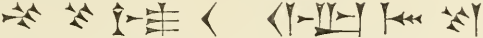
(1.)           

e - par tal - lic e - bu - us napakha

dust of (his) going, making a noise

(𒍪 to bark), or, as we should say in modern sporting phrase, "giving tongue." The first part of the inscription gives us quite a picture of one of these large muscular mastiffs, scattering the sand and dust in his impetuous course.

The inscriptions on the other four dogs are as follows:—

(2.) 
 mu - se - tsu - u linnute
causing to come forth evil

(3.) 
 da - an ri - its - su
judge of his running.

(רַגַּץ), or the syllable  *its*, in the second word may be read *gis*, and the whole word be referred to the Hebrew word רָגַץ “to rage tumultuously,” “to be wrathful”; the inscription would then mean “judge of his wrath,” but the other reading seems preferable, the idea implied being perhaps that of a cunning runner, as we say in the coursing field, “*running sly*.”

(4.) 
 mu - na - si - cu ga - ri su
biting his enemies.

(5.) 
 ca - sid ai - bi
capturing enemies.

These names doubtless were intended to express the character of the dogs rather than their actual names, for though *casid-aibi* would give a good ringing sound in the hunting-field, and would probably be recognised by the dog who owned such a name, *epar-tallie-ebuus napakha* would have been both unintelligible to the dog and too much of a mouthful for the huntsman. This custom of naming dogs, whether by way of describing their qualities or by actually conferring the names, was practised amongst the Egyptians also, and I need only refer to a very interesting paper on the dogs figured on the tablet of Antefaa II. read before this Society by our excellent and learned President, Dr. Birch, and printed in Part I of the 4th Vol. of the Transactions.

The third dog marked C on that tablet is certainly a mastiff, and bears a strong resemblance to the dogs of the Assyrian sculptures, which probably came originally from India, as has been said. The colour of the Egyptian dog was, Dr. Birch tells us, probably "black," as indicated by the word "*kamu*," The colours of ancient dogs, as of modern ones, were various, and doubtless so were the tastes of the different sportsmen. Oppian expressly condemns black dogs and white ones:

χροῖαι δ' ἀργενναί τε κακαὶ μάλα, κύνεαί τε—

(*Cyneg.* I, 426.)

as being "altogether bad," because they cannot well bear the heat of the sun nor the severity of a snowy winter. He thinks those colours of the dogs to be best which most closely resemble the wild beasts they chase, as the tawny wolf, the tiger, the fox and the swift pard, the prevailing colour of which is buff or tawny. That this was Oppian's favourite colour is clear from the following lines:—

ἢ ὅποσοι δῆμητρι πανείκελον εἶδος ἔχουσι

σιτόχροοι' μάλα γάρ τε θοοὶ κρατεροί τε πέλονται.

"Such as bear a strong resemblance to corn, of the colour of ripe wheat," a colour that suits modern English mastiffs.

Of the *nare sagaces*, the dogs that *run only by scent*, the Assyrian monuments hitherto furnish us with no direct instances, though such dogs were probably known to the people. The *calub elamti*, dog of Elam, is (as we have seen) mentioned in a bilingual list, but I have not been able to make out this dog. Pollux (*Onomasticon*, v. 37) mentions Elymæan dogs amongst *γενναῖοι κύνες*, and says they were used by a nation situated between Bactria and Hyrcania, but tells us nothing more. If, however, what he tells us about Elymæan hares, which he calls *μοσχίαι*, is correct, that they leave a most strong scent in their track, so as almost to madden the dogs, it is not improbable that the Elymæan dog ran by scent rather than by sight.

I pass on, therefore, to the *pedibus celeres*, those dogs of the chase who *run only on sight* of their game, such as greyhounds. That coursing or hunting hares with greyhounds

was practised by the Assyrians, is shown by a representation on a bronze dish found at Nimroud, now in the British Museum. The greyhounds of antiquity could scarcely have been so purely bred as those which in this country run for the Waterloo Cup, especially in districts much overgrown with woods, where pure bred dogs—running only by sight—could not keep the game in view. Hence the writers on cynegetics amongst the Greeks and Romans recommend crossing with other breeds. Nevertheless, the greyhounds figured on the rim of the bronze dish in the British Museum indicate a good breed. A hilly country is also unfavourable to coursing, where the greyhound would often lose sight of the hare. Its general structure, the comparative absence of the sense of smell, the large prominent eyes, all show the greyhound was intended for swift running on the open plains, and there, doubtless, it was used by the Assyrians of the Mesopotamian district. Indeed, some naturalists have derived the greyhound from an Asiatic home, “somewhere to the westward of the great Asiatic mountain chains, where the easternmost Bactrian and Persian plains commence, and where the steppes of the Scythic nations spread towards the north.” “When we look to the present proofs of this conclusion”—I am quoting the late Lieut.-Col. Hamilton Smith, a very good authority both on dogs and horses—“and assume that where the largest and most energetic breeds of the race exist, there may we look for their original habitation, we then find, to the east of the Indus, the very large greyhounds of the Deccan, to the west of it the powerful Persian breed; and to the north of the Caspian the great rough greyhound of Tartary and Russia; and thence we may infer that they were carried by the migrating colonies westward across the Hellespont, and by earlier Celtic and later Teutonic tribes along the levels of Northern Germany, as far as Britain. The primæval movement of the first inhabitants of the Lower Nile may be conjectured similarly to have brought this race along with them; and all may have done so when it was already in part domesticated.” (*Nat. Libr.*, vol. x; *Dogs*, p. 163).

It would appear that the Assyrian monarchs occasionally

kept chained up in confinement some of their most inveterate enemies together with dogs and other carnivorous animals. Vaiteh king of Arabia was served in this way by Assurbanipal. "To satisfy the law of Assur and the great gods my lords, a heavy judgment took him, and in chains I placed him, and with *a-si* (𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵) and *calbi* (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫) I bound him, and caused him to be kept in the great gate in the midst of Nineveh." (Smith's Assurbanipal, p. 261.) Similarly Esarhaddon treated some of his prisoners whom he had brought to Nineveh. "In front of the great entrance gate of Nineveh (W.A.I. I, pl. xlv, col. 2, lines 4 and 5, and Records of the Past, vol. iii, p. 113):—

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵	𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫	𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
it - ti	a - si	calbi	dabi
together with		dogs	and bears
[I left them to stay for ever.]			

What animals these *a-si* denote I do not know, but I do not think the word can be identical with the Accadian *am-si* (= "ox + horned"), as conjectured by Dr. Delitzsch, the undoubted representative of the Assyrian *rîmu*, because these same *a-si* are mentioned together with *am-si* ("wild bulls") on the broken obelisk as creatures killed in a hunting expedition. Now, were these animals with which persons were chained living creatures or only stone images or representations? for in the campaigns of Assurbanipal we read, "the rest of the people alive among the stone lions and bulls which Sennacherib had thrown (𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *sedi alupi*) again I in that pit those men in the midst threw." (p. 166.)

Cats.—I do not find any evidence to lead us to believe that the domestic cat was known to the Assyrians; there is, indeed, no *à priori* reason against the supposition that the cat was domesticated by the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia; on the contrary, at first sight, the reasons would rather seem to be in favour of the idea. The cat was in early times domesticated by the Egyptians, and when we consider how, at different times, intercourse existed between

the Assyrians and Egyptians, and how the former people took pleasure in introducing into their own capitals animals from other countries, the introduction of the domestic cat would seem to be quite probable. Dr. F. Delitzsch, without hesitation, concludes that the domestic cat *was* known to the Assyrians, and that the names of *nistinu* and *dumamu*, which I take to be some *wild* feline, represent the *tame* animal. "To the names of cats," he writes, "follow immediately those of dogs; dog and cat, holding a sort of war-footing in our household life, occupy the same position to each other on the monuments of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal (Assyrische Studien, Thiernamen, p. 33). There is no representation of the cat on the sculptures, neither is there any allusion to it in the Records, but we must not lay too much stress on negative evidence. That the Assyrians occasionally received animals from Egypt we have direct evidence in the inscription on the broken obelisk of Sardanapalus now in the British Museum, "a great crocodile scaled [horned] beast of the river, animals of the great sea, the king of Egypt caused to be brought." On what grounds, then, it may be asked, do I think that the domestic cat was unknown to the Assyrians? If we regard the domestic animal of ancient Egypt to be the origin of the animal now universally domesticated, we find that its introduction into some other countries did not take place in early times. To the ancient Greeks and Romans, for instance, the domesticated cat was altogether unknown as an animal kept by them. It is a soothing reflection that the brain-workers of classical antiquity, as they sat up late, burning midnight oil, were never disturbed by the hideous caterwaulings of the domestic cat. No noisy tabbies uttered their piercing shrieks on the tiles of the house-tops when Virgil and Horace composed, or when Demosthenes and Cicero got up their cases for the public assembly or the Forum.

Dr. Rolleston, who a few years ago wrote a very full and interesting paper on the *felis domesticus*, says:—"I see no reason for supposing that the domestic cat was kept as a tame animal in any other country than Egypt before the Christian era." The *felis* and *ἄλγιος* of classical authors

was the white-breasted marten (*Mustela joina*), which the ancients used as their mouse-killer as we the domestic cat. At what time the cat was introduced into Europe from Egypt it would not be an easy matter to determine with any degree of certainty. Professor Rolleston has shown that the domestic cat was in use in Constantinople about the middle of the fourth century. On referring to Ducange, S. V. *catta*, I find a certain writer of the Life of Gregory of Nazianzen (circ. A.D. 360), saying:—"Nihil in mundo possidebat, præter unam cattam, quam blandiens crebo, quasi cohabitatricem in suis gremiis refovebat." "He had nothing in the world but one cat, which he used to caress and nurse in his lap as a fellow inhabitant of the house." The domestic cat was known in Italy about the same time, for Palladius recommends both *catos* and *mustelus mansuetas* (ferrets) as useful animals against moles. I believe that cats of modern days will not touch a mole. When we consider, then, the late introduction of the domestic cat from Egypt into Europe, one is led to conjecture that the ancient Egyptians, who paid so much attention to these animals, and whose religious scruples were very strong, were averse to the exportation of one of their most favourite animals on these grounds. They cherished the cat alive; they buried and embalmed it at Bupastis and other places when dead. I think it, therefore, improbable that the domestic cat was ever employed by the ancient inhabitants of Assyria.

NOTE.—I must not conclude this paper without acknowledging my obligations indirectly to Dr. Delitzsch for the useful work he has published on the Assyrian animals of the monuments. Of course his book has been constantly before me, and I have found it very useful, though I do not always agree with his conclusions. To my friend Mr. Sayce I am directly indebted; not only has he been most kind and prompt in answering questions, but he has also read over the whole of my MS. and inserted pencil notes and suggestions when required. Mr. Sayce's readiness to assist students of Assyrian is well known to most here; that readiness is surpassed by nothing except it be by his accurate and extraordinary knowledge and ability.



KEY TO THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FIRST PATRIARCHS IN GENESIS,

And the Chronology of the Septuagint.

BY VICTOR RYDBERG.

From L. L. H. Combertigue's French MS. Translation of the original Swedish Brochure and Notes. By S. M. Drach.

Read 1st February, 1876.

ABSTRACT.—INTRODUCTION.

THE epoch of king Solomon commences regular regal annals of the Hebrews; before which, unsatisfactory round numbers obtain, as this people were between the two great empires of Egypt and Assyria. Berosus says Babylon had regal annals 1,000 years before Solomon [1]. Inspired by David's victories and his son's splendour, the Jews desired a genealogical tree [2], wherein they interwove the legends of their Babylonian-Shemite kindred races [3], [4], [5]. Jewish monotheism induced the inquiry of the origin of various races and tongues, and would have led to the height of Greek civilization were it not for wars. The daily increasing valuable relic of the national table in Gen. x [6], showed there was a wish to ascend to the cradle of mankind, and their first appearance on earth. In Egypt, the Sothiac cycles [7] first presented celestial dynasties (up to Menes); in Babylon there were astronomically regal annals before the Deluge: to which latter the Jews easily linked themselves, connecting primitive Eden [8] with Ararat. Were not the town-building Kainan, the man of God Enoch, the warrior Lamech, survivors of the first pre-historic age, specimens of human genius? and the stars still revolving over our heads formed the epochal pegs (*jalons*) to measure intervals. Judicial

astrology was originally the regularity in the heavens applied to a divine regularity of recurring principal events in human general history, the details of individual casualties being obliterated. Such, as is revealed by the Book of Daniel [9], was the influence of the Memphis School for connecting terrene history with star-cycles; and as the sages did not note a chance-medley set of numbers [10], there was possibly an astronomical reason (Philo and Josephus's riddles are needless) [11], for those we find in Gen. v, etc. [12]. The Seventy must [13] have known these numbers were much posterior to the lives of Patriarchs recorded; and their alteration thereof proves they had better intelligence, and must therefore have had some key to this table. This valuable clue was attempted by Bunsen in his "Complete Bible Work and Egypt's Place in Universal History," but who rejected the simple at-hand one. We keep to the Hebrew text as the original.

II.—THE OLD PATRIARCHS' NUMBERS OF GEN. V. [14, 15].

Antediluvian Patriarchs.	HEBREW TEXTS.			SAMARITAN.			SEPTUAGINT.		
	Age at firstborn birth.	Rest of Life.	Total Life.	Age at firstborn birth.	Rest of Life.	Total Life.	Age at firstborn birth.	Rest of Life.	Total Life.
Adam ..	130	800	930	130	800	930	230	730	930
Seth ..	105	807	912	105	807	912	205	707	912
Enos ..	90	815	905	90	815	905	190	715	905
Cainan ..	70	840	910	70	840	910	170	740	910
Mahalaleel ..	65	830	895	65	830	895	165	730	895
Jared ..	162	800	962	62	785	847	162	800	962
Enoch ..	65	300	365	65	300	365	165	200	365
Methuselah ..	187	782	969	67	653	720	{ 167 ^a 187	{ 802 ^a 782	} 969
Lamech ..	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	
Noah ..	500	450	950	500	450	950	500	450	950
To Deluge ..	100								
Adam to Deluge }	1656	..	..	1307	..	..	{ 2242 ^a 2262	} var. codex.	

III.—BUNSEN'S ATTEMPTS AT KEY OF THESE NUMBERS.

Bunsen's *Vollständ. Bibel.*, v, 311, and *Egyptens Stelle in Weltgesch.*, v, 276–282; cf. iv, 310 seq. (This is English edition, iv, pp. 398–401.—S. M. D.), says from N. Fréret [18], that the Hebrew text was the oldest, as shown by Babylonian and Chinese legends. Dividing the list into (*a.*) Reign of Seth (ancient Semitic god) [19], 912 years = divine category; (*b.*) Adam, 930, and Enosh, 905, together 1835 years.

The second epoch, Kainan to Lamech, $910 + .777 = 4878$, era of Deluge, Noah æt. 600 [20]. Fréret found 60 solar years = 742 months = $60 \times 12 + 22$ intercalary months [16]. In lunar years, $600 \times \frac{7\frac{1}{2}}{7} = 618\frac{1}{3}$ = a third of 1855 [17].

In 4878 we have 7 complete world-years + 550, or 8 world-years — 50 [21, 22, 23]. This 50 is contained in the 350 post-diluvian years of Noah, whence 4928. Methusaleh's death, 969, is Deluge-date, possibly a wilful change. Samaritan, 720, gives 299 or 300 years [24]; also suppose $1019 = 969 + 50$, six ante-Noah eras, begin with Cainan, the first emigrant town-builder [25, 26, 27]. Omit Seth, meaning the first idea of man resting in God [28], we find 1835 for the other two, only 20 less than 1855, thrice $618\frac{1}{3}$ [32]. Perhaps Enos was 925: change denary digit, results not quite reliable [29]. So far Bunsen.

IV.—CONDITIONS OF PROBLEM BEFORE US.

We do not agree with Bunsen's methods, dislocating Seth and altering other numbers. The present Hebrew text was known to Ezra and Nehemiah. The conditions we lay down are—

1. Use tables without change or exception, else arbitrary results [30, 31].
2. The two numbers since intercalated must be rejected from the calculation.
3. Age column at son's birth is primitive text-measure of pre-historic time from Creation to Deluge, and must be taken in the sense of the text; unit of time fixed for that age of the world. (Here Bunsen and others have been arbitrary.)

4. Group the numbers in the order of the names; not dislocate Seth, as Bunsen did, to form a combined world-year.

5. Last and not least, the *solver* is only in the right path when he does not float between approximations of tabular numbers and astronomical cycles or chronological facts. No defect or excess allowed. Better this stringent condition for security.

V.—PRIMITIVE FORM OF OLD PATRIARCH TABLE.

A detailed Elohistie and Jehovistic Essay out of place; vide author's Jehovistic development, etc., in his "Jehovah-worship amongst Hebrews in ante-Babylon Captivity period." Also Dr. Bergstedt's in *Litteratur Tidskriften* "olika sœlt . . ." (Different ways of reading the Bible). Doubtless these retouchings harmonized with the prophetic doctrines, trying to obliterate polytheism and idolatry: *ex. gr.* Seth: The Patriarchs' tents had idols [33 to 38]: Israel in the desert, Gideon, David's house: the descendants of Moses officiated at an altar to Jehovah, imaged as a bull (*taurus*). Solomon, and most of his Judah-king successors, were idolaters. Seth is one of the first names in divine history (Babylon, Palestine, Egypt, brother of Osiris), first god of life, afterwards of death; name-father to Sethos, founder XIXth Dynasty. At Jewish Exodus his worship was at its highest splendour. (Cf. Amos v, 26 and Acts vii, 43) [39, 40]. Probably they adored it as a star; carried this into the desert (Remphan, *Paipán*), perhaps Saturn, or Typhon. (See Plutarch de Iside, cap. xlix, 62, derived from Manetho.) When hostile to Egypt, Seth became Typhon; when friendly, restored to heavenly rights. (Pl. de Iside, 31). Seth, says the myth, leaves Egypt on a grey donkey with Egypt's foes, rests every seventh day, afterwards begetting his two sons Palestinus and Judeus. Note when the ancient book of Job describes God's power in creation, he adduces the crocodile and river-horse, animals consecrated by Egyptians to Seth. (Pl. ch. 50.) [41]. As with all dethroned deities, they do not suddenly disappear, but fade as past human heroes. The Greek Euhemeus reduced all the gods to this pristine state. Odin and Frey descend from governing Walhalla to that of Upland. Seth was found by one Hebrew inquirer as father of Enosh when he created

the first man, and also in a neighbouring genealogy to which he did not pertain, so that this introduction raised the seven antediluvian members to nine. Enos (Aram.) or Ish (Heb.) is the common word for man, Enos occupying in one genealogy the same place as Adam [42]. This double filiation in ch. iv and v is here given.

Ch. IV.—JEHOVISTIC TRADITION.

Adam	Irād
Seth—Abel	Methuāel
Enos	Methusheel
Cain	Lemech
Enoch	

Ch. V.—ELOHISTIC TRADITION.

Adam	Jered
Seth	Enoch
Enos	Methusaleh
Kenan	Lamech
Mahaleel	

A glance at these two lists shows they were originally identical [43]. Bunsen and others think these lists begin with different divine names, and of the first man, but afterwards they coincide.

SETH.	=	GOD <i>Creatures.</i>	=	ELOHIM.
1 Enos				1 Adam
2 Cain				2 Cainan
3 Enoch				3 Mahalaleel
4 Irād				4 Jarād
5 Mehujael				5 Enoch
6 Methusael				6 Methuselah
7 Lamech				7 Lamech

Of these two lists the Elohistic one only has a chronology ; we abide by that in this primitive table of the Old Patriarchs.

Antediluvian Patriarchs.	Age at next Member's birth.	Rest of Life.	Total Life.
Adam	130	800	930
Cainan	70	840	910
Mahaleel	65	830	895
Jared	162	800	962
Enoch	65	300	365
Methusaleh	187	782	969
Lamech	182	595	777
	861	4947	5808
Noah to Deluge....	600		600
	1461	4947	6408

The key of the enigma depends on the solution of these three totals.

VI.—NUMBER 1461 OF SOTHIAIC CYCLE.

This number, in the first column of last table, coincides with the Egyptian number of years of the Sothiac cycle; their priests had remarked that this brilliant star (or Sirius) returned almost every year [44], combating the early dawn thousands of years ago as it does now about the summer solstice, and coincident with the rise of the beneficent Nile inundation [45]. When the roaring waters descended the cataracts [46], the husbandmen forsook their drowned fields for the elevated temple sites and the religious fêtes. Naturally this star-messenger was consecrated to Isis. The priests observed in reference to their vague year of 365 days (which succeeded the primitive one of 360 days, without intercalary months or days), and was introduced circa 3300 B.C. [47 and 48], a year in vigour even under the Ptolemies. But the priests observing the yearly retardation by a quarter of a day of the summer solstice, or one day in four years, or 365 days in 1460 years, proposed the Sothiac cycle of 1461 vague years, equal to 1460 Sothaic (modern Julian years). This discovery of the tropical solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days was doubtless posterior to the vague one of 365 days [49]. Instead of a quadrennial intercalation, the priests (detesting changes not urgently wanted) kept to the old vague year, as it was enough to know the length of the tropical year, and adjust the religion, astronomy, chronology, and meteorology to it. The sepulchral pyramid-inscriptions of the earliest dynasties evidence the knowledge of the tropical year and its hieroglyphic sign [50]. The new tropical year had a special fête (v. Velleius Valens, Porphyry, Scholiast on Aratus), when Sothis, “queen of the new year,” appeared at dawn, and the Nile rose. Tropic and civil years were used simultaneously. Every Pharaoh at his accession had to swear solemnly to the priests that he would keep back intercalations, and stick to the 365-day year of his ancestors. Hence after every Sothiac period two new-year days coincided. Lepsius showed the advantage of this system (*Zeitsch. f. Ægypt. Spr. u. Alter.* 1869, p. 78). Egypt’s vague year was superior to the Greek and other nations’ concordances, simple proportion indicating

the relative positions in the two years; referred to Sothis, it so certified the base of astronomical computations, that the greatest Greek writers used this vague year when especially exact. The intercalary days were introduced only under Euergetes I. in the civil year, now revealed by the Decree of Canopus, viz., "for the purpose that the seasons might perform their duties in the actual arrangement of the universe: that the advance of Sothis should not make winter fêtes to be celebrated in summer [51], and summer fêtes in winter, as did formerly happen in the 360-day year, increased by those (epagomenous 5) which custom had added." As regards the mystical value of this Sothiac period, Porphyry cites the tradition of the Creation beginning with it. Many annals and dynasties began with it. Pre-historic ones, with ruling gods and demigods over fortunate generations now in oblivion. Even after Menes' authentic reign, this 1461 cycle was used; recalling the original idea of a divine rule in history when received at a distance. As each individual had a natal star, whose position indicated, if it did not control, his fate, so did Sothis, presiding at the birth of the world, foretell by its cycle the epochs of great events in national life, for blessing or curse, making the Egyptians fear its advent [52 and 53]. Year 1322 B.C. (Amenophis or Memphres being king) ended this cycle. We think with Lieblein, that the mental anxiety and epidemics in Egypt (v. Manetho) had decided for the Hebrew Exodus. Lepsius, Bunsen, and Lieblein agree the Exodus was "in the year of God," or close to it. Year 1461 was thus called, as formed of the $\frac{1}{4}$ -day excesses. As the star-rising indicated the inundation, it led to the idea that in case of merited punishment Sothis in his last year would bring an overflow causing curses and death, instead of prosperity to a chosen people. Thus the above Patriarchal Chronology measures the interval between Creation and the great Deluge-record, preserved by Hebrew and Babylonian legends [54].

VII.—NUMBER 4947 OF GREAT LUNAR CYCLE.

As to this second Patriarchal total, Bunsen says that Fréret in his Dissertation on Chinese Chronology showed the most

ancient known formula of the Turanian nations, employed by them to explain the different measures of solar and lunar revolutions, was "600 tropical years equal 618 lunar years and 4 months (synodical), or 7420 synodical months" [55, 56]. Babylon therefore introduced this cycle, called NER; but even this was not near enough for the more accurate Chaldean observers; true value is nearer $618\frac{5}{12}$, or 7421 synodic months; correct said formula from 4 months and 7420, to $4\frac{1}{2}$ months and $7420\frac{1}{2}$ as a cycle. Now a cycle is to transfer a certain number of units to another exact number of units of another kind, therefore they took as many NERS as Patriarchs, say *eight*, and found $8 \times 7420\frac{1}{2} = 59,364$ months $= 12 \times (4947 \text{ lunar years})$ [57]. Hence this 4947 is the great lunar cycle in civil life, perhaps originating the Hebrew Jubilee [58]. Add to each fiftieth lunar year one day intercalary, the error is hardly a day in 600 years.

VII.—NUMBER 6408, OR AGE OF THE WORLD.

This third number is the sum of 1461 (Sothiac) + 4947 (lunar cycle), though it may have a special reason. The archaic legends of the four ages of the world forming together the Platonic year [59, 60, 61], or great world-year, wherein the *Sun* passes, owing to precession, through the entire Zodiac. As Niebuhr thought to find this world-year in the historical cycles of Babylon, it may be used here. Even present astronomy must be struck that $6408 \times 4 = 25,632$ years, gives 50" annual precession [62]. Hence we know why 1461, 4947, 6408 are preserved in the Patriarchal table. Sufficient for general use. 1460-1 reminded one of 365-day years, when equinoxes and solstices fell on fête days dependent thereon, and hence position of year in Sothiac cycle [63]. The 4800-4947 facilitated new-moon calculations, and per Sothiac cycle, the same in the vague year. When observation gave a departure point to the world-year, it gave the exact position of the Sun in the Zodiac for past and future time.

The Sothiac genealogical column is really the only valuable Hebrew one; the other two may be a play of numbers, Oriental fashion, as their offspring the Cabala, which sup-

poses secrets in the numerical values of the letters of the Patriarchs' names [64].

IX.—THE NUMBER OF HENOKH ('ENOCH), 365.

Is there a special reason for 65 + 300? As his name is the "consecrated one," it may allude to the introducer of a new astronomical period. It led the scribes (Babylon Captivity—Birth of Christ) to an astronomical origin thereof. The countless Enoch legends produced, 150 B.C., the apocalyptic Book of Enoch, which makes him an angel-taught astronomer, knowing all about celestial mechanics. Bunsen's idea (Bibelwerk, v, 308) is a personified astronomy, and the ratios of solar to lunar years were attributed to him. This we can confirm by an old Egyptian chronological problem, coincident with the Patriarch table. But first we must fix the date of Enoch's existence. Since the introduction of Seth and Enos in the table, which probably occurred about King Josiah's time, the primitive table may be considered highly archaic, when the real date of the Hebrew Exodus [65] was still remembered, coinciding with and not-easily-forgotten Sothiac period. The great change in the Hebrew chronology, temp. Solomon, in the text and the LXX, arose from wishing the Hebrews to participate in the Hyksos' (Shepherd-kings of Palestine) rule over Egypt, placing the servitude and Exodus of the one with the expulsion of the other. With 1322 B.C. to start with, we get this chronology to time of Enoch. Premising that the importance of numbers here is not historical, but in the deduced idea what was *then* considered of this linkage.

Mosaic Exodus to Jacob's Entry in Egypt	430 years	Drach 430
To Abraham's entry to Canaan ..	21 „	(sic) 215
Patriarchs to Shem	36 „	(sic) 365
Shem, 100, Noah, 600	700 „	700
Lamech 182, Methuselah 187, Enoch 65	434 „	434
French MS. makes 2144, but this ..	1621 „	true 2144

Shem had originally 100 or 102 in Hebrew, Babylonian, Egyptian registers, else only 2 years are excluded; but 100,

else Noah was thought too old at 600 to procreate, when others were fathers from æt. 52 to 65 [67].

$2144 + 1322 = 3466$ (3465 Julian) B.C. [66] Enoch lived B.C. 3465 to B.C. 3100, mean B.C. 3282-3. Bunsen tells us of this date's importance in Egyptian chronology (Egypt's Place, iv, p. 412, ex German, Cotterel.) in these words:—"The learned generally believed [now certain from Decree of Canopus] that before Augustus (really Euergetes I) Egyptian calendars had no intercalary year or months; their vague year gradually penetrated deeper into tropic year. Eratosthenes [68], 200 years before Augustus, saying fête of Isis occurred to him in the autumn equinox, more anciently at *vernal* equinox—are explicable by the $\frac{1}{4}$ -day tropical excess. But as the 12 months of the 365-days year were attached to definite seasons, we can infer the exact epoch of solar year each month should indicate. Egyptians had 3 seasons of 4 months of 30 days, Tetramenios; at end of 12th month the 5 supplementary days. These, commencing with month Thot, are called seasons of sprouting, of harvest, of waters. (Hieroglyph [69]. M. Brugsch has contested this; but even with De Rougé against Champollion, the question is not yet settled.) Rise of Nile has always begun at Syene at summer solstice. Herodotus, to present time, shows it is highest 100 days after, say 21-22 June, or somewhat before October 1; after some time keeping up its level it decreases. Beginning of October in Upper Egypt, and middle of October in the Delta, grain is sown, and 120 to 125 days after inundation grain sprouts—end of October. Hence sprouting season, November to February; harvest, March to June; waters, July to October. Table of seasons, Toth, Toby, Pachon. As 1st Thot fell on 25th October when first named, astronomers (Biot and Champollion) found when it happened in this manner:—"Anciently 1505 solar years equalled 1506 of 365 days. Coincidence at 275 B.C., 1780 B.C., 3285 B.C. Monuments prove it anterior to Ptolemies, uninterrupted to early dynasties before 1780 B.C. *i.e.*, mathematically 3285 B.C.'" So far Bunsen.

Hence civil and natural calendar coincided only once, 3285-82 B.C., when Sothis's heliacal rising occurred in summer solstice (1 Pachon). Lepsius prefers 3282 [70], an epoch for

1 Pachon of Sothis. Hence from this date 365-days year was introduced for civil use. Compare Enoch's 3282-3 above, and his 365 years, showing many common points between Hebrews and Egyptians.

X.—COINCIDENCE OF HEBREW AND EGYPTIAN STARTING-POINTS OF CHRONOLOGY.

Syncellus-Manetho has in a (lost) history [71], whereof we have only the royal lists and some extracts, valued at 3555 years (3553 Julian) the duration of this empire from Menes to end of XXXth Dynasty, the basis of Lepsius and Lieblein's chronology. Dynasty XXX ended 340 B.C., making Menes' reign begin 3892-3 B.C.; beyond this is mythology, reign of heroes and gods. With 1322 B.C., we found Enoch's era begins 3466 B.C.; add other genealogy to Adam inclusive ($162 + 65 + 70 + 130 = 427$) we get 3892-3 B.C. (3891 Julian), where Patriarch table opens history of mankind; another proof of the table. Author seriously looked at duration of Egypt's rule; of a people calling itself the most ancient in the world.

XI.—SOME OTHER PARTICULARS OF THE TABLE.

Sothiac $1461 = 600 + 861$. 600 = Babylonian Ner; $861 = 4 \times 215$, which as $2 \times 215 = 430$ (Egyptian Captivity) often occurs. Every 861st year first day of lunar year retards by a full month of 30 days in civil calendar. Even *now* differing below $63\frac{1}{2}$ minutes! $\frac{1460}{2} = \text{Noah } 600 + \text{Adam } 130$. Between Enoch and Noah are 369 years, so divided that Methuselah (187) + Enoch (65) = 252 = Lamech (182) + (70) Canaan, evidencing another secret idea of tracing-line to origin of our species; but we expect more from this key of antique chronology, as witness of Faith in Directive Wisdom of the world. Hence the Patriarch table is a worthy pendant to Genesis table of nations.

XII.—THE SEPTUAGINT AND EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

Alexander's sword brought to Egypt Greek kings, Greek civilization, affluence of Jews; who rivalled the Greeks

in successful commerce, became adepts in Greek literature, and would have rivalled the most illustrious Greek literati had not other causes prevented it. The Jews found in the Egyptian monuments and records only their own defeats and humiliations; but no trace of their success, no elevation of Joseph, acts of Moses, Hebrew Exodus and its miracles. Egyptian folk-books spoke of these Jews as a leprous horde, conducted by a renegade priest, and supported by Palestinian strangers, expelled from Egypt under Amenophis, explaining Jewish repugnance to these annals. But these annals spoke with less hatred of the Hebrews; related Semitic hordes whose Hyksos chiefs had anciently invaded and subdued Egypt for many centuries [72, 73]. Like the Jacobite son of Heber, as witness Hebron, in Palestine, built by them when sending their avantgarde to Egypt; and [74] Avaris, the great citadel they founded or repaired after invading the Delta, and their last Egyptian stronghold. As Egypt lore made the Jews either the disdained lepers, or of the honoured Hyksos tribe, they chose the latter. Vide Josephus against Apion; also the alliance in the second century B.C.; supposed source whence Egyptian history was first investigated by an Alexandrian Jew. Therefore the LXX attached their own [75] old Hebrew history to the Hyksos period, which alone explains their variant numbers. Manetho lived in the time of the LXX. He wrote a Greek history of Egypt, supposed by royal order (Ptolemy Philadelphus, temp. LXX). We know no more of this connection. Did the LXX see Manetho's finished work? Probably not, as they are silent on the 3555 years' duration of the kingdom. At this time foreigners could acquire Egyptian literature; but as their king-lists were controverted amongst themselves, made *one* most probable which was at the disposal of the LXX, and their chronological results coincided independently with Manetho's list, as preserved by Julius Africanus.

A.—ARCHAIC HISTORY OF PHARAOH'S KINGDOM.

Of Manetho's five books the first extends from Menes to end of XIth Dynasty. Before the human Menes, gods ruled the country. The LXX, penetrated with the idea of Egypt's

unaltered chronology, valued Creation to Deluge in accordance with this archaic portion [76, 77], as Egypt was part of Eden, and the Nile was the Gihon [78]. The antediluvian men of renown, the tyrants who built the Pyramids, were as detested by the Egyptian mind, from the fulness of extortion, to heap these mountains of worked stones on their ashes [79] (Gen. vi, 4). The LXX therefore made this verse, *γγιάντες οἱ ἀπ αἰῶνος οἱ ἀδρῶοι οἱ ονομαστοί*.

The close connection of Babylon's traditional deluge and final period of Egypt's first ages proves that the beginning of mediæval Egypt (Manetho, book ii) finds the Pharaohs, instructed by an awful experience, not desirable to be renewed [80], to begin the astounding regulation of their river Nile, whose sources were supposed to be the "fountains of the abyss" which opened at the great deluge. This archaic history had no relations with other peoples; the same for mediæval history. The Mediterranean nations, and Asiatic ones to the Indus, excepting Babylon and Assyria, had no regnal annals. But the exploration lands seem to have been disclosed to Egypt in XVIIIth Dynasty through Toutmosis's valour, and the LXX could not have sought comparative chronology above this era. Since the Egyptians were not unanimous about their dynasties being contemporaneous, the LXX naturally adopted for the regnal duration of these periods the idea (re-asserted by M. Mariette) that the dynasties were uninterrupted and non-contemporaneous. Comparative list:—

EGYPTIAN NUMBERS.			SEPTUAGINT.		
Dynasty	I.	263 years	Adam	....	230
"	II.	302 "	Seth...	....	205
"	III.	214 "	Enos	....	190
"	IV.	284 "	Kanan	....	170
"	V.	218 "	Mahaleel	....	165
"	VI.	198 "	Jared	....	162
"	VII.	70 days	Enoch	....	165
"	VIII.	146 years	Methuselah	....	187
"	IX.	409 "	Lamech	...	188
"	X.	185 "	Noah to Deluge	....	600
"	XI.	43 "			
		2262 years.			2262

Produced by adding 100 years each, Adam to Enoch inclusive, and 6 to Lamech; thus it was not a haphazard calculation, but a planned concordance for each individual Patriarch. Hence the LXX's antiquity of world before Deluge corresponded to the accredited regal list of Egypt for the archaic part of Egypt's history.

B.—EGYPT'S MEDLÆVAL HISTORY: DELUGE TO HEBREW EXODUS.

A period of great upsetting. Begins splendidly, except fall of XIIth Dynasty. Then the Semites conquer, till Amosis (founder XVIIIth Dynasty) and his successors expelled them, and raised Egypt to great power. Supposing Shem inserted (100 or 102 years), with age attributed to next member, we obtain:—

EGYPTIAN NUMBERS.			SEPTUAGINT.			
Dynasty XII.	160 years		Shem ....	....	....	102
„ XIII.	453 „		Arphaxad	....	....	135
„ XIV.	184 „		Kanan	....	....	130
„ XV.	284 „		Selah	....	....	130
„ XVI.	511 „		Heber	....	....	134
„ XVII.	151 „		Peleg	....	....	130
„ XVIII unto	34 „		Reu ....	....	....	132
Toutmosis Ame-			Serug	....	....	130
nophis 13, Ka-			Nahor	....	....	179
bres 13.			Terah	....	....	70
			Departure of Abraham	} 75		
			from Haran			
			Jacob enters Egypt			215
			Mosaic Exodus			215
1777			1777			

The LXX place Hebrew Exodus at beginning of Toutmosis. Cf. Manetho on Shepherd-kings (Josephus), apparently mostly true [81]: last battle of these kings and evacuation of Egypt under common reign of Toutmosis and his Queen (Avaris conquered by Amosis); hence LXX's Exodus occurred with fall of Hyksos. Interval from Deluge to Abraham's Call is 465 years (Heb.), 1347 (LXX). Arphaxad

to Serug are increased at 100 years; a second Kenan, unknown to Hebrew, introduced 130 years; Nachor's age increased 150 years. Abraham's Call to Exodus (Hebrew, $215 + 430 = 645$; LXX, $215 + 215 = 430$ years). This was done that all the glories of the Hebrews (Joseph's rise, &c.) should occur whilst their kindred, Hyksos, governed Egypt, to render these more plausible. By this "cooking" (Fr. scinder) the Bible was made more concordant [82]; few generations were born in Egypt; and Joseph's death was placed (v. Lieblein, XVIIIth Dynasty) [83] a little before the Hyksos were restricted to the Delta, when the indigenous stronger hostile XVIIIth Dynasty came to power. The vocation of the liberator Moses occurred when XVIIIth Dynasty was at its summit—exact agreement. As Manetho's limiting king Amenemenes is a sole dynasty, we have excluded him from this calculation.

C.—INTERVAL TO FALL OF EGYPTIAN INDEPENDENCE.

Toutmosis began to reign (Lieblein, Monumts.) 1456 B.C. Exclude XXIInd and XXVth Dynasties, and keep to Manetho's numbers; these two dynasties are daily proved to be contemporaneous with others. Surprising agreement of Egypt from Menes, and LXX from Adam, valid to the end—great proof of Lieblein's chronology to beginning of XVIIIth Dynasty. During this epoch the LXX had contemporaneous history. Egypt's annals did not forget the Pharaoh's name who sacked Jerusalem under Rehoboam or Necho's expedition.

This period is better fixed, the LXX could be well aware, if Dynasties XXII and XXV were to be discarded.

EGYPTIAN NUMBERS.		LXX NUMBERS.	
Toutmosis	70	Exodus to Solomon's	} 440
Amenophis	31	Temple	
Horus	37	Solomon	 36
Acheres	32	Rehoboam	... 17
Rathes	6	Abijah	... 3
Carried forward	— 176	Carried forward	— 496

EGYPTIAN NUMBERS.		LXX NUMBERS.	
Brought forward	176	Brought forward	 496
Chebres	12	Asa	 41
Acheres	12	Jehosaphat	 25
Amesses	5	Joram	 8
Rameses	1	Ahaziah	 1
Amenophis	19	Athaliah	 6
Dynasty XVIII—	225	Joash	 40
" XIX	209	Amaziah	 29
" XX	135	Azariah	 52
" XXI	114	Jotham	 16
" XXIII	89	Ahaz	 16
" XXIV	6	Hezekiah	 29
" XXVI	151	Manasseh	 55
" XXVII	124	Amon	 2
" XXVIII	6	Josiah	 31
" XXIX	20	Jehoahaz	 $\frac{1}{4}$
" XXX	38	Jehoakim	 11
		Jehoachin	 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Zedekiah	 11
			869
		Ruin of Jerusalem to	} 248
		Fall of Egypt	
			1117 years.
	1117 years.		

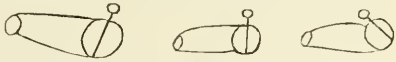
Here LXX's only deviation is first number, 440 for 480 (Heb.), for concordance ; placed in troublous Hebrew times of legends ; no chronological linkage when Judges ruled Hebrew people.

FRENCH TRANSLATOR'S NOTES AS NUMBERED IN TEXT.

- [1]. Biography of Berosus, ex Lübker's Real. Lexikn., fl., Ptol. II.
- [2]. Exod. xiii, 14.
- [3]. Gen. xi, 2.
- [4]. Gen. xi, 31. כרן written *Caran* in French.
- [5]. Gen. xii, 10.
- [6]. People Table is Gen. x, and ch. v is Old Patriarch Table.
- [7]. Etym. Sothiac Cycle, Dict. Littré.
- [8]. Gen. ii, 8.
- [9]. Dan i, 17; not 7, French.
- [10]. Lübker, Biog. Philo.
- [11]. Lübker on Josephus.
- [12]. Lübker, Ptol. Philad.
- [13]. Imperious necessity for LXX, as Hellenising Jews forgot Hebrew.
- [14]. Table, Osterwald's Bible, 1866; of Patriarchs, Heb.; LXX and Vulgate, and Osterwald; but "Noë" makes S. M. D. think this is a French list.
- [15]. Var. in Greek Cod. Division A in favour of 2262.
- [16]. Solar year explained elementarily (Littré, Dict.).
- [17]. Synodic ditto.
- [18]. Nicolas Fréret, Wiegand's Convers. Lexik.
- [19]. Semitic (Littré, Dict.).
- [20]. Bunsen obscure. Samaritan makes death-year of Lamech = year of Deluge; LXX, obit 35 years before. Prefer Zunz's Masoretic Bible. Hebrew, Samaritan, and Zunz agree Methuselah dies in Deluge-year.
- [21]. World-year of 600 years (Littré, Dict.).
- [22]. Lunar year (ditto).
- [23]. "Seven days of Creation," a style of expression. Better drop auxiliary phrases if leading to false ideas.
- [24]. 299, Bunsen. $4328 + 550$, printer's or author's error. Re-place (Methusela) Hebrew 969 by Samaritan 720, therefore $4878 - (969 - 720 = 249) = 4629$. $4629 - 4328 = 301$, not 299.

- [25]. Another error, $4878 = 7$ epochs; really $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8, not six, vide 24.
- [26]. Gen. iv, 17.
- [27]. Gen. iv, 16.
- [28]. "Type of man reposing in God," not exact translation of German.
- [29]. Bunsen's complete result stated, "Man's type *eternally* reposing in God."—Not in Heb. text.—S. M. D.
- [30]. Ezra, A.M. 3530 = B.C. 458 (3988 C.Æ.—S. M. D.).
- [31]. Nehemiah, 3564 A.M. + 424 B.C. = 3988.—S. M. D.
- [32]. Buns. Vollst. Bibel. v. 3d. Ausfüh. p. 308-9, as in ch. v of this Mem.
- [33]. Ref. Gen. xxxi, 19, Teraphim; Laban, brother of Isaac (qy. Rebecca!—S. M. D.)
- [34]. Exod. xxxii, 3, 4, 5; Zunz's translation.
- [35]. Judges viii, 24, 27; not 29, French.
- [36]. 1 Sam. xix, 13, 14. Teraphim were domestic divinities of the Hebrews.
- [37]. Rydberg, Swedish, "Jehovah Worship by the Hebrews before Babylonian Captivity," says "Jeroboam at beginning of reign erected two calf-temples; had this been a novelty there would have been a conservative opposition; thus we understand why the reforming prophets of Judah declaimed against it."
- [38]. 1 Kings xi, 5, 6, 7.
- [39]. Amos v, 26.
- [40]. Acts vii, 43.
- [41]. Euhemeros (Lübker, Real Lexik.) Biography.
- [42]. Bunsen (Voll.Bibelw., v.306), striking analogy of Enosh and Adam; Enosh ancient form of Isch איש (contracted singular), plural אנשים, common for man, as Adam. Adam originally from the brown colour of primitive man, red earth (אדמה אדם): Enosh, from force = as (Egypt) = is (Greck) = vis (Latin) = vir, 'man,' *Apes* Greek.
- [43]. Jehovistic list for clearness: Seth is added to ch. iv Gen., perhaps posteriorly.
- [44]. Explains heliacal rising.
- [45]. Syene, cataracts or rapids, stream contracted to 30

mètres. Last of the four rapids (El Kebir) by isles Philoé, Beghé.

- [46]. Biot's recherches sur l'année vague des Egypt, p. 57; quoted by Bunsen in *Ægyptens Stelle*, p. 50. Astronomical proof of 3285 B.C.; but French puts this date in red ink.
- [48]. Etymology of Epagomenai.
- [49]. Tropical year $365\frac{1}{4}$; vague 365 days.
- [50]. Bunsen as author, quoted, *Ægypt*, pp. 59, Valery, Porphyry, Aratus sch.
- [51]. Lübker's Ptolemy Euergetes I.
- [52]. Bunsen (*Ægypt. Stelle*) on true name of Menophtah Liebl. *Egypt, Chron.* Christiania, 1873, p. 136.
- [53]. Manetho (Lübker).
- [54]. Author's aim is 1461, not the individual ages.
- [55]. Turanian (Littré, Dict. Touranien, Nord altaïque).
- [56]. Chaldean 60 soss, 600 ner; 3600 sar (Ideler p. 78; Buns. Voll. Bibel. v. 320).
- [57]. French improves reasoning. $618\frac{3}{8}$ years = 600 years, hence 8 is factor. $618\frac{3}{8} \times 8 = 4947$.
- [58]. Explains Jubilee, יובל not יובל (Littré, Dict.).
- [59]. Golden age, &c.
- [60]. Platonic age, 25, 600 (Littré, Dict.).
- [61]. Equinox, &c., explained (Littré, Dict.).
- [62]. Important note of M. Boitard on precession's effect in 25,868 years on Paris. Now $48^{\circ} 26'$ lat., in 6467 years $37^{\circ} 13' N.$, in 12,934 years $25^{\circ} 46' N.$, then go northward; 3 diagrams, *small*,  —Nutation used for precession.—S. M. D. Geological results of polar ice, in blue and red fringes, like solar corona. Three large diagrams. Regularity of geological deposits; 12 catastrophes.
- [63]. Explains Neomenia.
- [64]. *Cabala*, קבל.—Europe, *hands down*; Orient, *receives*.—S. M. D.
- [65]. *Exodus* explained: only immigration for emigration.
- [66]. Littré's Julian Calendar.

- [67]. Discussion on Shem's age, 187 (not 152, author).—
Jewish Tradition, Gen. vii, 7: Why did Noah's wife
enter ark *after* her sons? Proof that sexes were
separated. human and brute, to avoid increase of the
crew and diminution of provisions during Deluge;
for that reason Shem's wife probably did not conceive
Arphaxad till *after* they were *settled* on post-diluvian
earth.—S. M. D.
- [68]. Eratosthenes, Biogr. Did he not measure *geodetically*
the earth?
- [69]. Bunsen's Hieroglyph Season Signs, frontispiece copied.
- [70]. Cf. 47; Lepsius, 3282 B.C.
- [71]. Syncellus, Biogr. Wiegand Conv. Lex., Greek quot.
and translation, p. 98; Lieblein, p. 3; 3535 years.
- [72]. Gen. x, 21, 24.—Why גַם הוּא and not גַם-לֹו?—
S.M.D.
- [73]. Numb. xiii, 23.
- [74]. Discussion on Hebron of Palestine. Hieroglyphs of
Han(b)ar, Lieb. p. 98.—Cf. Boston, England and U.S.A.
S. M. D.
- [75]. Apion (Lübke).
- [76]. Gen. ii, 13; Bunsen, v. 46, says it was *Araxes*. כּוּשׁ
kos, not כּוּשׁ *kush*.
- [77]. Gen. vi, 4. Greek and Hebrew, with translation.
- [78]. Gen. vi, 13.
- [79]. Gen. v, 15.
- [80]. Gen. viii, 2.
- [81]. Josephus; Manetho; (Bunsen, Ægypt. iv, 13).
- [82]. Exod. vi, 16. Levi 3, Generat. Kehath, Amram, Moses.
- [83]. Liebl. Chron. List of Dynasties reproduced. In full
5332 years. Contemp. IX, X, XI, XIII, XVI, XXII,
XXV Amenemes, 1777 = 5332 — 3555, Syncellus.
- [84]. 2 Kings xiv, 25, 26.
- [85]. 2 Kings xxiii, 29–33.
- [86]. 1 Kings vi, 1.

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY S. M. DRACH TO MR. RYDBERG'S
PAPER.

I refer the reader to Mr. Proctor's (F.R.A.S.) book on Saturn, at the beginning of which work are some simple geometric diagrams, proving that from the observed number of days between oppositions, retrogradations, &c., of planet, the *archaic ancients* could have derived the Copernican revolution-periods thereof.

As a pendant to Mr. Rydberg's paper, I computed from Herschel (1835) and Maedler's (1841) Astronomy, the number of planetary synodic periods in a SOTHIS-period of 1460 Julian years, and a NER-period of 600 Julian years, giving these interesting results:—

Aut.	Planet.	SYNODIC PERIOD. 1 year is 365 days.			SOTHIS PERIOD. 533,265 days.	NER of 219,150 days.
		year.	days.	hours.		
H.	Mercury × 5	1	214	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	4602 less 1 day	1891 $\frac{1}{6}$ plus 4 days
H.	Venus ..	1	218	22 $\frac{1}{12}$	913 $\frac{1}{4}$ exact	375 $\frac{1}{3}$ less 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ dys
M.	Mars ..	2	50	0	683 $\frac{2}{3}$ plus 5 days	281 less 30 days
M.	{ 3 Asteroids .	1	103	20	1137 $\frac{1}{2}$ less 33 days	467 $\frac{1}{2}$ less 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ days
	{ with Vesta..	1	112	16	1116 $\frac{1}{3}$ plus 30 days	458 $\frac{2}{3}$ plus 21 days
M.	Jupiter ..	1	33	22	1336 $\frac{4}{5}$ less 7 days	550 $\frac{5}{6}$ less 4 days
M.	Saturn ..	1	13	2	1410 $\frac{1}{2}$ less 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ days	579 $\frac{2}{3}$ less 12 days

Here the mean of 5-Mercury and Venus is 216 $\frac{2}{3}$ days beyond the year (215 Hebrew base number). The tropical year retards (at 11 minutes 13 seconds per annum) 11 days 8 hours 56 minutes in a Sothis and 4 days 16 hours 10 minutes in a Ner period. Venus (Ishtar) has Seth's number 913; three asteroids is $\frac{9100}{5}$. The Bunsen-Rydberg 550 is in Jupiter-NER. On applying to the Egyptian $25 \times \frac{3}{2} \frac{6}{9} \frac{5}{9}$ month 29 days 12 hours 44 minutes 16.2 seconds, the secular acceleration of 11" (Laplace) and 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (Prof. Adams), I found this lunation occurred 1000 B.C. (L.), or 2200 B.C. (A.), or 28

and 40 centuries before 1800 C.Æ. If this difference ($13\frac{1}{2}^s$) be applied to Rydberg's 389 B.C. (57 centuries before the present), the difference rises to $(\frac{57}{8})^2 \times 13\frac{1}{2}$, or 56^s (L.) and $(\frac{57}{8})^2 \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ or $27^s.5$, to be added to the present 29 days 12 hours 44 minutes 2.7 second, or an error between $\frac{1}{41000}$ and $\frac{1}{80000}$. Six times the great inequality of Jupiter-Saturn of 930 years (5580), brings 3892 B.C., to 1688 C.Æ. and 3780 B.C. to 1800 C.Æ.

Note that 3892 exceeds the Rabbinical 3761 A.M. by 131 (Adam's number). Submultiples of 215 are $\frac{3}{5} = 129$; $\frac{3}{10} = 64\frac{1}{2}$; $\frac{3}{4} = 161\frac{3}{4}$; $\frac{6}{7} = 184\frac{2}{7}$; $930 = 186 \times 5$; $910 = 182 + 5$; $365 + 600$; all Patriarchal numbers.

The average of our lunar year (354 days 8 hours 48 minutes 32 seconds) and tropic year (365 days 5 hours 48 minutes 47 seconds) being 359 days 19 hours 18 minutes 40 seconds, is very close to 360 days, the original archaic year. That *Enoch* means consecration (human) is proved by this word **הַנִּזְנֶה** being used by the present Jews when entering a new or renovated house or synagogue. Kadsh (**קדש**) being reserved for things offered to God, except in the marriage formula hallowing the bride (**מקדש**) to her bridegroom.

For the meaning of Adam, Ludolf's Ethiop. Grammar, thinks it is the Ethiopic Adama (grace, beauty); curiously similar to the Greek *Cosmos*, and Latin *Mundus*. Count de Gebelin's *Monde Primitif* makes Adam the *husband-man* of the *cultivated* earth, reproducing its vegetation thereby; and coupling Ish and Isha (perhaps Enosh and Enosha **אִנְשָׁה**?).

Iarchi and Aben Ezra suppose that the giants, N'philin (*auffallend*) "giants," struck ordinary men by their stature; and that the sons of Elohim were really the sons of the Judges; an old edition of the Appius-Virginia case.

From the Deluge to the death of Jacob are 599 years: Terah's extra 40 years (70 less 30) brings Abraham's birth to 292 years, or $\frac{4}{5}$ of 365 after the Deluge.

The superpointed eleven letters, Deut. xxix, 29, are numerically 2310 (1451 B.C.!) and those of Gen. xxxiii. 4, **יִשְׁקָרָה** 427 (Egyptian captivity). Is Remphan, Acts vii, 43, Ra-mpha **רַעֲמָפָה**?

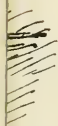
Six hundred tropical years, if equal to 7420 months, gives lunation 29 days 12 hours 49 minutes 33 seconds, only possible if antediluvian earth rotated faster on her axis; with our 44 minutes 3 seconds there remain 28 days 8 hours 9 minutes.

Why did the Bible-texters not give the important totals? and were the primitive after-life ages; already increased by an even number of centuries, to obtain the 4947?

Rev. Mr. Garbett (Phil. Soc. Glasgow, 1873, On "Metral Reform") observed that 60 is by far the best factor for reducing of denominations.¹

¹ Biot's, 1505 = $7 \times 5 \times 43$.





⑤

Y X E L M

⑥

W Y H I
 * Y I *
 * Y I *
 * Y I *

②

W X T M * Y # H Y E O P I X O
 * T * Y H I * M O M O P
 * T O X O * * * Y #

③

M I * E M T
 * H Y O T Y *
 W H E L T E

①

H Y M Z T X I = V
 H H I I T

十 三 五

六 七 八

ΣΤΑΖΗ ΠΑΙ

ΤΥΧΗΙΑΓΑΘΗ

Μ Θ Α Τ Υ · Ψ Ψ Δ † Ψ Ψ

*

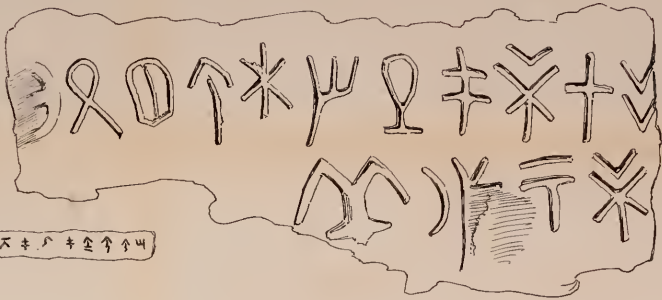
ΗΙΑΘΗΛ ΝΑΝ ΘΗΜ

Σ Α Γ Τ Υ · Ψ Μ Α † † Ξ Ψ

Α Γ * Ψ Η Ω * * *



②



①

石 牛 谷 不 天 一 石 牛 尸 牛 金 今 今 山

③



The omission of the ν , and the genitive in ω , are peculiarities of the Cypriote dialect which have already been pointed out by German and other philologists. Prof. Moriz Schmidt, of Jena, in his learned treatise on the Cypriote Inscriptions,¹ page 60, gives the word $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$, from previous texts, exactly as we see it on the armlets.

I have not been able to find the name $\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ in any of my books of reference, and I cannot say whether it is given in Pape's Dictionary of Greek Proper Names, for no one here has a copy of it: other names of which $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ is the first component part are not wanting; for we have Etearch, Eteocles, Eteonicus, &c.

In the actual stage of Cyprian palæography, it would be hazardous to fix a date to the inscription from the form of the letters, &c., but there is reason to believe that the texts which read from left to right are among the earliest; from this, and the character of some of the objects found along with the armlets, I am inclined to think that our inscription belongs to the 5th century before the Christian era.

P.S.—Jan., 1876. In sending me the proof of the foregoing short article for correction, the President of the Society of Biblical Archæology writes:—

“You should bear in mind that there was a king of Cyprus in the days of Assurbanipal, B.C. 620, who bore the name of Ituander or Ithyandros; and that he was king of Pappu or Paphos. Might he be the monarch whose bracelets have been found? He is mentioned by Mr. Smith in his article in the North British Magazine, 1870, page 329, as one of the kings of Cyprus who rendered homage to Assurbanipal during the march upon Egypt.”

I record, with thanks, the suggestion of my esteemed correspondent; and I think there can be no question as to its aptness and validity: the identity is complete.—D. P.

¹ Die Inschrift von Idalion, und das Kyprische Syllabar. Jena, 1874.

II.

FEW and short are the new inscriptions which follow ; but as the subject continues to attract attention, I may be excused for offering another meagre instalment.

For the facility of reference, I shall follow a progressive number, taking into account the two inscriptions which formed the matter of my previous notices.

No. 3.

From Paphos: a slab, breadth, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; thickness, 2 inches; surface much worn. This and the other inscriptions contained in the present paper read from right to left, including the *impression* of the seal. The originals of Nos. 3 to 5 are in my possession.

PLATE A—1.

Υ Ϝ ϙ Ϟ ϟ Ϡ ϡ Ϣ ϣ

mi- e - se - ra - pa - ku - si - na - o

Ὀνασικύπρας ἡμί.

The second line is illegible; only one character can be identified, that under the fourth (from the right) of the first line—it is ϙ *pa*.

No. 4.

From Poli-tis-Chrysochou (ancient Arsinoë, according to Engel and others). Stela of the common calcareous stone of the island: breadth, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches; thickness, 6 inches; actual measurement from top to bottom, 9 inches, has been sawed for easier removal, and only the inscribed part brought to Larnaca.

PLATE C—2.

Ϟ ϡ Ϣ ϣ ϟ Ϡ ϡ Ϣ ϣ ϥ Ϧ

mo-ro-mo-ti - a - se-ra-pa-ku-lo-pi

Φιλοκύπρας ἁ τιμωρώμω.

Υ ϟ ϡ ϟ

mi- e - na - ku

γυνά ἡμι.

Philokypros and Onasikypros both occur in the Bronze Tablet of Idalion; in the above inscriptions we see their feminine forms; but the question arises whether we have before us the genitive *Ὀνασικύπρας*, *Φιλοκύπρας*, or the nominative *Ὀνασικυπράς*, *Φιλοκυπράς*. I think that *Φιλο* (*Ὀνασι*)*κύπρα*, is more in conformity with the rules for the formation of the gender than *Φιλο*(*Ὀνασι*)*κυπράς*; but then if my reading of inscription No. 4 be correct, the name and the position of the woman therein mentioned are in two different cases, still, as inscriptions are not always free from errors, I should be inclined to pass over this syntactical difficulty, and to consider the names as being in the genitive, especially as another similar inscription (No. 6) has the man's name in the same case; and in further support of this opinion, I might add the remark, that the nominative preceded or followed by *εἰμί* is sometimes used in connection with a *statue*, whilst these stones are evidently sepulchral; but I prefer leaving the question open for final settlement by more competent authority, or by the discovery of other inscriptions.

Τιμόρωμος. The last character of the first line is almost entirely erased; but after a very careful examination of the stroke that is left, I have come to the conclusion that the syllabic sign to which the said stroke belonged could not have been any other than $\oplus$ *mo*. *Pōmos* was the name of a Lycian hero,¹ and we have Siromos, king of Salamis (Cypri).²

No. 5.

From the same place as the last: shapeless fragment of loose sandstone, breadth, 13 inches; height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches—sunken border at the top; three sides nearly perfect, but the left broken; letters large but ill-formed.

The pitiful condition of this fragment will not allow of my doing much beyond registering its existence, and sending

¹ Pape-Beuseler, *Wört. der Griech. Eigennamen*, p. 1320.

² Engel; *Kypros I*, p. 265.

a paper cast; the reading appears to be from right to left, and here is an imperfect denotation of the characters:—

1st. <i>ti</i> or <i>ka</i> , but more likely <i>ti</i> .	} somewhat doubtful.	5th. <i>ti</i> .
2nd. <i>mo</i>		6th. unknown.
3rd. <i>ne</i>		7th. <i>upsilon</i> .
4th. <i>a</i>		

No. 6.

From a paper cast in my portfolio. I have no recollection of the stone, and ignore what has become of it. Judging from the construction of the “titulus,” I would say that it came from the western part of the island. The thirteen characters occupy a line of 10½ inches.

ⱶ ✱ Ɀ Ɀ Ɀ Ɀ Ɀ Ɀ Ɀ Ɀ Ɀ Ɀ Ɀ

mi- e -ne-mo-ti-o-te-to | ne-ro-do-o-te

Θεοδώρων τῷ Θεοτίμων ἡμί.

“I mark the grave of Theodoros son of Theotimos.”

The above names and that on the following seal appear for the first time in Cypriote texts, if I am not mistaken.

No. 7.

Gold seal: the stone bound in the same metal, and turning on pivots; representation: a mare suckling her foal, and over this the legend:—

PLATE C—4.

Ɀ Ɀ Ɀ Ɀ Ɀ ✱

o-ra-ko-ra-pa-ku

Κυπραγόραο.

Found, I believe, in the environs of Golgos, about three years ago, and sold to M. H. Hoffmann, of Paris.

III.

SOON after the departure of the fortnightly mail which carried my last paper, General di Cesnola had the kindness to place in my hands several small fragments of stone, and two of pottery, inscribed with Cypriote characters, and lately discovered by his workmen near Kythrea, one of the most important villages in the island.

One inscription, composed of three pieces, neatly cemented together by the General, is complete: it consists of 38 characters, in three lines; while the other fragments have from 2 to 20. They all read from right to left, and in general they do not appear to belong to many different periods: on some the action of fire is visible; and from their tenor we infer that a temple, dedicated to the Paphian Aphrodite, must have stood on the place where they were found. A Greek inscription, in elegant letters of the Macedonian era, was also disinterred from the same ruins.

Some modern writers on Cyprus think that Kythrea occupies the site, or nearly so, of the ancient town *Χύτροι*; others that of *Κυθήρη* or *Κυθέχεια*, mentioned by the Scholiast of Hesiod, by Constant. Porphyry, &c.—but the existence of this *Κυθήρη* or *Κυθέχεια* is not generally admitted; and the Cythera of Virgil and of Val. Flaccus is supposed to mean the island of Cythera (Cerigo). Regarding these controversies I must refer the inquirer to Engel¹ and to Sakellarios;² adding, however, that the inscriptions which follow may assist in bringing these points to a decision. It is true that no place is spoken of in our texts, but their evident connection with a temple, and the closer similarity of the modern name, to Cythera, than to Chytri, ought to have their due weight in the discussion; besides, it seems strange that Virgil should in the same verse speak of three celebrated shrines of Venus in Cyprus, and intend the fourth for that in the island near Cape Malea.

“Est Amathus, et celsa mihi Paphus, atque Cythera,
Idaliaeque domus.”—ÆNID.

¹ *Kypros*, vol. i, 147, 154.

² *Tà Κυπριακά*, vol. i, 191, Athens, 1855.

No. 8.

Stone tablet, six and a half inches by three inches in front; originally held by, or attached to, a statue; even at the top, and projecting inward at the bottom; recedes to the left at an angle slightly obtuse. Some of the other fragments of stone appear to have been parts of similar tablets.

PLATE A—2.

✱ ✱ F P ✱ √ ≠ P T T ✱ W T F Q S
e - i - to - se - a - pi - pa - se - ta - mi - e - mo - ti - to - ro - po

✱ T Q W W T T P T P S ☼
i - ta - ke - te - te - ka - mi - se - ka - se - vo - re

✱ T T Q S ✱ ✱ ✱ ☼ √ ≠
i - ta - ti - ro - po - a - i - a - . . . - pi - pa

Πρωτοτίμω ἡμί τᾶς Παφίας τῷ ἱε-
ρέως κάς μι κατέθηκε τᾷ
Παφίαι Ἀφροδίται.

The sixth character (from the right) in the second line I take to be *mi*, of a form slightly different from those we know; and *μι* seemingly stands for the enclitic *με*: compare the Sigeian inscription—καὶ μ' ἐποίησεν Αἴσωπος καὶ ἀδελφοί; and that of Nicocreon—στᾶσαν δ' Ἀργεῖοίμε: also the second line of the following inscription, No. 9.

In the third line (of No. 8), between the second and third letters, there is a damaged space, where probably a wrong character had been engraved, and afterwards erased.

Κατέθηκε: this word occurs in the inscription on Mr. Lang's Simpulum (Br. Museum). Dr. M. Schmidt read it *κατέθει*; Deecke-Siegismund, and Ahrens, *κατέθη*; but on a copy of Deecke and Siegismund's Treatise on the Cypriote Inscriptions, the valued gift of the lamented Siegismund, I find the due correction in his own hand; and the Kythrea Inscriptions, be it noted, were brought to light nearly two months after his untimely fate.

The name *Πρωτότιμος* appears now for the first time in Cypriote; nor is it to be found in Pape-Benseler.

No. 9.

Three inches by two inches.

PLATE A—3.

⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘
pa - se - (ta - o - te) - se - ta

⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘
te - ka - mi - ra - ta - u - a

⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘
se - mi - te - si - na - o

Tâs θεῶ τᾶς Πα(φίας ἡμί).
αὐτάρμι κατέ(θηκε).
᾽Ονασίθεμις (ὁ . . .).

᾽Ονασίθεμις: the name is new.

No. 10.

Three and a half inches by two and a half inches; broken diagonally.

PLATE A—4.

⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘
1. se - ta - o - te - se - ta

⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘
2. ra - ta - i - a

⌘ ⌘
3. mi - te

⌘
4. o -

Tâs θεῶ τᾶς; the rest is unintelligible. But this fragment serves to determine the word *θεῶ*, which is obliterated in No. 9. A curious feature is the ⌘, turned to the left.

No. 11.

Under this number are arranged the remaining (and shorter) fragments of inscriptions on stone.

PLATE A—5.

∩ ∩ ∩ ≠ ✕ ∩

a. ta - se - pa - pi - a - se

Tâs Παφίας.

b. ? pa - pi - a - se, *Παφίας.*

c. pa - o - (the second character probably by mistake for "pi") a - se. ditto.

d. se - pa - pi - a - se - e - mi (very faint, especially the two last characters), *Tâs Παφίας ἡμί.*

e. Part of pa - pi - a, *Παφία(s).*

f. a - pi - (of no consequence).

Most of these six fragments were originally of one line.

No. 12.

Two fragments of pottery: letters engraved.

a. se - pa - pi - a, (*Tâs Παφία(s).*)

b. ta - se - pa - pi, *Tâs Παφί(ας).*

Both originally of one line; on 12 *b* there is a space of three inches before the first character, from which it appears that the vessels were only inscribed with the two words *Tâs Παφίας*, simply showing that they belonged to the temple.

LARNACA, CYPRUS,

16th May, 1876.

NOTE.—Plate B is the facsimile of the Digraphic Inscription published in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. IV, p. 43. The Cypriote type has been added. There being no time for revision at Cyprus by M. Pierides; he is not responsible for any error that may have been made.—S. B.



ISHTAR AND IZDUBAR.

BEING

THE SIXTH TABLET OF THE IZDUBAR SERIES.

Translated from the Cuneiform

BY H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S.

Read 4th April, 1876.

THE original text of this remarkable tablet is lithographed in plate 48 of Vol. IV of *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, published by the British Museum.

The fifth Izdubar tablet appears to be mostly lost, but the end of its story occupies the first few lines of the sixth tablet, and therefore it is necessary briefly to advert to it.

One of the adventures of Odysseus related by Homer is his return to Ithaca disguised as a beggar. Izdubar, whose wanderings recall those of Odysseus, may have adopted some similar disguise, which he here throws off and resumes his royal rank. I have translated the first five lines according to their apparent meaning, but there is too little of the story left, to form any opinion what it was. The rest of the tablet is entirely disconnected from it. The words printed in italics are restorations, where the original text is effaced.

COLUMN I.

1. he had thrown off his tattered garments :
2. His pack of goods he had laid down from his back :
3. [*he had flung off*] his rags of poverty : and clothed himself in a dress of honour :
4. [*with a royal robe*] he covered himself :
5. and he bound a diadem on his brow.

6. Then Ishtar the queen lifted up her eyes to the throne of Izdubar :
 7. Kiss me, Izdubar ! she said : for I will marry thee !
 8. Let us live together, I and Thou, in one place
 9. thou shalt be my husband, and I will be thy wife.
 10. Thou shalt ride in a Chariot of lapis lazuli and gold
 11. whose wheels are golden and its pole resplendent.
 12. Shining bracelets thou shalt wear every day.
 13. By our house the Cedar trees in green vigour shall grow :
 - 14. and when thou shalt enter it
 15. [*suppliant*] crowds shall kiss thy feet !
 16. Kings, lords, and princes shall bow down before thee !
 17. The tribute of hills and plains they shall bring to thee as offerings :
 18. Thy flocks and thy herds shall all bear twins :
 19. Thy race of mules shall be magnificent :
 20. Thy [*triumphs*] in the chariot race shall be proclaimed without ceasing,
 21. and among the chiefs thou shalt never have an equal !
-
22. [*Then Izdubar*] opened his mouth and spoke,
 23. [*and said*] to Ishtar the Queen
 24. [*Lady ! full well*] I know thee by experience !
 25. Sad and funereal [*is thy dwelling place :*]
 26. Sickness and Famine [*surround thy path :*]
 27. [*False and*] treacherous is thy crown of divinity !
 28. [*Poor and worthless*] is thy crown of royalty !
 29. poison :
 30. [*many things*] I will omit,
 31. [*many deeds of cruelty*] and slaughter :
 32. [*Yes ! I have said it*] I know thee by experience !

And so on, through twelve more lines, which are greatly broken, to the end of Column I. I have restored in italics some of the fractured parts, but of course I cannot guarantee that it is done correctly.

The meaning of all this, (as appears quite plainly from the Second Column) is that Ishtar was, like Hecate in the Greek mythology, the queen of witchcraft the cruel, the merciless.

In Column II Izdubar goes on with his reproaches. "All that ever you have loved, you have next hated and destroyed : poisoned and bewitched ! And were I to marry you, you would treat me just as you have treated them !"

COLUMN II.

1. Wailings thou didst make
2. for Tarzi thy husband
3. (and yet) year after year with thy cups thou didst poison him !
4. Thou hadst a favourite and beautiful Eagle
5. thou didst strike him (with thy wand), and didst break his wings :
6. Then he stood fast in the forest, [only] fluttering his wings.
7. Thou hadst a favourite Lion, full of vigour :
8. thou didst pull out his teeth, seven at a time !
9. Thou hadst a favourite Horse, renowned in war :
10. He drank a draught, and with fever thou didst poison him :
11. Twice seven hours without ceasing
12. with burning fever and thirst thou didst poison him !
13. His mother the goddess Silili with thy cups thou didst poison.
14. Thou didst love the King of the Land
15. whom continually thou didst render ill with thy drugs
16. though every day he offered libations and sacrifices.
17. Thou didst strike him (with thy wand), and didst change him into a Leopard !
18. The people of his own City drove him out from it,
19. and his own dogs bit him to pieces !
20. Thou didst love a workman¹—a rude man of no instruction,
21. who constantly received his daily wages from thee
22. and every day made bright thy vessels.
23. In thy pot a savoury mess thou didst boil for him

¹ This incident is evidently introduced, in contrast with the last one, the royal lover, with the meaning that, "Thy love has been fatal to all alike : whether high or low : rich or poor."

24. (saying) "Come, my servant, and eat with us on the
Feast-Day
25. and give thy judgment on the goodness of our pot-
herbs"!
26. The workman replied to thee
27. Why dost thou desire to destroy me?
28. Mother! thou art not cooking!—I will not eat!
29. For, I should eat food bad and accursed
30. and the thousand unclean things thou hast poisoned it
with!
31. Thou didst hear that answer [*and wert enraged*]
32. Thou didst strike him (with thy wand), and didst change
him into a pillar;
33. and didst place him in the midst of the desert!
34. I have not yet said a crowd of things, many more I
have not added!
35. Lady! thou wouldst love ME—as thou hast done the
others!
-

36. Ishtar this [*speech listened to*]
37. and Ishtar was enraged and [*flew up*] to Heaven
38. Ishtar came into the presence of Ann [*her father*]
39. and into the presence of Annatu her mother she came.
40. O my Father, Izdubar has cast [*insults upon me*]—

Here ends Column II, and Column III being almost entirely destroyed, and Column IV nearly so, this part of the story of Ishtar remains isolated from the rest. Column V, which is well preserved, had therefore better be treated at another time, and as an independent subject.

There is a part of this curious tablet which deserves particular attention. I mean the lines 14 to 19 of Column II which relate the sad fate of a King whom Ishtar changed into a Leopard, "*and his own dogs bit him to pieces.*"

We see here beyond a doubt the ancient original of the Greek fable of Actæon and his dogs. That hero had offended Diana, who revenged herself by changing him into a stag when his dogs, no longer knowing their master, fell upon him and tore him to pieces. The great celebrity of this fable

may be judged of from the circumstance that Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (III, 206) has preserved the *names* individually of all the dogs, though there were no fewer than *thirty-five* of them.

The classical authors of Greece and Rome attribute the fate of the king to the vengeance of Diana, but our tablet ascribes it to the cruelty of Ishtar. This leads to the inquiry whether Ishtar was the Eastern name of Diana? or had similar attributes?

Now, the character of Ishtar was very multiform. She was Venus, the goddess of love. She closely resembles Diana of the Ephesians, the *Αρτεμις πολυμαστος* who typified Universal Nature, and was the great and universal mother.

But on the other hand, Ishtar was the goddess of war, *Εννω* of the Greeks, Bellona¹ of the Latins, for Assurbanipal addresses her in his prayer for succour: "O goddess of war! lady of battles!"² and when Esarhaddon was attacked by his enemies at a critical moment of his life, when his succession to the crown of his father was in danger, he says: "Ishtar, queen of war and battle stood by my side. She broke their bows. Their line of battle in her rage she destroyed."³

But in the tablet which we are now considering, Ishtar appears in a totally different character, as the Hecate of the Greeks, the queen of witchcraft—resembling Hecate in her funereal abode⁴, and in the potency of her magic drugs, equal to those of Circe and Medea.⁵ Indeed there is the

¹ At first sight this seems alien from the attributes of Venus, but the Greeks of Cythera worshipped an "armed Venus," (see Pausanias iii, 23). From this island she took her name of Cytherea.

² Transactions of this Society, vol. i, p. 347.

³ Records of the Past, vol. iii, p. 104.

⁴ Τα χθονία θ' Ἑκατα ταν και σκυλακες τρομεοντι
Ερχομεναν νεκρων ανα τ' ηρια και μελαν αιμα.

⁵ Χαϊρ' Ἑκατα δασπλητι, και ες τελος αμμιν οπαδει
φαρμακα ταυθ' ἑρδοισα χειρειονα μητε τι Κιρκης
μητε τι Μηδειης μητε ξανθης Περιμηδης.

Theocritus, Idyll. 2.

strongest resemblance between the Ishtar of this tablet, and those most renowned enchantresses. The kettle, or cauldron, or pot, filled with magic herbs reminds us of Medea, who on one occasion spent no less than nine days and nights in collecting herbs for her cauldron, visiting many lands for that purpose in her car drawn by dragons (see Ovid's *Metamorphoses* vii. 234). And Circe, in Homer, loves Ulysses (as here Ishtar does Izdubar), yet nevertheless transforms all his companions into swine as soon as they have tasted of her noxious viands.¹ Moreover Ishtar was the Full Moon, for which reason she was called the goddess *Fifteen* ➤✱ ✱✱, because the month consisting of thirty days the full moon was of course on the fifteenth day.

These different accounts of the goddess Ishtar seem perplexing in their diversity: but the theory is maintained by many scholars that all the great goddesses of antiquity were originally one, viewed in various lights. Their attributes when examined are found in reality to melt into each other. But the poets took care to keep them distinct, and to provide them with separate adventures, and the priests of various cities had likewise a great interest in individualising their own deities. Thus Ishtar of Arbela was by no means the same divinity as Ishtar of Nineveh.

Hecate was fabled to be the daughter of Asteria, which is merely a Greek form of the name of Ishtar, and varies at other times to Astaroth, Astarte, Astrateia, and Asterodia. Pausanias (iii, 25) mentions an *Αρτεμις Αστρατεία*, whose worship was brought to Greece from the East.

But to return to the story of Actæon which we thus find unexpectedly among the legends of the East.

The persistence of popular fables is a curious subject of contemplation. The Arabian Nights' Entertainments contain stories identical with some in Homer's *Odyssey*, and even in early semi-fabulous Greek history. In Egypt has been found a story—that of the “doomed Prince”—identical with one long known in Europe. In fact there was much greater

See *Odyssey*, book x.

literary inter-communication between distant nations in very ancient times than is commonly supposed.

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are several stories derived apparently from the Assyrian literature besides that of Pyramus and Thisbe, which he expressly states to be a tale of Babylon.

COLUMN I.

1.        
 ubbilu bili-su
 he had thrown off his worn-out garments

2. (  )     
 (subul) kimmat-zu elu
 his burden of goods he had lifted off

  
 tsiri-su
 his back

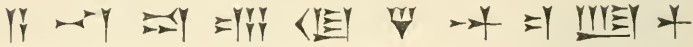
3. ( )       
 (iddu) rusuti-su ittalbisha
 he had cast away his poverty, he had clothed himself

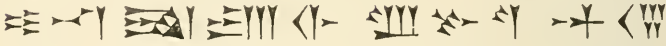
  
 zakuti-su
 (in) his dress of honour.

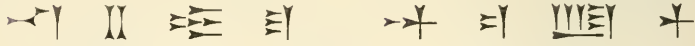
4. ( )      
 (sarti) ittakhliba-mma
 (with a royal robe) he covered himself

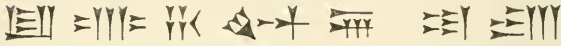
      
 rakish agu ikhri
 splendidly his diadem he

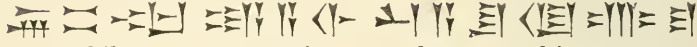
5. 
 Izdubar agu-su itibra-mma
Izdubar his diadem bound round his brows

6. 
 ana dunki sha Izdubar
to the couch of Izdubar

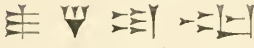

 ina ittasi rubut Ishtar
her eyes lifted the queen Ishtar

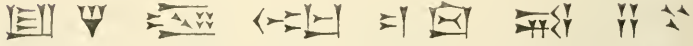
7. 
 nasikk-anma Izdubar
Kiss me! Izdubar!


 lu-khahir atta,
I will marry thee

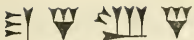
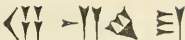
8. 
 sabika yaasi kasu ki uma
grant that I (and) thou dwell in same place

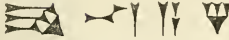
9. 
 atta lu muti-ma anaku lu
thou shalt be my husband and I will be

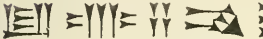

 ashat-ka
thy wife

10. 
 tipsa as eli rukubi abni zamat
thou shalt ride upon a chariot of stone lazuli

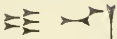

 u khurassi
and gold

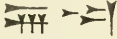
11.    
 sha magarru-sha khurassi-ma ilmisu
which its wheels are golden (and) is splendid

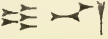
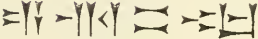

 garnā-sha
its pole

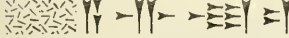
12.   
 lu-zamdat tamish kudanu
thou shalt clasp daily golden bracelets (?)


 rabi
great

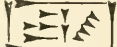
13.    
 ana bit-ni ina sammati
by our house in green vigour

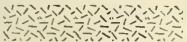
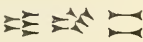
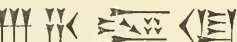
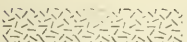
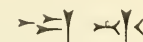
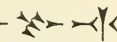
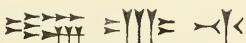
 
 erini irba
the cedar trees shall grow

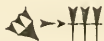
14.   
 bit-ni ina eribi-ka
 by our house at thy entrance (of it)

15.  
 (ham)arattu linassiqu
 crowds shall kiss


 sepi-ka
thy feet.

16.        
 as sipli-ka sarri
[shall bow down] beneath thee kings
   
 bili u rubi
lords and princes
17.       
 mandata sadi u mati
the offerings of mountain and plain
      
 lu-nasuni-kka biltu
they shall bring to thee as tribute
18.       
 ka
thy herds (and) flocks of sheep thine
      
 tuhami lilida
twins shall bring forth
19.         
 (nab) niti pari (?) ka
the race of thy mules
   
 libahu
shall be magnificent
20.          
 ka in rukubi lu-sarukh
thy (triumphs) in the chariot shall be proclaimed
  
 la samu
without ceasing.

21.  as  niri  sanina  ai  irsi
 among the Chiefs an equal never shall have
22.  pā-su  ibus-ma  igabbi
 [then Izdubar] his mouth opened, and spoke
23.  ana  rubuti  Ishtar
 [and said] to the queen Ishtar
24.  ana  kási  akkhaz-ki
 thee I know thee by experience
25.  pagri  u  gubati
 corpses and bodies
26.  kurummati  u  bubuti
 leprosy and famine
27.  akla  simat  iluti
 crown of divinity
28.  simat  sarruti
 crown of royalty
29.  rihil
 poison

30.   <   
 lu-usbuk
 [many things (?)] I will omit
31.       
 nakkhaltu
 slaughter :
32.     < 
 akkhaz-ki
 I know thee by experience

COLUMN II.

1.   <     
 Sabudimma
 wailing (?)
2.           
 ana Tarzi khamiri-ki
 for Tarzi thy husband
3.          
 satta ana satti kasta-kka
 year after year with thy cups
-     
 taltimissu
 thou didst poison him
4.           
 allala eru-ma tarami-ma
 a noble Eagle also thou didst love

5. takhatsi-su-ma kappa-su taltibbir
thou didst strike him (and) his wings thou didst break

6. izzaz as kisati isissi
he stood fast in the forest (and) fluttered

kappi
his wings.

7. tarami-ma urmakh gamir
thou didst love also a lion full

emuki
of strength

8. tukhtarris-su sibitti u sibitti
thou didst pull out by seven at a time

suttati
his teeth

9. tarami-ma kurra nahit
thou didst love a horse glorious

gabli
in war

10.           
 istakka zikti u dirrata
he drank a potion and with fever (?)

   
 taltimissu
thou didst poison him.

11.         
 Sibitti kasbu la sama taltimissu
Seven double-hours without ceasing thou didst poison him

12.           
 dalakhu u shatá taltimissu
with fever and thirst thou didst poison him

13.           
 ana ummi-su ilat Silili
his mother the goddess Silili

     
 kasta-kka taltimis
with thy cups thou didst poison her

14.           
 tarami-ma sab tabula
thou didst love the king of the land

15.           
 sha kainam-ma tutarish
whom continually thou didst make ill

  
 semukki
with thy drugs

16.
 samsamna (?) u(zabakha) akki
every day *he sacrificed* *libations*

u nikiti
and *victims*

17.
 takhatsi-su-ma ana urbarra
thou didst strike him, and *into* *a Leopard*

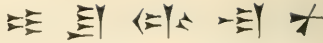
tuttarri-su
thou didst change him

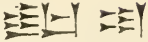
18.
 udarradu-su kaparru
they drove him out *the people of his*

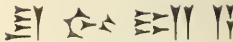
sha ramni-su
own city,

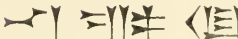
19.
 u urku-su unassaku
and his own dogs *bit him*

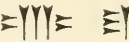
sipri-su
to pieces,

20.  
 tarami-ma isullanu
 thou didst love also a workman

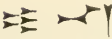
   
 amilu nu issarat ki
 a man without education, of thine

21.   
 sha kainamma sugurá
 who constantly his wages

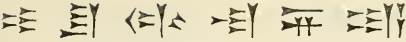

 nasa-kki
 took from thee

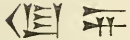
22.   
 tama samma unammaru
 and day every he made bright

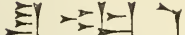
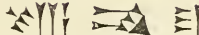

 passur-ki
 thy dishes

23.    
 ina tatta ilpita tak-ma
 in (thy) pot a thousand morsels

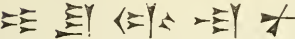
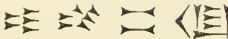

 tarikis-su
 thou didst boil for him.

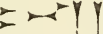
24.  isullani-ya  kissuta
O my servant ! (on the) feast-day

 ki-ni  kul
with us eat !

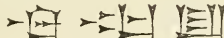
25.  u  sukalish  kara-mma  tibbut
and with intelligence speak out the goodness

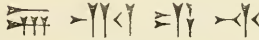
 khardat-ni
of our pot-herbs !

26.  isullanu  igabbi-ki
the workman said to thee

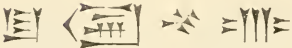
27.  yasi  mina  tarrisinni
me why wouldst thou destroy (?)

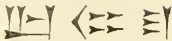
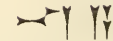
28.  Um-mi  la  tipa  anaku  la  aku
my mother ! not thou cookest, I not will eat

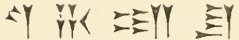
29.  sha  akkalu  akali  pisati
for I should eat food bad

 u  irriti
and accursed

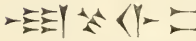
30.  sakutzi  ilpitu
 (and) the unclean things thousand

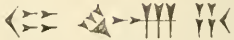
 tustummú-[ma]
 thou hast poisoned it with.

31.  atti  tasmi-ma  anná 
 thou heardest this

32.  takhatsi-su  ana  tallali
 thou didst strike him (and) into a pillar (or heap)

 tu (tarri-su)
 (thou didst change him)

33.  tusesibi-su  in  kabal  ma(dabari)
 thou didst place him in the midst (of the desert)

34.  val  eln  mikkha  val
 not I have added a crowd (of things) not

 aridda
 I have added

35. < 𒍪 𒍪 < 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪
 u yási taramm-annima
 and myself thou wouldst love me

𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪
 ki-sha sunutu
 like unto them.

36. 𒍪
 Ishtar anná
 Ishtar this [heard]

37. 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪
 Ishtar igukum-ma ana
 Ishtar was very wroth, and unto

𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪
 samami
 Heaven [ascended]

38. 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪
 illik-ma Ishtar ana pan
 (and) she came Ishtar before the face

𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪
 Anu [abi-sha]
 of Anu, [her father]

39. 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪
 ana pan Anatu umma sha illik
 before the face of Anat her mother she came

40. 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪
 abi Izdubar itta(di)
 O my father! Izdubar has flung [insults against me]

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

COL. I.

LINE

1. *Ubbilu*, 'he had thrown off.' Heb. הפיל to let fall, Hiphil of נפל to fall
Bili, Heb. בלי old clothes, Josh. ix, 4. And in Jeremiah xxxviii, 11, בלוי worn out clothes: old rags.
2. *Kimmat-zu* 'his goods' occurs several times in the Tiglath inscription, *ex. gr.*, col. v, 24, *sallut-zu u kamut-zu*, 'his spoil and his goods' (to my city Assur I carried home).
Elu, was removed: lifted off from—Heb. העלה, extraxit, abduxit, subduxit (Buxt.) Hiphil of עלה.
Tsir, the back: *ex. gr.*, 'he fell to the ground from the back of his horse,' *ultu tsir kurri*, 3 R 4, 49. And on the black obelisk 'dromedaries with double backs,' *sha sunaya tsiri-sun*.
3. *Rusut*, poverty, from רש pauper
Italbis, T conjugation of לבש, to clothe. *Zakut*, a fine or handsome dress, see the Transactions of this Society. vol. iii, p. 527. where it is explained *lulus* 'dress,' and employed for the dress of a god, of a king, &c.
4. *Itakhliba*. 'he covered': root חלף: compare *khallupti* 'coverings' or 'dress,' and the adj. *takhlupti* 'covering' in Birs. Nimr. col. ii, 3.
Rakish, splendidly: from רג 'splendid': used of dress in Syriac, see Castell. p. 847.
5. *Itibra*. This verb seems related to the Heb. אפר fascia frontem tegens. and עפר a splendid head-dress or *cidaris*. Or else, to פאר ornavit decoravit. Ezekiel uses פאר for a tiara.
6. *Dunki*, couch: seat of repose: for *dunki* from דמך cubavit. jacuit.
Itasi, T conjugation of נשא to lift.
7. *Nasik*, 'kiss.' Heb. נשק osculari. *Khahir*, 'to marry.' Hence נשק = נשק - נשק khairi 'husbands,' and khirat 'wives.'

LINE

10. *Tipsu* 'thou shalt ride, or go,' from **פסע** incessit. Compare the annals of Assurbanipal, page 123, *tapsit mus* 'in the course of the night.'
11. *Magarru*, from **𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶** *garra* the wheel of a chariot, see the Taylor cylinder, col. v, 83. *Ilni-su* perhaps from Arab. **لمع** splenduit.
12. *Zamdat*. **צמד** conjugavit, copulavit: whence **צמיד** armilla, a golden bracelet.
Kudanu, perhaps derived from **כתנ** 'gold.'
13. *Sammati*, from *sami* 'green,' or from **צמה** to grow and flourish, properly said of trees and herbs.
15. *Hamarattu*, probably 'crowds' from **חמר** acervus: turba. But the word is broken and therefore doubtful.
19. *Libahu*. Probably from Arab. **בהא** species, honos, gloria (*Schindler*).
21. *Irsi*, compare **ירש** possedit.
22. *Pa* is not simply 'the mouth,' but means 'the open mouth': hence *pá ibus* 'open mouth he made' means 'he spoke.'
24. *Akkhaz*. This word is broken here, but restored from line 32 where it is perfect. *Akkhaz-ki*, 'I know thee by experience,' from the verb **נחש** experimento didicit: expertus est, &c., &c., (*Burtorf*). This verb occurs in Genesis xxx, 27, where the authorised version has 'I have learned by experience'—
25. *Gubati*. **גור** corpus: perhaps pronounced *gura*.
26. *Kurummat*, 'leprosy,' is a word well known from the deluge tablet.—*Bubut* 'famine,' from **בוב** vacuus.
29. *Rihil*, **רעל** 'poison.' A cup of **רעל**, causing trembling and death, is mentioned more than once in the Hebrew scriptures.
30. *Usbuk*, I will omit (?) Chald. **שבק** dimittere, relinquere.
31. *Nakkhaltu*, slaughter (?) from **חלל** to slay.

COL. II.

2. *Khamir* and *Khair* both mean 'husband.'
3. *Kasta*, 'cup': same as *Kas* **כוס** calix: poculum

Taltimissu. This word occurs so frequently that its true explanation affords the key to the meaning of the Legend. *Taltimis-su* is a verb in the 2nd person singular, and stands for *tastimis-su*, according to the well-known Assyrian habit of exchanging S for L, of which, by the way, another example occurs in line 5, viz., *taltibbir* 'thou didst break,' for *tastibbir*, the T conjugation of the verb שבר to break. Again, 𐎶 is not here the plural sign, but the syllable *Mis* as happens in many other words, *ex. gr.* the adverbs 𐎶𐎵 *salmis* 'perfectly': 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *kamis* 'for ever': 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *azmis* 'nobly': see my glossary Nos. 349, 350, 351. The verb *sim* signifies 'to poison': Arab. *sammam* 'to poison,' *sam* 'poison': *musim* 'poisonous.' In the Michaux inscription R 70 *simma la azza* is 'poison that cannot be cured.' Hence *tastim* 'thou didst poison': *tastim-su* (or *tastimi-ssu*) 'thou didst poison him.' The enclitic pronoun *su* throws back the accent, as usual, which has the effect of doubling the consonant S. Of this there are innumerable instances in the inscriptions, such as *tsir-ussu* instead of *tsir-su* (upon him).

4. *Allala* may be the Heb. הלל bright, famous, glorious.

Ern, an Eagle: written 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. I gave the word *ern*, some years ago, in my glossary No. 19. It is found in a list of birds 2 R 37, 9 written 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 and equated to 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *nasru* an eagle, Heb. נשר aquila. *Ern* is the Chald. ܐܪ gryphus: avis rapax: Schindler p. 1379.

Tarami, Heb. רחם dilexit.

5. *Takhatsi* from Heb. כחץ pereussit.

Taltibbir. The last syllable *bir* is broken off, but is fortunately preserved on a small fragment found in the Museum of a duplicate copy.

6. *Izzaz* 'he stood fast.' Root *Ziz* 'to stand firm or fast,' apparently the Heb. עזז. This word is a great favourite with the Assyrian writers. *Tazziz* 'thou

LINE

didst stand,' in the annals of Assurbanipal p. 124,
written $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$.

Kisati 'forest': same as *Kisti*.

Issi 'he fluttered.' Heb. נצנצ to flutter the wings:
related to נצה to fly.

Kappi 'wings.' Syr. ܓܦܐ *gapā* 'a wing.'

8. *Tukhtarris*, for *tukhtallis*, R for L. Root חלצ *extraxit*,
in the T conjugation.

Suttati, 'the teeth,' Heb. שן a tooth, whence the plural
suttati comes regularly, in the same way that *sutta* 'a
dream' comes from שנה or שנת 'sleep' quasi *sunta*,
and *libitti* 'bricks' from לבן quasi *libinti*. Also *satta*
'a year' quasi *santa*, from שנה or שנת 'annus.'

10. *Istakkha*, 'he drank': root שקה to drink.

Zikti draught, potion: root זקק *fudit*.

12. *Dalakhu*. Heb. דלקה *ardens febris*. Deuter. xxviii, 22.
Shatú, thirst? Heb. שתה .

15. *Tutaris*, for *tutari-su*. Root ירע *nocere*: to make ill: or.
to do harm, from רע *malus*.

Semu-kki, 'with thy *semu*, or drugs.' See line 3 where I
have treated of the word *sem* 'poison.'

18. *Udarradu* 'they drove out.' Chald. and Syr. ܕܪܪ to
drive out or expel.

Kapar, a town or city. Heb. כפר *pagus*: vicus.

19. *Nassak*, to bite. Heb. נשך *momordit*.

Sipri, 'morsels.' Heb. שבר 'to break,' and subst. 'a
broken portion.'

20. *Isullanu* is probably derived from *isu* 'a helper,' Heb.
 ישע *adjuvit*, *auxilio fuit*: and *ullanu* *foremost*, or
taking precedence.

Nu issarat 'without instruction.' This phrase occurs in
the legend of the infancy of Sargina the first: see
this Society's Transactions, vol. i, p. 278, where it is
said "He dwelt with $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$ *nisi*
nu issarti 'a rude tribe of men.' I have there derived
nu issarti, 'untaught: rude: uncivilized' from the
Heb. יסר *erudivit*, *castigavit*, *disciplinam adhibuit*
(Schindler p. 775).

LINE

21. *Sugurá* 'wages.' Heb. שכר *præmium pro labore.*
Nasa-kki, tulit a te (mercedem tulit), from נשא tulit.
22. *Passur*, 'a dish' *ex. gr.* in 4 R 'eat precious food out of a golden *passur*, and drink precious liquor out of a golden goblet.'
23. *Tatta* 'a pot.' Heb. דור olla. This word occurs on the Deluge Tablet VI, 23, written $\Sigma\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$ $\Upsilon\Upsilon$ $\Sigma\Upsilon\Upsilon$ *dada*. "Dada ki aptu" (now I will open the pot). This second example affords a useful confirmation of the first.
- Ilpita*, Heb. אלף mille.
- Tuk*, a morsel, Heb. דך and verb דנא 'to break small.' The phrase $\langle \Upsilon \rangle - \Sigma$ appears to mean 'thousand bits' *i.e.*, an 'omnium gatherum.'
- Tarikis* 'thou boilest.' Heb. רהש 'to boil,' whence מרהשת ahenum, a cauldron. in Leviticus ii, 7 (see Gesenius).
24. *Kissutu* 'the feast day.' Heb. נסא feast: solemnity feast day.
Ki ni 'with us.'
- Kul*, eat! imperative of אכל 'to eat.'
25. *Sukalis*, adv. Root שכל 'to act with intelligence.'
- Kara*! speak out! declare! Heb. קרא to speak or proclaim.
- Tibbut*, goodness: from טוב bonus.
- Khardat*, 'pot herbs.' Arab. *Khadrat* 'a green pot herb,' plur. *Khadrawat*, (*Catafago*).
27. *Tarris*, 'thou dost destroy,' from Heb. הרס destruxit.
28. *Tipa* 2nd person singular from the Heb. אפה, to cook.
29. *Pisati* 'bad.' Chald. ביש, malus.
Irriti 'accursed,' from ארר maledixit.
30. *Sakutzi*, Chald. שקצ' 'res abominanda.' It especially denotes unclean nauseous food, or that offered to idols (*Furst*).
- Ilpitu*, Heb. אלף a thousand, see line 23.

Tustummu 'thou hast poisoned,' may be the T conjugation of *sammam* 'to poison.' But this is not certain. It may be a tense of the verb STM 'to hide,' Heb. סתם *occlisit*: 'the unclean things which thou *hast hidden* in the pot.'

34. *Mikkha*, a crowd. Heb. מקה *a crowd*: *caterva* (Gesen.) from root קה *congregare*.

Arida 'I have added.' This verb occurs very frequently.



ON A MUMMY OPENED AT STAFFORD HOUSE,
ON THE 15TH JULY, 1875.

By S. BIRCH, LL.D.

Read 2nd November, 1876.

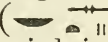
A MUMMY presented by General Stanton, British Consul-General in Egypt, to his Grace the Duke of Sutherland, was unrolled by me on the 15th July, at Stafford House, in the presence of the Duke of Sutherland, Lord Dufferin, Sir H. Cole, and a select party assembled for the purpose. The mummy was enveloped in a cartonage or linen covering, covered with stucco, and laced up like stays behind. The original cord had been replaced by modern string, but it was otherwise intact, and did not appear to have been previously opened. The period of the mummy was apparently about the XXVIIIth Dynasty, if not even later, as the paintings were far inferior to those of an earlier date, and the hieroglyphs confused and illegible, the mummy by no means belonging to a time when the process of embalming was in great perfection. The body was with some difficulty extracted from the cartonage, and found to be swathed in bandages of rather a dark colour, and by no means so full and numerous as is usual in the later class of mummies, although packed with some care. No inscription occurred on them, nor was any amulet or other object found to give a clue to the embalmed person, the only object discovered being some white leather placed about the back of the head, either a hypocephalus or else a scull cap, *namms*, but it was too far gone to determine its character and use. The body was very thin, the skin excessively brittle, the hands crossed over the pubes, giving the usual arrangement of a female also; a later examination

of the skeleton has led to the conclusion that it was the mummy of an old man. It had not been prepared by the bituminical process, but resembled the later class of mummies, such as were made as late as the Roman Empire. It did not, however, exhibit any given Egyptian characteristics, and was evidently an Egyptian, although not of high rank or wealth, as evinced by the absence of amulets and other paraphernalia of the upper classes. It was said to have come from Thebes, probably from some of the recently discovered tombs in that locality.

The cartonage represented the deceased in the form of a mummy. It was composed as usual of several layers of linen, glued or cemented together with gum, and covered with a layer of fine stucco, on which the different scenes were painted. The face was red, the colour of a man, and it had the usual head dress, *namms*, coloured blue and yellow at the ends, as if representing a kind of cap rather than the actual hair. Under this was a diapered or chequered collar *usx* of five rows, almost always seen on mummies; other rows of the collar represented white dentals on a green ground, or yellow and green dentals. Here it must be observed that the painting is probably intended for one of these collars made of porcelain beads, numerous specimens of which abound in Egyptian collections. Underneath the collar was a scarabæus, *xeper*, flying with extended wings, his head touching the sun's disk. Between the hind legs of this scarabæus was the signet or round cartouche emblem of the solar circle or course enclosing the disk of the sun. This is called "the Hut the lord of Heaven," the usual appellation of the winged disk so often seen in the cornices of temples, tablets, and other places. Beneath this was a picture representing the vignette of the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead or Ritual. In the centre was seated the hawk-headed type of the god Socharis, wearing on his head a solar disk and uræus, seated on a throne placed on a pedestal, bevilled in shape of the cubit of truth, a form of pedestal usually assigned to the god Ptah. Socharis is mummied, and holds like Osiris the crook and whip. On the later monuments, and in this scene, after the XXth Dynasty, Socharis often

replaces Osiris, and was doubtless considered to be a type of the same deity. Before Socharis was the panther skin on a pole, also an emblem of Osiris, and a form of the hieroglyph *nem*, "again," or "renew," probably referring to the metempsychosis or "second life." An altar with a water-jug, papyrus flower, and two other plants were in front of Socharis-Osiris.

The inscriptions on this cartonage were badly written and confused, exhibiting throughout traces of ignorance, carelessness, and a complete decline of art. Thus, behind the head of Socharis was rudely scrawled, "Osiris the revealer of good." Socharis was supported behind by the goddess Ma or Truth, her flesh yellow, wearing the ostrich feather and holding a double bandage; and it was in the Hall of the Two Truths that the great judgment took place. She is appropriately here. Before her, instead of her name and titles, is inscribed, "Osiris the lord of truth living." She is followed by Amset, the first genius or daimon of the Amenti, mummied human-headed, holding a feather and doubled bandage. In these scenes Osiris is often accompanied by all four of these genii and his son Anubis, besides Isis and Nephthys; but the substitution of Ra-Socharis for Osiris may have inaugurated a new departure from the religious dogma of Osiris. The hieroglyphs scrawled over the head of Amset read, instead of the usual titles of Amset, "Osiris his lord, dwelling in the west, lord of Abydos, he gives supplies of food," *hotep*. This of course has nothing to do with Amset, the scribe having thrice repeated in this section the name and titles of Osiris. Amset presided over the south, and the sepulchral vase made in his shape held the separately embalmed stomach of the dead. Before Socharis-Osiris stands Thoth, the scribe of the Hall of Judgment. He raises one hand, addressing Socharis; in the other he holds a symbol of life. His function in the hall was to record the judgment and to announce the condemnation or acquittal of the deceased. The deceased was supposed to be here but not depicted, and the inscription above Thoth does not give the usual declaration, but only states, says Tahuti, the very great, the lord of Sesen, "or Hermopolis the scribe of Truth of the gods

supplies food." The flesh of Thoth is coloured blue. Behind Thoth was a mummied snake-headed deity, wearing on the head two feathers, and holding two swords in hand. This is either one of the forty-two demons of the hall, who each punish a particular sin, and here placed to indicate the presence of these demons, or else the god of the seventh gate of Aahlu or Egyptian Elysium. His name the text of the 144th chapter of the Ritual states to be *Mates-sen*, or the "one who pierces them." Aah χ ru is, however, said to be the name of the person who commands in it. Over his head was inscribed, "Osiris Nebset, devoted to Osiris," apparently the name of the deceased, or if not, the titles of Osiris. Beneath this compartment was another, having in the middle Osiris Tat or Osiris considered as the Established, or Emblem of Stability of all things, wearing at the top of the emblem a sun's disk, having at each side an ostrich feather, allusion to his character as lord of Truth. The four horizontal bars of the emblem represented the four foundations or establishments of all things. At the right side was seated a hawk-headed mummied deity holding two swords, evidently a type of Horus, but also occurring as that of the guardian of the 14th gate of the Aahlu. Above this representation was the unusual repetition of the titles of Osiris, as Osiris lord of the Aion or age, king of the gods, the revealer of good, who gives supplies of food to the Osiris Nebset (). On the other side, seated facing, is the mummied jackal-headed god Anefu or Hapi, also holding two swords, with the titles again of Osiris, "Osiris the lord of the Aion, eternal ruler, who gives supplies to the Osirian Nebefset," or "Merefset."

The lower part of the cartonage had a third scene, a box, in which was the barge of the god Sekar on its stand, the prow terminating in the head of an oryx, the body of the chest surmounted by a hawk, behind a flabellum. In the 1st chapter of the Ritual this barge or box, called the *hannu*, is described, and Thoth says, "I am the chief workman who made the ark of Socharis on its shores," this mystical object being supposed to be produced by Thoth. On the right side of the ark is the second genius of the dead Hapi, cynocephalus-headed, standing mummied, holding a doubled

bandage. This, supposing the other figures represented Amset, Tnautmutf, and Kabhsenuf, would complete the four genii of the Amenti. On the other side was the standard of the lotus, two plumes, collar and signet emblem of the god Nefer-Tum, son of Ptah and Bast, often found on coffins, but for reasons unknown.



ON THE NAME OF AN EGYPTIAN DOG.

ONE of the dogs on the Tablet of Antew-Âa II bore the name of , which Dr. Birch explains somewhat doubtfully "pied" or "spotted Sphinx."¹ The word has a foreign look, and recalls immediately to the mind the Berberian name of the greyhound, $\bigcirc : \text{𐤀} \square$ *abaïkour*,² with this difference, however, that $\bigcirc : \text{𐤀} \square$ *abaïkour* is commonly used for the whole species, while  *abakrou* is the peculiar name of only one individual dog. To be called  *abakrou*, a dog needed not really to be of Libyan breed: king Antew-Âa, or his master of the hounds, took a fancy for the strange-sounding name, and applied it without much troubling themselves for its true meaning. Thus, in France, where some people are fond of giving their dogs foreign names, without any reference either to breed or colour, I have known a setter called familiarly *Pug*, and several white curs who enjoyed innocently the title of *Black*.

Many of the tribes that inhabit the wilderness to the west of Egypt, speak even now dialects akin to those of the Touaregs and the Kabyles.³ If the identification between

¹ See Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., vol. iv, part 1, page 181.

² Hansteau, *Essai de grammaire Tamachek*, pp. 17, 21.

³ See the vocabulary of the Siouah dialect in Cailliaud, *Voyage à Mèroé*, tome i, 409, 292, and Hansteau, *Essai de Grammaire Kabyle*.


abakrou and  *abaïkour* is allowed to be right, it becomes necessary to admit that some at least of the Tamahou and Robou tribes spoke a Berber tongue, and were of Berber origin.

G. MASPERO.



THE BABYLONIAN CODEX OF HOSEA AND JOEL.

Dated 916 A.D. (now at St. Petersburg),

COMPARED WITH THE RECEIVED MASSORETIC TEXTS.

BY THE REV. CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG, LL.D.

Read 2nd May, 1876.

SOME of my audience will, I have no doubt, be glad to be informed of the history of this remarkable Codex before entering upon a comparison of the text and the Massorah as exhibited in this MS. with the received text and Massorah as printed in the authoritative editions. In 1839 Abraham Firkovitsh, the celebrated Karaite Chacham, discovered a number of MSS. in the synagogues of Tzufutkalle, Karasubazar and Feodosia. Among these was a small folio containing the Later Prophets, which, together with other manuscripts, he presented to the Historical and Antiquarian Society at Odessa. Hence this MS. is sometimes called the Odessa Codex. As this aged *savant* restlessly continued his search after MSS. during many years and in different countries he succeeded in accumulating a large number of both Biblical and other documents, which he offered to the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. On the 17th October, 1862, the supreme command was issued to purchase the collection with the condition that the Odessa MSS. were to be handed over to the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg, and this condition was fulfilled in 1863.

Students of Biblical criticism and literature must feel thankful that this Codex has at last been deposited at St. Petersburg. The princely liberality with which the Russian

Government published the magnificent facsimile of the Sinaitic Codex is now being extended to the Babylonian MS., and we are promised that a photo-lithographic facsimile of the entire Codex will appear this year, at the expense of the Imperial Russian Government, edited by Dr. Strack, a most able Biblical scholar. As an earnest of this promise, Dr. Strack has published separately the prophets Hosea and Joel. We are thus enabled not only to see the superb manner in which the MS. will appear, but to form an approximate idea of its immense value to the criticism of the Biblical text and the History of biblical literature. The subscription states that the MS. was finished in the year 1228 of the era of contracts, that is 916-17 A.D.¹ Hence, with the exception of two Codices, viz., the Ben Asher Codex, which has recently been discovered at Aleppo, and the MS. which the Karaite community at Cairo possess, it is the oldest dated portion of the Old Testament yet discovered. It contains the Later Prophets, viz., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets, and consists of 225 leaves; each page has two columns, and every column as a rule has twenty-one lines. The margin between the two columns and the outer margin, or the margin at the edge, gives the Massorah Parva, whilst the lower margin gives the Massorah Magna. The difference between the two Massorahs is that the Massorah Parva simply remarks— The expression in question is written plene or defective, that it occurs once, twice, three, six, twenty or so many times, without giving the passages, whilst the Massorah Magna rubricates all these instances, and enumerates them either alphabetically or according to the order of the Biblical books.

The extreme importance of this MS. does not simply consist in its great age, but in the fact that it exhibits textual phenomena which, up to the time of its discovery, have been unknown to Biblical students and Hebrew philologists. These phenomena may be divided into three classes.

סוים זה הדפטר בחדיט
תשרי בשנת אלף
מאתים ועשרים ושמונה
שנים :

I. The disposition and readings of the text and the Massoretic glosses.

II. The vowel-points, which are not only different in form, but, unlike those of the received text, are placed above the letters; and

III. The form and disposition of the tonal accents, which are likewise entirely different from those commonly adopted both by Jews and Christians in the printed editions of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The wide range of subjects involved in these phenomena, and the limited time allotted to me, preclude the possibility of discussing all the three classes. I shall therefore confine myself in the present treatise to the first class, leaving the other two classes for separate essays.

I.—THE DISPOSITION AND READINGS OF THE TEXT AND THE MASSORETIC GLOSSES.

Though it is greatly to be regretted that we have not as yet the photo-lithographic fac-simile of the whole Codex, yet the published part which contains Hosea and Joel will approximately show what results we may expect from a careful investigation and collation of the entire reproduction. As far as the formation of the letters is concerned, the part at hand yields sufficient material for definite conclusions.

(I). *The Letters*.—The following letters are different in form from those in the ordinary MSS. (*see* Plate).

ה. The left shaft of the *He* (ה), like that of the *Cheth* (ח), is not open at the top, and the only difference between the two letters is that in the case of the *He* the left shaft begins a little inside the horizontal or head line, whilst in the *Cheth* the horizontal line is within the two shafts, as will be seen in the words, יְהוֹקִיָּה, Hezekiah (Hos. i, 1), וּבְמִלְחָמָה (Hos. i, 7), רַחֲמָה (Hos. i, 8), &c., which contain both letters.

י. Is shorter than the one generally known; it does not reach the bottom line, and, indeed, is not much longer than *Yod*, as may be seen in זִנְיִים (Hos. i, 2), זִנְיָה (Hos. ii, 4), יִרְעָאֵל (Hos. i, 4), וְנָתָה (Hos. ii, 7), וְעֵקֶר (Joel i, 14).

י. The shaft of the *Yod* is longer than that of the ordinary *Yod*, and is, in fact, almost as long as in *Zain*, as may be seen in עזיה (Hos. i, 1).

ן. The final *Nun* is not as long as the one generally found in MSS., and is most frequently simply the length of the medial letters. It has more the appearance of our *Zain*; comp. בן (Hos. i, 1), פן (Hos. ii, 5), and of *Vau*, comp. בן ויאמר (Hos. i, 3, 4).

If the last word does not quite come up to the end of the line so as to be even with the edge of the column, a thick dot, or even two dots, fill up the space. Sometimes, however, the dots are put between the two last words, which give it the appearance of marking an omission (compare line 3 from the top on p. 180 *a*, line seven from the bottom on the same page, and line six from the top on p. 181 *a*). Sometimes, however, the broken or the entire initial letters of the word beginning the following line are used to fill up the line. This is the ordinary way in which the scribes made even lines, and is also to be found in the early printed books.

The accents *Mercha* and *Soph-pasuk* are not unfrequently put in the letter, so that the ר appears like ה see קרא (Hos. i, 6, 9), ושירים (Hos. xiii, 10).

The words are not always distinctly separated, which sometimes gives the appearance of a various reading. Thus, for instance, בני אל חי, *the sons of the living God* (Hos. ii, 1), would certainly be read בני אלהי, *the sons of my God*, had not the vowel points decided the reading.

Versicular and Sectional Divisions.—Every verse is marked off by two dots, which come down to about the middle of the letter, and the new verse follows immediately without any interval. As to the larger divisions, the text exhibits three kinds. We have in the first place what is called in Massoretic language, *a break in the middle of the verse* (פסק באמצע פסוק).

This break is in the middle of verse 2, chap. i. It is a new division, and is not to be found either in the printed Massorah or in those MSS. which I have collated. Though the Massorah nowhere gives a special list of the breaks in the middle of verses, yet both the printed text and the MSS.

mark them. Hitherto thirty-one such breaks have been known,¹ but this one is not included in them. As the Massorites designed to indicate by these breaks that something is omitted in the text, we have here an omission according to these authorities.

The two other divisions consist of open and closed sections. Hosea is divided into 18 sections, 4 open and 14 closed, whilst Joel has 1 open and 4 closed sections.

OPEN SECTIONS.

CLOSED SECTIONS.

	Hosea	ii, 2	(1)
	„	16	(2)
	„	18	(3)
	„	25	(4)
	„	iii, 1	(5)
	„	iv, 1	(6)
	„	v, 1	(7)
Hosea	v, 9.		
	„	vii, 1	(8)
	„	„ 13	(9)
„	ix, 1		
„	„ 10.		
	„	x, 1	(10)
„	x, 9.		
	„	xi, 7	(11)
	„	xii, 1	(12)
	„	xiii, 12	(13)
	„	xiv, 2	(14)
Joel	ii, 1.		
	Joel	ii, 15	(15)
	„	„ 23	(16)
	„	iii, 1	(17)
	„	iv, 18	(18)

The open sections are marked by the space of an entire line being left vacant, whilst the closed sections are indicated in four different ways, as follows.

¹ The thirty-one instances are as follows:—Gen. xxxv, 22; Numb. xxv. 19; Deut. ii, 8; Josh. iv, 1; viii, 24; Judg. ii, 1; 1 Sam. x, 22; xiv, 19, 36; xvi, 2, 12; xvii, 37; xxi, 10; xxii, 2, 11; 2 Sam. v, 2, 19; vi, 20; vii, 4; xii, 13; xvi, 13; xvii, 14; xviii, 2; xxi, 1, 6; xxiv, 10, 11, 23; 1 Kings, xiii, 20; Jerem. xxviii, 18; Ezek. iii, 16. In some of the MSS. this hiatus is called פריגמא, and the Massorah Parva against the passages in question remarks כח פריגמא = 28 such breaks.

I. By a vacant space in the middle of the line, as is the case in sections 2 (Hos. ii, 16), 5 (iii, 1), 7 (v, 1), 8 (vii, 1); 17 (Joel iii, 1), 18 (iv, 18).

II. By an unfinished line, followed by an indentation in the next line, as in sections 1 (Hos. ii, 1), 3 (ii, 18), 4 (ii, 23), 6 (iv, 1), 9 (vii, 13), 10 (x, 1), 13 (xiii, 12).

III. By an indentation without the previous line being unfinished, as in sections 11 (Hos. xi, 7), 12 (xii, 1), 15 (Joel ii, 15), 16 (ii, 23); and

IV. By a full line preceded by an unfinished one, as in section 14 (Hos. xiv, 2).

In almost exactly the same way are the open and closed sections marked in the Yemen Codex of the Pentateuch now in the Cambridge University Library, Add. 1174, where, however, three *Pes* (the initials for פתורה) are put in the vacant line, one on each side and one in the middle, if it happens to be the first or last in a column, to indicate that nothing is wanting.

Having thus given the palæographical features of the MS., we shall now proceed to the readings of the text. And here I must remark that I have collated it with the *editio princeps* of Jacob b. Chajim's Rabbinic Bible (Venice 1525-26), which alone is the authoritative Massoretic edition of the Hebrew Scriptures, as no reliance is to be placed on the successive reprints.

VARIOUS READINGS.

HOSEA ii, 4—xi, 7.

PRINTED TEXT.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.		PRINTED TEXT.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	
בְּלִי יַעֲשֶׂהָ	בַּל יַעֲשֶׂהָ (1)	CH. V. viii. 7	הִיא	הוא	CH. V. ii. 4
אֶתְּבוֹב	אֶתְבוֹב	" 12	עֲרֻמָּה	עֲרוּמָה (1)	" 5
רְבוּ	רְבִי	" "	וְשִׁתָּהּ	וְשִׁתִּיהָ	" "
יְהִיָּה	וְיִהְיֶה	" 13	אֲתָם	אֲתָם	" 9
חֲטֹאתֶם	חֲטֹאתֶם	" "	וּבְחֶסֶד	בְּחֶסֶד (1)	" 21
אֲרָמְזִיתָהּ	אֲרָמְזִיתָהּ	" 14	וְיִדְעַתְּ אֶת־יְהוָה	וְיִדְעַתְּ כִּי אֲנִי (1) יְהוָה	" 22
יִכְחֹשׁ בָּהּ	יִכְחֹשׁ בָּם	ix. 2	אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	אֶת־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל	iii. 1
קִימֹשׁ	קִמֹּשׁ	" 6	דָּוִיד	דָּוִד (1)	" 5
יִירָשָׁם	יִרָשָׁם	" "	יִזְשָׁבִי	יִזְשָׁבִי	iv. 1
צֹפָה	צָפָה	" 8	וְרָצַח	רָצַח (1)	" 2
וּפְקֹדֹד	וּפְקֹדֹד	" 9	יִזְשָׁב	יִשָּׁב	" 3
הַמָּוָה	וְהַמָּוָה (1)	" 10	וְאֶמְאָסָדָּךְ	וְאֶמְאָסָדָּךְ	" 6
וּמִבְּקָטָן	מִבְּקָטָן	" 11	וְאֶל־תִּבְאֹו	אֶל־תִּבְאֹו	" 15
הַזֶּרֶג	הֶרֶג	" 13	אֲזָתָהּ	אֲתָהּ	" 19
אֲזִסְךָ	אֲזִסְךָ (1)	" 15	מִזִּבְחֹתָם	מִזִּבְחֹתָם	" "
סִוְרָרִים	סִוְרָרִים	" "	לֹא יִתְּנוּ	וְלֹא יִתְּנוּ (1)	v. 4
בְּלִי יַעֲשֶׂנוּ	בְּלִי יַעֲשֶׂנוּ	" 16	אֵשָׁא	וְאֵשָׁא	" 14
תִּמְיָבוּ	תִּמְיָבוּ (1)	x. 1	אֵלֶּךְ אֲשֻׁבָּהּ	אֵלֶּכָה אֲשֻׁבָּהּ (1)	" 15
וְנִבֹּשׁ	וְנִבֹּשׁ	" 6	יִחַיִּנִי	יִחַיִּנִי	vi. 2
עִזְנָתָם	עִזְנָתָם	" 10	מוֹצָאוֹ	מוֹצָאוֹ (2)	" 3
קִצְרוֹ	וְקִצְרוֹ (1)	" 12	בְּמִלְקֻתִּי	וּבְמִלְקֻתִּי	" "
וְיִזְרָה	וְיִזְרָה	" "	מִלְּבָנִי	מִלְּבָנִי	vii. 5
בְּדִרְכֶּיךָ	בְּדִרְכֶּיךָ (1)	" 13	אֶפְתָּחֵם	אֶפְתָּחֵם	" 6
וְלִפְסָלִים	וְלִפְסָלִים	xi. 2	אִין־קִרְאָה	וְאִין־רִיבָה	" 7
מִמְּוַעֲצוֹתֶיהֶם	מִמְּוַעֲצוֹתֶיהֶם	" 6	בְּלִבָּם	בְּלִבָּם	" 14
תִּלְוִיָּם	תִּלְוִיָּם	" 7	וְשִׁבְכֵי־ם	וְשִׁבְכֵי־ם	viii. 6

HOSEA xii, 1—JOEL iv, 20.

PRINTED TEXT.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.		PRINTED TEXT.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	
תִּלְאוּבַת	תִּלְאָבֹזַת	CH. v. xiii. 5	תְּבִבְנִי	תְּבִבוּנִי (1)	CH. v. xii. 1
דְּבָרֶיךָ	דְּבָרֶךְ	„ 14	קְרוּשִׁים	קְדוּשִׁים (1)	„ „
אֲמָרוֹ	וְאֲמָרוֹ (1)	xiv. 3	וַיָּבֵל	וַיֻּבֵּל (1)	„ 5
מִפְּנֵי	מִפְּנֵי נֹו ק	„ 5	עוֹד	עוֹד (1)	„ 10
יִנְקֻזְתּוּ	יִנְקֻזְתּוּ	„ 7	אֲשִׁיבְךָ	אֲשִׁיבְךָ (1)	„ „
וְצִדִּיקִים	וְצִדִּיקִים	„ 10	בְּתִבוּנָם	בְּתִבוּנָם	xiii. 2

VARIOUS READINGS.

יִוָּאל JOEL.

PRINTED TEXT.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.		PRINTED TEXT.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	
וְכִי יִבְיָלְנוּ	כִּי יִבְיָלְנוּ (1)	CH. v. ii. 11	וְהִלִּילוּ	וְהִלְלוּ	CH. v. i. 5
וַיִּזְכְּרִי	וַיִּזְכְּרִי	„ 16	יִשְׁתִּי	יִשְׁתִּי	„ „
הַפֶּךְ מִנִּי	הַפֶּךְ מִנִּי	„ 20	יִשְׁעֹרָה	יִשְׁעֹרָה	„ 11
שָׂרִי	יִשְׁרָה שָׂרִי ק	„ 22	פֶּלֶעֶצִי	וְכָל־עֲצֵי פֶלֶעֶצִי ק	„ 12
וַיִּזְכְּרִי	וַיִּזְכְּרִי	„ 23	בְּסִיף מוֹנֵה	בְּסִיף מוֹנֵה	
וּבְנִתֵיכֶם	וּבְנִתֵיכֶם	iii. 1	וּבְשֹׁרֶךְ	כְּשֹׁרֶךְ (1)	„ 15
וְתִמְרוֹת	וְתִמְרוֹת	„ 3	הָלֹא	הָלֹא	„ 16
הָהִיא	הָהִיא	iv. 1	מִפְּנֵי מְרוֹת	מִפְּנֵי מְרוֹת	„ 17
הַטּוֹבִים	הַטּוֹבִים	„ 5	הַבִּישׁ	הַזֹּבִישׁ (1)	„ „
בְּנִתֵיכֶם	בְּנִתֵיכֶם	„ 8	תִּשְׁרֹנֵהוּ	תִּשְׁרֹנֵהוּ (1)	„ 20
וּמִן־מְרוֹתֵיכֶם	וּמִן־מְרוֹתֵיכֶם	„ 10	וְהָרִיעוּ	הָרִיעוּ (1)	ii. 1
עוֹשֵׂהוּ	עוֹשֵׂהוּ (1)	„ 11	יִשְׁבִּי	יִשְׁבִּי	„ „
יַעֲזֹרוּ	יַעֲזֹרוּ (1)	„ 12	פָּרִיט	פָּרִים (1)	„ 2
הַמְּלִים הַמְּנִים	הַמְּנִים הַמְּנִים	„ 14	יִרְצוּן	יִרְצוּן	„ 7
וּבְכָבִים	וּבְכָבִים	„ 5	וְלֹא יַעֲבֹטוּן	לֹא יַעֲבֹטוּן	„ „
לְדוֹר נְדוֹר	לְדוֹר נְדוֹר	„ 20	אֲרַחֲתֶם	אֲרַחֲתֶם	„ „

From this table of various readings, it will be seen that there are no less than 95 in Hosea and Joel, 64 in the former and 31 in the latter, and that 27 of them (viz., 19 in Hosea and 8 in Joel) are marked with the figure 1. This plan we have adopted to indicate that the reading in question is according to the first or original scribe, and that in the second recension the primary reading is made conformable to the received text. 67, however, are left untouched, 44 in Hosea, and 23 in Joel.

A careful examination of these readings will show that more than half of them refer to the plene or defective way of spelling which the Massorah calls **מלא וחסר**, and might therefore be considered trite. But even these have a caligraphical interest, and are of importance in determining the time when the Massoretic rules for writing certain words in a particular manner were regarded as binding by the scribes. In many of the readings before us we already see the struggle between the different modes of writing which obtained in various schools and model Codices, and which some revisers of the text attempted to substitute for the original spelling. Thus it not unfrequently happens that a word is plene in the text, and the Massoretic gloss in the margin states that it should be defective, and *vice versâ*, or that the textual writing is according to a well-known model Codex, or that it should be so.¹

Some of the readings, however, are of more than caligraphical importance. They give to the passage a different shade of meaning. Thus, for instance, Hos. ii, 22 in the Hebrew, and ii, 20 in the English, is, "*and thou shalt know that I am the Lord,*" instead of, "*and thou shalt know the Lord.*" It is interesting to find that the Vulgate must have had the same text, since it gives the same rendering. Again, Hos. iii, 1 in this MS., reads, "*according to the love of the Lord toward the house of Israel,*" and not "*according to the love of the Lord towards the children of Israel,*" as it is in the received text.

¹ Compare Hos. ii, 5, 21; vi, 3; ix, 15; x, 12; xii, 1 (twice), 5, 10; Joel i, 12; ii, 1.

The third instance is in Hos. ix, 2. The words, as we now have them in authorised editions of the Hebrew text, mean :

The floor and the winepress shall not nourish them,
And the new wine shall deceive or fail in her.

The expression בָּהּ *in her*, at the end of the second clause, is most awkward, and is taken either to refer to the city or metropolis, or to the feminine עֵדָה *congregation*, which though not to be found in the passage is supposed to be implied. Apart from the unnaturalness of this explanation, this rendering is against the parallelism, as may be seen even in the English version. Our Codex, however, reads בָּם *in them*, third person plural masculine, that is, *the new wine shall deceive or fail them*. This reading is to be found in a number of other MSS., and is supported by the Septuagint, Chaldee, Syriac, and Vulgate.

Besides improving the sense of the passage, this reading explains the import of an expression which frequently occurs in the margin of Old Testament MSS. and in the printed Massorah. Against this very passage, MSS. 5711 and 9399 in the Massorah Parva, and MS. 5711 in the Massorah Magna, as well as in the printed Massorah, both Parva and Magna, it is remarked בַּהּ בִּלְבָד סְבִירִין בָּם, *i.e., the expression בָּהּ, IN HER, is supposed to be in two instances בָּם. IN THEM*, third person plural masculine, viz., 2 Kings iii, 24; Hos. ix, 2. Following the opinion of Levita,¹ modern Biblical critics have taken סְבִירִין to mean *imaginary readings, conjectural and fanciful emendations*. The fact, however, that בָּם is here, and in other MSS., the textual reading, and that even those scribes who, following other model Codices, did not adopt it in the text, were nevertheless constrained to remark upon it in the margin, shows that סְבִירִין does not mean conjectural or fanciful emendations, but denotes that according to certain schools and model Codices *it should be* or *it is so and so*, and that it designates another reading.

The fourth instance to which I must call attention in the list of variations, is the use of the personal pronoun third

¹ Compare Massoreth Ha-Massoreth, with an English translation and critical notes, by Christian D. Ginsburg, p. 225-227, Longmans, 1867.

person. In two passages, viz., Hos. xi, 4, and Joel iv, 1, the MS. has **הוא** for the feminine, whilst the printed text, following the Palestinian recension, has **היא**. At first sight this difference might seem insignificant. But a little consideration will show that it is one of the few surviving witnesses which testify to the fact that the Hebrew text, owing to linguistical and other reasons, was periodically subject to changes.

In the Pentateuch **הוא**, without and with the prefixes *He* (**ההוא**), and *Vau* (**והוא**), occurs 656 times, viz., **הוא** 355 times, **ההוא** 62 times, and **והוא** 11 times, and is used both for the masculine and feminine. Whilst with *Yod*, with and without the prefix, it only occurs 11 times altogether.¹ This striking fact proves beyond doubt that when the Hebrew was a living language the form **הוא** was epicene, and that it was only at a later period, when the language was not so well understood, that the scribes, for the sake of perspicuity, began to separate the forms, using **הוא** with *Vau* for the masculine, and adopted **היא** with *Yod* for the feminine gender. In the Pentateuch, which was regarded as peculiarly sacred, the scribes did not venture to change the *Vau* into a *Yod*. Still, to indicate the feminine they put a *Chirek* under the *He*. Hence the apparent anomaly of **הִוא**. But in spite of the great care with which the Pentateuch was guarded, the new form **הוא** with *Yod* crept into 11 passages through carelessness.

The case, however, was different with the Prophets and Hagiographa. Here no such scruples existed, and the reform was carried through systematically by the Palestinians, so that in process of time the old form **הוא** was entirely eliminated, and the new form **היא** was adopted whenever the feminine is spoken of. The Babylonian scribes, however, did not strictly abide by this rule. Hence the numerous instances in which the old form **הוא** for the feminine makes its appearance in the MSS. of these schools. It is, therefore, incorrect to say that **הוא**, as epicene, was a peculiar idiom of

¹ The eleven instances are as follows:—Gen. xiv, 2; xxi, 5; xxxviii, 25; Levit. xi, 39; xiii, 10, 21; xvi, 31; xx, 17; xxi, 9; Numb. v, 13, 14. They are enumerated in the printed Massorah on Gen. xxxviii, 25; Levit. xiii, 21; and in almost all of the MSS. with the Massorah.

the Pentateuch. It was originally used for both genders through the whole Hebrew Scriptures, and was ultimately retained in the Pentateuch for peculiar reasons.¹

The Massorah.—As has already been remarked, this MS. contains both the Massorah Parva and Magna. Now, in most of the notices which have appeared of this Codex, it is asserted that the Massorah is almost as peculiar as are the vowel-points and accents, and that it entirely differs from the Massoretic corpus compiled and edited for the first time by Jacob b. Chajim Ibn Adoniah in the Rabbinic Bible published by Bomberg, in four volumes folio, Venice, 1525-26. But this says too much, and means nothing. If by it is meant that it contains Massoretic lists not to be found in the printed Massorah, it is nothing peculiar, since this is the case with all the Bible MSS. which have the Massorah. And if by it is meant that the headings of the Rubrics are now and then somewhat different from those in the printed Massorah, and that the Massorah Parva sometimes contains an important remark not to be found in the compilation of Jacob b. Chajim, this, too, is nothing peculiar. Of all the MSS. which I have collated for the last twenty years for a new edition of the Massorah, and a correct Massoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, I have not found two alike, containing exactly the same Massorah. No two MSS. have the same number of lists, have always the same headings for the same Rubrics, the same selections, the same disposition of the materials, or even the same terminology, or the same Massorah Parva.

My experience has shown me that each scribe has selected a larger or smaller quantity of Massoretic materials for the MS. he annotated, corresponding to the sum which he got for doing the work; and that the Massorites were not bound by any fixed terminology even when describing the same phenomenon. Every school used its own signs, and every head of a guild invented his phraseology, which his disciples more or less adopted. Hence, to say that a particular MS. of the Hebrew Bible contains a Massorah different from the

¹ Compare Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 255. Breslau, 1857.

printed, or even unlike any other MS., is saying nothing by way of distinction, since in this respect it simply possesses the features of all other MSS. It also follows, that to edit the Massorah and to compile a glossary of its technicalities, it is absolutely necessary to collate all the accessible Biblical MSS.

The correctness of these remarks may be tested by the appended Massorah of Hosea and Joel. I have here arranged in nine parallel columns the Massorah of eight different MSS., side by side, with the printed Massorah, and against the Hebrew text in so far as it is Massoretically annotated. In this way the student will be able to see at once how often these MSS. and the printed Massorah agree in noting the same phenomenon, and how frequently only one, two, or three remark upon the peculiarity, whilst the others pass it over in silence. As the design of this treatise is to point out the importance of the Babylonian Codex to Biblical criticism and literature, I cannot now dwell upon the materials contained in the other MSS. in the parallel columns, but must confine myself to our Codex.

The Massorah Magna.—It will be more convenient to describe the Massorah Magna first. This, as has already been remarked, occupies the lower margin of each page, and in Hosea and Joel contains thirty-one Rubrics, which are arranged alphabetically, or according to the order of the books in the Hebrew Scriptures. The peculiarities of the Rubrics as contained in this MS. will be pointed out hereafter.

MASSORAH MAGNA.

HOSEA הושע i, 1—ii, 7.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 51.
CH. V.					
i. 1	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	ת באר(וסימ)
" "	...	...	ז בנב' וסימ... וכל ד' דכו ב'מח חזקיהו וסימ... וכל קר דכו חזקיהו	...	...
" 2	ז רא פס' וסימנהון	ז וסימנהון	ז רא פס' וסימ	...	{ א פס בקר' מינהון
" 4	ז וסימנהון	ז רף וסימנהון	...	ז רף וסימנהון	...
" "	...	...	...	ד וסימנהון	...
" "	...	...	ז' וסימ	...	...
" "	ד' וסימנהון... וכל יהושע דכו	ד' וסימנהון... וכל יהושע בות	ד' וסימ... וכל יהושע דכו	...	{ קר' וסימ... וכל ישע דכו
" "	...	...	...	ד' בספר' וסימנהון	...
" 6	...	...	...	...	...
" 7	...	...	ב וסימנהון	ב וסימנהון	...
" "	...	ז וסימנהון	ז וסימ	...	{ פ' וסימ... בת הד י חל בכת
ii. 1	...	...	...	ב וסימנהון	...
" 2	...	...	טז וסימ	...	...
" 3	...	...	...	...	...
" 5	...	...	יא וסימ... וחד וכיום	יא וסימנהון... ויא וכיום	{ ...
" "	...	...	ז דג וסימ	...	...
" "	ה וסימנהון	...	ה וסימ... וב כארין (וסימ)	...	{ קר' וסימנהון
" 7	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...

MASSORAH MAGNA.

HOSEA הושע i, 1—ii, 7.

EDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH.	V.
...	...	...	בב אתין כתי יוד בריש תיבותא וקרין	וסימנהון {	i.	1
...	...	...	י בתיב ו בריש תיבותא וקרי יוד	וסימנהון {	"	"
...	...	...	יא מלין כתיבין ב וקרי כף	וסימנהון {	"	"
...	...	...	ב ומב ליש וסימ בארי		"	"
...	...	...	...	...	יחזקיהו	"
...	...	...	ג רפ בקריא וסימ זרפ בקריא וסימ		"	2
...	ו וסימנהון	...	זרפ בקריא וסימ		ויאמר יהוה אליו	4
...	...	...	...	...	דמי	"
...	...	...	...	...	והשפתי	"
ד וסימנהון } יהוש כז	...	...	...	...	ממלכות	"
...	...	...	...	...	בית ישרא	"
ד וחם וסימ	...	...	...	...	רחקה	6
...	...	...	...	...	במזת	7
...	...	...	ז בקריא וסימ		ובמלחמה	"
...	...	...	...	...	ימר	ii. 1
...	יא וסימנהון	...	טו במצעתא פסז וסימ וכל רפ רכוז	{	ובני ישראל	2
...	...	...	...	...	ולאחזתיכם	3
יא וסימנהון	...	...	...	...	ביזם	5
...	...	...	...	...	במדבר	"
ה וסימנהון	...	...	...	...	בארי	"
...	...	...	...	...	הזרתם	7
...	...	...	...	...	צמרי ופשתי	"

MASSORAH MAGNA.

Hosea הושע ii, 8—iii, 4.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 5711
CH. V.					
ii. 8	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	מלין דסופ רה
" 9	...	...	ח וסימ	...	...
" 10	...	...	ז וסימ	...	דסמי בקרי
" "	ז ומל וסימנהון	...	...	...	סימנהון
" "	...	...	ז וסימ	...	...
" 13	...	...	דמין מפקין כל מליהון וסימ	...	ל מליהון מפקי וסימנהון יחד תז הד בנביאי ד בכתובי
" 14	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" 15	...	...	...	...	מלין דסופ תה
" 17	...	...	ד וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	ג מל וסימ	...	...
" 18	...	...	...	...	...
" 21	...	ג וסימנהון	ג (וסימ)	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 22	ז בטע וסימנהון	...	ז וסימ	...	...
" 23	...	...	...	...	...
" 24	...	חרף וסימנהון	ח וסימ	...	...
" 25	...	...	ד וחם וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	...	ב דסמי וסימנהון ... יאמר יהנה וסימנהון	...
iii. 1	ד וסימנהון	...	ד וסימ	ד וסימנהון	...
" "	...	...	...	...	מלין דסופפת
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 2	...	...	...	...	מלין דסופ דה
" 3	...	...	...	...	מלין דסופ יי
" 4	...	...	כ וסימ	...	...

MASSORAH MAGNA.

Hosea הושע ii, 8—iii, 4.

ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. ii. 8
...	...	...	...	שֶׁן חַד מִן מַלְיָן חַמִּיין	...
...	...	...	...	שֶׁן וְקִרְיִן סִמְך וְסִימָ	...
...	...	...	...	גִּדְרָה	9
...	...	...	...	אִישִׁי	10
...	...	...	...	אֶנְכִי נִתְמִי	11
...	...	...	...	וְתִמְרֹאשׁ	12
...	ג וְסִימְנָהוּן	...	...	וְחִיצָהָר	13
...	...	...	...	ג פֶּסֶז	14
...	...	וּבֹלֶן רַפִּיין	...	יִן יְחִידִיין דְּמִשְׁמִשִּׁין	15
...	...	רִישׁ תִּיבּוֹתָא אַ	...	זַת	16
...	...	...	...	אֶלְפִּבִּית מִן חַד חַד	17
...	...	...	...	וְאֶבְלָתָם	18
...	...	...	...	וְחִלָּתָהּ	19
ד וְסִימְנָהוּן	...	...	ד בְּקִיא וְסִימָ	וְעִנְתָהּ	20
...	...	...	...	עֲלִיתָהּ בְּעֲרוֹתָהּ	21
...	...	...	ח *	אִישִׁי	22
...	...	...	...	וְאֶרְשָׁמִיד	23
...	...	...	...	וּבְרַחֲמִים	24
...	...	...	...	וְדַעַת	25
...	...	...	...	וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם וּ בְטַעַם	26
...	...	...	...	בְּסִיפ	27
...	...	...	...	וְהָאֶרֶץ	28
...	...	...	...	רַחֲמָהּ	29
...	...	...	...	יֹאמַר אֱלֹהֵי	30
...	...	...	ד וְסִימָ	וְאֶהְיֶי	iii. 1
...	...	...	...	וּמִנְאֻפֶּת	2
...	רִישִׁיהוּן כֹּא	...	...	חֲלִין יִן מַלְיָן	3
...	...	...	...	מוֹעֵדָהּ	4
...	...	...	...	תִּהְיִי	5
...	...	כ וְסִימְנָהוּן	...	יִשְׁבּוּ	6

MASSORAH MAGNA.

HOSEA הושיע iii. 4—v. 2.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 5.
CH. V.					
iii. 4	...	...	ב זקב קמץ וסימ ... וכל סר דכו קמץ במב פת (וסימ)	ב קמ וסימנהון ז חס בנביא ובכתוב וסימנהון	...
" 5	...	...	...	...	...
	ז ומל וסימ	...	...	...	...
iv. 1	...	...	לד מל וסימ	...	...
" 1	...	ז וסימנהון	...	...	...
" 2	...	...	...	ב וסימנהון	...
" 3	...	...	...	...	...
" 4	...	...	...	...	ביד למרביד
" 7	...	ב בתרי ליש וסימנהון	ב וסימ	ב בב ליש וסימנהון	...
" 8	...	...	...	...	...
" 10	...	...	(וסימ)	...	...
" 11	...	...	ב וס	...	...
" 14	נ קמ וסימנהון	...	...	...	סמי בקרי גנהון וכל דכו
" 15	...	...	...	...	...
" 16	...	...	...	נ חס בליש וסימנהון	...
" 17	ד קמ וסימנהון וכל אתל וסז פסז דכו	ד וסימנהון	ד וסימ וכל אתנחתא וסוף פסוק דכות	נ וסימנהון וס וירעס	ד קמ וסימנהון וכל אתנח וספ דכו
v. 1	...	...	ה וסימ	...	...
" 1	...	...	...	...	...
" 2	...	ב א כת יש וא כת ס וסימנהון	ב א כת שין וא כת סמך וסימ	...	...

MASSORAH MAGNA.

HOSEA **הִישַׁע** iii, 4—v. 2.

DGE. ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V.
...	...	...	...	שָׁר	iii. 4
...	...	...	...	יִשְׁבוּ	" 5
...	...	...	...	טוּבוֹ	" "
...	...	...	...	יִזְשָׁבִי	iv. 1
...	...	...	...	דַּעַת אֱלֹהִים	" "
...	...	...	...	וְדָקִים	" 2
...	...	...	...	וּבְעוֹף	" 3
...	...	...	...	בְּמִרְיָבִי	" 4
...	...	...	...	אָמִיד	" 7
...	...	...	...	נִפְשׁוֹ	" 8
...	...	...	...	יָד פָּסוּ בַּסֵּפֶר וְלֹא	" 10
...	...	...	...	וְלֹא	" "
...	...	...	...	יִפְרְדּוּ	" 14
...	...	...	...	וְעַם	" "
...	...	...	...	יִלְבָּט	" "
...	...	...	...	זָנָה	" 15
...	...	...	...	סִרְרָה	" 16
...	...	...	...	יִרְעַם	" "
...	...	...	...	אֶפְרַיִם	" 17
...	...	...	...	הָאֲזִינוּ	v. 1
...	...	...	...	פְּרוּשָׁה	" "
...	...	...	...	יָג מַלְיוֹן יַחֲדִידִין	" "
...	...	...	...	דִּזְקָבִין	" "
...	...	...	...	קָטִים	" 2

MASSORAH MAGNA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ v, 3—vii, 1.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 571.
CH. v. v. 3	...	...	...	...	בנבי וסימנהון
" 4	...	...	ז וסימ	...	...
" 5	...	...	לג וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	נקרי וסימנהון וכל דסמיר נשה דכו
" 8	יז מל וסימ	...	יז מל וסימ	...	...
" 10	...	...	ב רא פס וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	...	ח כת בסמך בלישן וסימנהון נסוג בלי דכו כת בסמך	...
" 11	...	...	ד וסימ ג מל וא חס	...	מל וחד חס מנהון
" "	...	ג וחד מלאי וסימנהון	ג ומל וסימ	...	...
" 13	...	...	ב א חס וא מל וסימ	ב א חס וא מל וסימנהון	...
" 15	...	ב וסימנהון	...	...	סימ
vi. 1	...	...	ז וסימ	...	ז ו מל וחד סימנהון
" "	...	ז וסימנהון	ז וסימ	ב קמ וסימנהון	...
" 3	...	...	ב רפ וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	ב א חס וא מל וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	יא רפי וסימ	...	...
" 4	...	...	...	וסימנהון	...
" 5	...	...	ה (וסימ)	...	...
" 6	...	...	...	...	...
" 7	...	...	ג (וסימ)	ג וסימנהון	רי וסימנהון
" 11	ד קמ וסימנהון	...	ז וסימ	...	מצ בקרי נהון
vii. 1	ז וסימנהון	...	ז וסימ	...	ז וסימנהון ות חד בנבי כתו
" "	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...

MASSORAH MAGNA.

HOSEA הושע v, 3—vii, 1.

OGA ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
...	...	...	...	כִּי עָתָה	CH. V. v. 3
...	...	...	...	וְאֶת־הָהָה	" 4
...	...	...	...	וְיִשְׂרָאֵל	" 5
...	...	...	...	וְאֶפְרַיִם	" "
יז מל וסי	...	...	...	בְּנִימִין	" 8
...	...	...	...	הָיוּ	" 10
...	...	...	...	כְּמִסְגֵּי	" "
...	...	...	ד בקריא ג מל וא חם וסימ	עֲשׂוּק	" 11
ג ומל וסימנהון	...	...	...	הֲזֹאֵל	" "
...	...	...	...	לְרֹפֵא	" 13
...	...	...	...	וְיִשְׁחָרְגֵנִי	" 15
...	...	...	ז בקריא וסימ	וְנִשְׁבָּה	vi. 1
...	...	...	...	טָרַף	" "
...	...	...	...	בִּשְׁחַר	" 3
...	...	...	...	מִצִּיּוֹ	" "
...	...	...	...	וְיִבְזֹא	" "
...	...	...	...	ו פסוקי מזה מזה	" 4
...	...	...	...	בְּנִיבִיִּים	" 5
...	...	...	ז בליש בקריא וסימ	וְדַעַת אֱלֹהִים	" 6
...	...	...	ז בקריא וסימ	כְּאָדָם	" 7
ד וסימנהון	...	...	ד קמצין בקריא וכימ	נֶשֶׁת	" 11
...	...	...	...	וְדַעוֹת	vii. 1
...	...	...	...	פָּעֵלוֹ	" "

MASSORAH MAGNA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ vii. 3—ix. 2.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57.
ch. v. vii. 3	...	...	ב וס	...	ד' וסימנהון
" 6	ג דגיש ובספ וסימנהון	...	ג דג וסימ	ג דג וסימנהון	...
" 8	...	...	...	...	...
" 9	...	...	וסימ	וסימנהון	...
" "	...	...	וסימ	...	...
" 10	...	ג וסימנהון	ג וסימ	...	...
" 13	...	...	ב ובספ (וסימ)	...	...
" 14	...	...	ט וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	ג'יהון
" 15	...	...	ג וסימ	ג וסימנהון	ד' וסימנהון
" 16	...	ב קמצי וסימנהון ב וסימנהון	ב קמצי ובתרי ליש וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
viii. 1	ג חס בנביא וסימנהון ... וכן וישלח אבישלום מרנלים עד סופ דספר	ג חסר וסימנהון ... וכל אוריתא דכות במב וסימנהון	ג חס וסימ... וחד סופא דספ וכל אורי דכו במא	ג חס בליש (וסימנהון)	...
" 2	...	...	...	...	ד' וסימנהון
" 5	...	...	יא וסימ	...	...
" 6	...	...	...	וסימנהון	...
" 7	...	...	ג וסימ	ג וסימנהון	ד' וסימנהון
" 9	...	...	...	ג וכל וסי	ד' וסימנהון
" "	ו חד כת הא וה כת א וסימנהון	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	ד' וסימנהון
" 10	...	...	...	...	...
" 12	...	...	וסימ	...	...
" 13	...	...	...	ט וסימנהון	...
ix. 1	...	...	ג וסימ	...	ג'יהון
" 2	...	...	ג וסימ	...	ד' וסימנהון
" "	...	...	...	...	ג'יהון

MASSORAH MAGNA.

Hosea הושע vii, 3—ix, 2.

Page Add. 465.	B.M. Harl. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
...	...	...	...	יִשְׁמְחוּ	ch. v. vii. 3
נ דגש וס נ	...	...	נ דגשי וסימ	בְּתַנּוּר	" 6
...	...	לית זוגין	...	כל לישן הפיכה	" 8
וסימנהון	...	...	וסימ	ז פסוקי והוא והוא	" 9
...	...	...	...	ח פסוק והוא הוא	" "
...	...	...	...	וְלֹא־יָשְׁבוּ	" 10
ב (וסימ)	...	חד מן ב וסימנהון	...	אֶפְרָם	" 13
...	...	...	...	בְּלָבָם	" 14
...	...	...	...	כא פסו בקרי דאית	" "
...	...	...	...	בהון על על וכל	" "
...	...	...	נ וסימ	חדא ביניהון	" "
...	...	...	...	וְאֵלֵי	" 15
...	...	חד מן ב וסימ	...	עַל	" 16
...	...	...	ב כתי בויו וסימ	זו	" "
...	...	...	ב חס בנביאים	שִׁפְרָה	viii. 1
...	...	...	וסימ ויטלה		
...	...	...	אבישלום עד סוף		
...	...	...	סיפרא דכו חס		
...	...	...	ג בקריא וסימ	זָנָה	" 2
יא וסימנ	...	חד מן יא וסימ	...	יִכְבְּלוּ	" 5
...	...	...	...	ט פסוקי דאית בהון	" 6
ג וחסרי וס	ג וסימנהון	...	ג בקריאה וסימ	וְהוּא הוּא	" 7
...	...	חד מן ג וסימ	ג בקריא וסימ	יִקְצְרוּ	" 9
...	...	...	...	בִּזְרָד	" "
...	...	...	...	פָּרָא	" "
...	...	...	...	אֶהְיֶה	" "
...	...	חד מן ז רמז וסימ	...	מָעַט	" 10
...	...	...	...	חד מן מיד דכת ו	" 12
...	...	...	...	וקר י	" "
...	...	...	...	חֲטָאתָם	" 13
ז וסימ	...	...	ג בקריא וסימ	גִּיל	x. 1
ז בהר וס	...	...	וחד וגיל		
יִוָּא וידע	...	...	...	יָרְעֵם	" 2
...	...	...	...	ב כתי בם וקרי ביה	" "

MASSORAH MAGNA.

HOSEA הושע ix, 3—x, 5.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 51.
ch. v. ix. 3	...	...	כ וסימ	...	...
31 4	...	...	...	...	ימניהון
32 5	...	...	ד וסימ	...	...
33 7	...	...	יב וסימ	...	...
34 31	ג וסימנהון	...	ג וסימ	...	חס וסימניהון חד המושג
35 31	...	ד וסימנהון	ד וסימ	...	...
36 32	...	...	וסימ	...	...
37 10	...	...	ג מל וסימ	ג מל בספר וסימנהון	...
38 12	...	...	וסימ	...	...
39 13	...	...	י בלי וסימ	...	...
40 31	...	...	ח וסימ... וכל מנישה דכו	...	...
41 14	...	...	...	...	...
42 15	...	...	...	ג ב חס וא מל וסימנהון	זימניהון
43 16	...	...	...	ג ב חס וא מל וסימנהון	חס וחד מל זימניהון
44 31	...	ה וסימנהון	...	...	...
45 17	יא רפי וסימנהון ...וא ויהיו	...	יא רפין (וסימ)	...	...
x. 1	ב ומל וסימ	...	ב וסימ	...	...
1 31	...	...	...	...	רי וסימניהון וד וכרב
1 31	...	...	ד וסימ	...	...
2 2	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
3 5	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH MAGNA.

HOSEA הושע ix, 3—x, 5.

E. ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. ix.
...	...	...	...	יִשְׁבוּ	3
...	...	...	...	אֵלֶּיךָ פִּסְקָת דְּבַסָּךְ	4
...	...	...	...	דְּתָרֵי עֵשֶׂר וְהֵם ח'	"
...	...	...	ו בקריא וסימ	לְהָמֵם	"
...	...	...	...	חֲגִיגָה	5
...	...	...	...	יִדְעוּ	7
...	...	...	...	מִשְׁנָע	"
...	...	...	חד מן ד וסימ	וּרְבָה	"
...	...	...	מכרה	חד מן יא זוגין מן	"
...	...	...	...	חד חד מן הי וחד לא	"
...	...	...	...	מפי הי בסוף תיב	"
...	...	...	ג מל בסיפרא וסימ	אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם	10
...	...	...	... וכל כתובים	...	"
...	...	...	דכו מל במן	...	"
...	...	...	חס וסי ... וכל	...	"
...	...	...	עזרא דכוז	...	"
...	...	...	...	כל בסורי כת סמך	12
...	...	...	...	במא	"
...	...	...	...	לְצֹר	13
...	...	...	...	וּאֲפָרִים	"
...	...	...	ב וסי	מִשְׁפִּיל	14
...	...	...	ג מלרע בקריא	אוֹסֶף	15
...	...	...	ב מל וא חס וסי	הָבָה	16
...	...	...	ג וסימנהון	יִעֲשֹׂנוּ	"
...	...	...	...	וְיִהְיוּ	17
...	...	...	...	בִּזְמַן	x. 1
...	...	...	...	פָּרַב	"
...	...	...	...	קָטוּב	"
...	...	...	...	יִעֲרָף	2
...	...	...	ב בתרי לישני	אֲבֵל	5
...	...	...	וסימ	...	"

MASSORAH MAGNA.

Hosea הושע x, 6—xi, 8.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 5.
CH. V. X. 6	...	ב קמצין וסימנהון	{ ב זקפ קמצי וסימ }	...	...
7	...	...	...	...	...
8	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
9	...	...	...	...	...
10	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
11	ה וסימנהון... וכל מנישה ואפרים בו	{ ... }	{ ה וסימ... וכל מנישה דכו }	{ ... }	וסימניהון... בת הד וחד בכתו
12	...	ה ז מלאי וא חס וסימנהון	{ ... }	...	...
13	...	...	{ ב מל בנבי וסימ ... וכל כתיב דכו מל במז חס וסימ... וכל אורי דכו חס }	{ ... }	...
14	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
15	...	...	ז וסימ	...	רי וסימניהון דבעולתה
xi. 1	...	...	...	...	זל בלייש ניהון
2	...	...	...	...	וסימנהון
3	...	...	סימן מלא וחסר	...	ולין דכופ מז
4	...	...	ז וסימ	...	...
5	...	...	...	...	...
6	...	...	...	...	...
7	...	יא וסימנהון	יא וסימ	...	...
8	ז וסימנהון	...	ז וסימ	...	...

MASSORAH MAGNA.

HOSEA הושע x, 6—xi, 8.

E. ADP. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. x. 6
...	...	...	...	יובל	...
...	...	...	ל וקוין ודרדר ל	קוין ודרדר	8
...	...	...	...	וּדְרָדֶר	" "
...	...	...	ל בחירק הנון } וחד ונפלו }	נפלו	" "
...	...	...	ג בקרי וסימ } אנך }	עלנה	9
...	...	...	...	ואפפו	10
...	...	...	...	ואפריס	11
...	...	חד מן יט וסימ	...	טוב פטוב מטוב	" "
...	...	...	...	לדויט	" "
...	...	...	ג בקריא וסימ	ישדר	" "
...	...	...	...	גיר	12
...	...	...	...	לדרויט	" "
...	...	...	ב בתרי ליש וסימ	תרשקם	13
...	...	...	...	עולתה	" "
...	...	...	...	עמיד פעמיד	14
...	...	...	...	טו דרגא תביר	" "
ב וסימ	...	...	...	שלמן	" "
...	...	...	...	אם על-בנים	" "
...	...	...	ל וחד כשהר	בישהר	15
...	...	...	ב וסימ	וקמפריס	xi. 1
...	...	...	...	זרועתיו	3
...	...	...	ג בקריא וסי	ולא ידעו	" "
...	...	...	ח ספ בטע וסי	קמועצותיהם	6
...	...	...	...	ושמי	7
...	...	...	...	נכמרו	8

MASSORAH MAGNA.

Hosea הושע xi, 9—xiii, 9.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL.
CH. v. xi. 9	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
xii. 1	יב הם וסימנהון	...	יב הם וסימ	...	חם בקרי מניהון
" "	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	ג וסימ	...	מל בליש מניהון
" 2	...	...	...	...	...
" 3	ד וסימנהון	...	...	...	קרי וסימניהון
" "	...	...	...	...	ל יעקב ל על ל אל מים ל
" 4	ה וסימנהון	...	...	...	...
" 6	...	...	...	...	ממי וסימניהון
" 8	...	ט וסימנהון	ט וסי	...	...
" 9	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	ז מל וסימ	...	מל בליש מניהון
" 10	...	...	...	...	...
" 11	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" 13	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" 15	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	כד וסימ	...	...
xiii. 2	...	...	ד כת כן וסי ושא יספו כת	...	זכר וסימניהון
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 4	...	...	ה וסימ	ה וסימנהון	ה וסימניהון
" 6	...	...	ה וסימ	...	ממי וסימניהון
" 8	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" 9	...	...	ב וסימ	ב וסימנהון	ב וסימ

MASSORAH MAGNA.

HOSEA הושע xi, 9—xiii, 9.

RIE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
...	...	...	...	ו פסוקים מן דר מלין ב קדמאי לא	CH. v. xi. 9
...	...	...	...	נסבין ו וב בתראי נסבי ו	" "
...	...	...	...	וחד פסוק חלוקה ולא ולא לא לא	" "
...	...	...	...	עור חד מן יד דכת עד וסימנ	xii. 1
...	...	...	...	ךד	" "
...	...	...	...	חד מן ג מל וסימנ	" "
...	...	...	...	ז וחם בקרי וסי	" 2
...	...	...	...	ורב	" 3
...	...	...	...	על-עקב	" "
...	...	...	...	ז בקריא וסימ	" 4
...	...	...	...	חד מן ד וסימנ	" 6
ט בצר וכו	...	חד מן ט וסימנ	ט *	אָהב	" 8
...	...	...	...	וּיאָמַר יב סבירין וּיאָמַרו	" 9
...	...	...	...	און	" "
...	...	...	...	ד בקריא וסימ	" 10
...	...	חד מן ב וסימנהון	...	אָדְמָה	" 11
...	...	...	...	וּיַעֲבֹד וְיִשְׁרָאֵל	" 13
...	...	...	...	ד וסימ	" 15
...	...	...	...	יָשִׁיב	" "
...	...	...	...	יוסף	xiii. 2
...	...	...	...	ב וחם וסימ	" "
...	...	...	...	ה *	" 4
...	ה וסימנהון	...	...	ה בקרי וסי... וכל על הדרך דכו במב (וסי)	" 7
...	...	...	...	סגור	" 8
...	...	...	...	בְּעִזָּרָה	" 9

MASSORAH MAGNA.

HOSEA הושע xiii. 10—xiv, 10.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. Hart. 5.
ch. v. xiii. 10	...	...	ב וסימ	ב וסימנהון	...
" "	...	...	ב וסימ	ב וסימנהון	...
" 14	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" 21	...	...	ל וסימ	...	...
xiv. 1	...	...	...	{ ז חס בלישן וסימנהון }	...
" 2	...	...	ה וסימ	...	...
" 3	...	...	יג וסימ	...	...
" 4	...	ז מלאי וסימנהון	ז מל וסימ	...	...
" "	...	ג וסימנהון	ב א וץ וסימ	...	...
" 21	...	...	...	...	...
" 21	...	...	...	...	...
" 21	...	...	...	...	...
" 6	ל ב פת וב קמ וסימנהון }	...	ד ב ב וסימ	...	...
" 7	...	...	{ ב א חס וא מל וסימ }	...	...
" "	...	...	...	ה וסימנהון	...
" "	...	...	...	...	{ קרי ד מנהון וסימניהון }
" 21	...	...	...	...	{ קרי וסימניהון וסימניהון }
" 21	ל וסימנהון	ד וסימנהון	ד וסימ	...	...
" 8	...	...	...	ב וסימנהון	...
" 21	...	...	...	...	...
" 10	ג רפי וסימנהון	...	...	...	...
" "	ג חס י מדמ וסימנהון }	ג חסרי וסימנהון	ג חס וסימ	...	...
" 21	...	...	...	וסימנהון	...

MASSORAH MAGNA.

Hosea רושע xiii. 10—xiv, 10.

RE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
...	...	...	...	וְשִׁפְטִיךְ	ch. v. xiii. 10
...	...	...	ב' תסי ... וחד	מֶלֶךְ וְשִׁרִים	" "
...	...	...	...	אֶפְדָּם	" 14
...	...	...	ד' בקרי וסי	מִשְׁעִינִי	" "
...	...	...	...	עֲלֵיָהֶם	xiv. 1
...	...	...	ה דסמיכי בקריא	עַד יִהְיֶה	" 2
...	...	...	וסימ	וְחָה	" 3
...	ז מל וסימנהון	...	...	יִדְּיָנוּ	" 4
...	...	...	...	יִרְחֶם	" "
...	...	(וסימ)	...	אֶל־בֵּית מִן חַד חַד	" "
...	...	...	...	מִשְׁמִשׁ אֶת בֵּשׁ	" "
...	...	...	...	ד זוגין דמן חר פשט	" "
...	...	(וסימ)	...	וחד לא פשט	" "
...	...	...	...	וּמִשְׁמִשִּׁין כָּף	" "
...	...	...	...	יִפְרָח	" 6
...	...	...	...	יִזְקֻתָיו	" 7
...	...	...	...	הוֹדוּ	" "
...	...	...	...	וְיֵהִי	" "
...	...	...	...	וְיִרְחֶם	" "
...	...	...	ד בקריא וסימ	פֶּלֶבְקוֹן	" "
...	...	...	...	יִחִיו	" 8
...	ג וסימנהון	...	...	יִזְכְּרוּ	" "
...	...	...	ז רפין בקריא	וְיִבֹּן	" 10
ד ז מל וסימנהון	...	...	זג מכ וא חס יוד	וְצִדְקִים	" "
...	...	...	קרמא וסימ	ו פסוקי דאית בתון	" "
...	...	...	...	קָם קָם	" "

MASSORAH MAGNA.

JOEL יואל i. 1—ii, 5.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57
CH. V.					
i. 1	...	...	...	...	...
" 5	...	...	...	...	...
" 6	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" "	ד וסימנהון	...	...	ה דסמי וסימנהון	סימנהון
" 10	...	...	יא וסימ	יא וסימנהון	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 12	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	ג בליש וסימ	ג וסימנהון ... א שום קרתא וא שום פירא וא שום אנש	מל וחד חס ליש קרת ליש פירא שם בר נש מניהון
" "	...	...	ד וסימ וכל דה דכו במז דלית כת מן בני ומן בני וסימ	...	קרי וסימנהון כל דה דכו בני ומן בני מבני ומבני מניהון
" 14	...	...	ז וסימ	...	...
" 15	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" 17	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" 19	ז וסימנהון	...	...	...	...
" 20	...	ז ב חס וא מל וסימנהון	ז ב חס וא מל וסימ	...	חס וחד מל יניהון
" "	...	...	ב קמצ וסימ וג פת וסימ	...	...
" "	...	ז בטעם וסימנהון	...	...	...
ii. 2	...	ב וסימנהון	ב וסימ	...	...
" "	...	ח וסימנהון ... וא הנהיה	ח וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	ג מל וסימ וכל אורי דכו במב (וסימ)	...	די וסימניהון אורית כות (וסימ)
" 3	...	...	...	...	...
" 5	י וסימנהון	...	י וסימ	...	...

MASSORAH MAGNA.

JOEL יואל i, 1—ii, 5.

ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V.
...	...	...	ל פני אל מתושאל מחייאל	פתואל	i. 1
...	...	...	ב וסימ	הקיצו	" 5
...	...	...	...	על-ארצי	" 6
...	...	...	ד וסימ	ואין מספר	" "
...	...	...	...	אדמה	" 10
...	...	...	ד מל וסימ	הזביש	" "
...	...	...	...	אמללה	" 12
...	...	...	ג בתלת לישני ב מל וא חס וסימ	ותפוח	" "
...	...	...	...	מן פני ומן-פני	" "
...	...	...	ג פתחי בקריא וסימ	וועקו	" 14
...	...	...	...	ליום	" 15
...	...	...	...	פרדות	" 17
...	...	...	ג בקריא וסימ	ולקה	" 19
...	...	...	...	תערוג	" 20
...	...	...	...	מים	" "
...	...	...	...	ואש	" "
...	...	...	ב רפין וסי	בשחר	ii. 2
...	...	...	...	גתיה	" "
...	...	...	...	יוסף	" "
...	...	...	*	ד פסוקים אית בהון פנים ואחור	" 3
י וסימנ	...	חד מן י וסימנהון	...	בסוד	" 5

MASSORAH MAGNA.

JOEL ^ליִרְאֵל ii, 5—iii, 2.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARB.
CH. V.					
ii. 5	...	...	{ ה וסימ... ו א ואכלה	ה וסימנהון... ו א ואכלה	{ ...
" 7	...	...	...	ג וסימנהון	וסימניהון
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 9	...	ג וסימנהון	ג וסימ	ג וסימנהון	...
" 10	...	...	ז וסימ	...	וסימניהון
" 11	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	ז וסימ	ח וסימנהון	...
" 12	ה ר א פסו וסימנהון	{ ...	...	...	...
" 13	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 16	...	...	{ ין וסימ... וכל אתנ וסז פס דכו	{ ...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 17	...	...	ט רפי (וסימ)	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 18	...	...	ה וסימ	ה וסימנהז	...
" 19	...	...	ג וסימ	...	...
" 20	ב בתרי ליש וסימנהון	{ ...	...	ב ובב לי (וסימ)	...
" "	ג חס וסימנ	...	...	...	...
" 21	יא וסימנהון	...	יא וסימ	...	...
" 23	...	...	{ ז ה מל ו א חס וסימ	{ ...	וסימניהון
" 24	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" 25	ג וסימנהון	...	ג וסימ	ג וסימנהון	...
" 26	...	...	י מל וסימ	...	...
iii. 2	...	...	{ ה ר א פס בספ וסימ	{ ה ר א פסו בספר וסימנהון	{ ...

MASSORAH MAGNA.

Joel ל יואל ii, 5—iii, 2.

MS. ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V.
...	...	חד מן ה וסימנהון	ה *	אֶלְכָּה	ii. 5
...	...	...	ג בקריא וסימ	יִלְכוּן	" 7
...	...	(וסימנ)	...	אלפבית מן חד וחד סופהון נון	" "
ב וסי	ז וסימנהון	...	...	כַּנְנָב	" 9
...	...	...	ה *	וְקֹזְבִים	" 10
...	...	...	...	עֵשָׂה דְּבָרָז	" 11
...	ז וסימנהון	...	...	וְנֹזָא	" "
...	...	...	...	וְנִם	" 12
...	...	...	ה *	חֲנוּן וְרַחוּם	" 13
ז פתח וסי ... וכל ספ כותי }	...	...	...	נָחֵם וְנָחֵם	" "
...	...	...	...	עָם	" 16
...	...	חד מן ב רפ וסימנהון }	...	קִבְצוּ	" "
...	...	חד מן ט רפ וסימנ }	*	וַיֹּאמְרוּ	" 17
...	...	...	ז וסימ	וְאַל־תִּתֵּן	" "
ח וסימנה	...	...	...	עַל־עַמּוֹז	" 18
...	...	...	ג ומל בקריאה וסימ }	וְהִתִּירוּשׁ	" 19
...	לית כותיה	...	...	הַצִּפּוֹנִי	" 20
...	...	...	...	הַקִּדְמוֹנִי	" "
...	...	...	יא בקריאה וסימ	אֲדָמָה	" 21
...	...	...	...	וַיִּזְרַד	" 23
...	...	...	...	הַגִּרְנוֹת	" 24
ג וסימנה	...	...	...	חִילִי	" 25
י מלא וסימנ	...	...	י מלאים בקרי בליש וסימ }	אֲבֹל	" 26
...	...	...	...	וְנִם	iii. 2

MASSORAH MAGNA.
JOEL יואל iii, 2—iv, 20.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 5.
CH. V. iii. 2	...	...	יב וסימ	...	...
" 4	...	ב וסימנה	ב וסימ	ב וסי	...
" "	...	יג מלאי וסימנהון	...	יג מל וסימ	...
" 5	...	...	יז וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	מלין דסופ
iv. 1	...	ח וסימנהון	ח דסמ (וסימ)	...	מי וסימניהון
" 3	...	...	ג וסי	...	...
" 4	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	ב וחס וסימ	ז חס בלישן וסימנהון	...
" 5	...	...	ד חס (וסימ)	...	ז בלישנהון זיהון
" "	...	...	ג וסימ	...	ז וסימניהון
" 6	...	...	ז חס בליש וסימ	...	...
" 9	...	...	ז מל וסימנהון	...	...
" 11	...	...	ז וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
" 12	...	...	ג ב חס וא מל וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	ג רפי וסימ	...	...
" 13	ב קמ וסימל	...	...	...	...
" 15	...	...	...	ו וסימנהון	...
" 16	ח רפ בליש וסימנהון ... ואחסה דכו במא (וסימ)	...	ח רפי בליש וסימ ... ובל אחסה דכות רפי במא (וסימ)	...	בלישנהון יהון
" "	ב וסימנהון	...	...	...	...
" 17	...	...	...	י דסמיכי וסימנהון	...
" 18	ג וסימנהון	ג וסימנהון	ג וסימ	...	...
" 19	...	...	...	ג רא פסז וסימנהון	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	וסימנהון	וסימ	...	...
" "	ב מל וכתי א וסימנהון	...	...	...	...
" 20	ג רא פסז וסי	ברף וסימנהון	...	...	...

MASSORAH MAGNA.
JOEL יואל iii, 2—iv, 20.

MS. ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
...	...	...	יב *	הַחֲמִשָּׁה	CH. V. iii. 2
...	...	...	...	וְהַחֲדָשִׁי	" 4
...	...	...	יז מל *	בּוֹא	" "
...	...	...	...	יִמְלֹט	" 5
...	...	...	...	וּבְשָׂדֵיכֶם	" "
...	...	חד מן ט וסימנהון	ה *	בְּיָמֵינוּ הַחֲמִשָּׁה	iv. 1
...	ב וסימנהון	...	ג וסימ...וא וידו	יָדוּ	" 3
...	...	(וסימ)	...	אֵב מִן חֹד וְחֹד קָמִין	" 4
...	...	...	...	וּמְלָכֶם	" "
...	...	...	ה חס ו בליש } בְּקִרְיָ וְסִי	טָבִים הַטָּבִים	" 5
...	...	...	ז *	הַבְּאֵתָם	" "
...	...	...	...	וְבָלָם	" 6
...	...	...	ז מל וסי	הַנְּבוֹרִים	" 9
...	...	...	...	וְכָאוּ	" 11
...	...	...	...	הַקֶּחֶת	" "
...	...	...	...	וְעֹרֹוּ	" 12
...	...	...	...	וְיַעֲלֹוּ	" "
...	...	...	ב וסי	מָגֵל	" 13
...	...	...	ז *	וְלִבָּבִים	" 15
טרפי בלי	...	...	ט *	מִחֲסָה	" 16
...	...	...	...	וּמַעֲזוֹ	" "
...	...	...	...	כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם	" 17
...	...	...	...	וְהַשְׁקָה	" 18
...	...	...	...	מִצִּירִים	" 19
...	...	...	...	נָקִיא חֹד מִן יָב דָּבַח	" "
...	...	...	א בסוף תיב ולא ק		
...	...	...	*		" "
...	...	...	...	נָקִיא	" "
...	...	...	...	וְהַחֲדָשָׁה	" 20

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושע i, 1—8.

CH. V. i.	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57.
1	ב ההתי	...	ב ההתי	...	...
2	נ רא פסו	נרף	נ רא פסו	נ רפ	נ רפ
3	ו רא פסו	ורף	ו	ו רפ	ו רפ
4	ד	ד	ד וכל יהוש דכו	ד וחס יב בספ	ד וחס יב בספ
5	בל סיפר בית במט בני ישראל	...	...	...	...
6	ד וחס	...	...	ד וחס יב בספ	ד וחס יב בספ
7	...	...	...	...	...
8	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושע i, 1—8.

ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. i.	v.
כל כתי	...	...	...	הוֹשֵׁעַ	1.	1
...	ב	ב	ב	בְּאֵרִי	"	"
...	...	ג	...	יְחֻזְקִיָּה	"	"
כל ליש	...	...	...	יִזְאִיִּשׁ	"	"
...	נ רא פסו	ג רפ	נ רפ	תַּחֲלֹת	"	2
...	...	...	ב	בְּהוֹשֵׁעַ	"	"
ג	...	...	...	וְנוֹנִים	"	"
...	...	ל	...	וְנִלְרִי	"	"
...	...	זנה ל אלה נרמה פנה בחה הלין דכת ה בס מלתא וק וא	ל ובתי ה	זְנֵה	"	"
ל	...	...	ל	דְּבָלִים	"	3
...	...	...	...	וּמִתֵּר וּמִלְדֵּי בֶן	"	"
...	ו רא פסו	...	ו רף	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלָיו	"	4
כל מל ב	...	...	...	עוֹד	"	"
...	...	...	...	אֶת־דְּכוּי	"	"
...	...	...	יג	וְהִשְׁבַּמִּי	"	"
...	ד	ד	ד	מִקְלָכוֹת	"	"
...	...	...	...	וּמִתֵּר עוֹד	"	6
כלה פתח בין באת פס במא	...	...	...	פֶּתַח	"	"
...	...	הלין דק וחס	ד וחס	רַחֲמָה	"	"
...	...	...	יד בענין	בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל	"	"
...	...	ל	...	וְהוֹשִׁיעֵמִים	"	7
...	...	...	ב	בְּקִשָּׁת	"	"
...	...	...	...	וּבְחָרָב	"	"
...	ג	...	ג	וּבְמִלְחָמָה	"	"
...	...	בסיפ מוג	...	בְּסוּסִים	"	"
ר וחס	...	...	ד וחס ובסיפ	רַחֲמָה	"	8
...	...	...	...	וּמִתֵּר וּמִלְדֵּי	"	"

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ i, 9—ii, 6.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT, 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. Harl. 57
CH. V.					
i. 9	...	...	...	...	פס בקרי דא' לא לא לא לא
ii. 1	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ג	...	...
11 11	...	...	יז פסו לא ולא לא	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 2	...	...	...	ה	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	טו וכל רא פסו דכו } ... {	...	טו וכל רא פס דכו } ... {	...	וכל רא פס
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 3	...	...	...	ל	ל וחם ו
11 11	...	...	ד	...	חם
11 4	...	...	...	...	כה כלי
11 11	...	...	...	ל	ל
11 11	...	...	...	ל	ל
11 11	...	...	...	ל	ל
11 5	...	...	...	ל	ל
11 11	...	...	...	ל	...
11 11	...	...	...	ל	...
11 11	...	...	...	יא	י
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ו	ו	ו
11 11	ל וחם	ל	ל	ל וחם	ל וחם
11 11	...	...	ה	ה	ה
11 11	...	...	ל	...	...
11 6	...	...	ל	ל	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ i, 9—ii, 6.

EDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V.
...	...	...	מז פסו לא לא ב מנהון בסיפ	לא	i. 9
...	...	...	...	והיה מספר	ii. 1
...	...	...	...	בחול	" "
...	...	...	...	לא	" "
...	...	...	...	לא-ימד	" "
...	...	...	...	ימד	" "
...	...	...	...	והיה במקום	" "
...	...	...	...	לא-עמי	" "
...	...	...	...	בני אל-חי	" "
...	...	...	...	ונקבצו	" 2
...	...	...	...	בני-יהודה ובני ישראל	" "
...	...	...	...	ובני ישראל	" "
...	...	...	...	יחדו	" "
...	...	...	...	ולאחוזתכם	" 3
...	...	...	...	רחמה	" "
...	...	...	...	אישה	" 4
...	...	...	...	ותמר	" "
...	...	...	...	ונאפוקיה	" "
...	...	...	...	אפשיטנה	" 5
...	...	...	...	ערמה	" "
...	...	...	...	והצמיה	" "
...	...	...	...	פיוזם	" "
...	...	...	...	הולדה	" "
...	...	...	...	כמדבר	" "
...	...	...	...	ושתה	" "
...	...	...	...	בארץ	" "
...	...	...	...	והמתיה	" "
...	...	...	...	ואת-בניה	" 6
...	...	...	...	אנחם	" "

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA רושע ii, 6—ii, 13.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HABL. 5
CH. v. ii. 6	...	...	...	...	...
7	ל	...	ל	ל	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	ב	...	...
7 7	...	...	ב	...	...
7 7	...	...	ב	ל	...
7 8	...	...	ל	ל	...
7 7	ד	...	ל	ל	...
7 7	...	...	ל	ל	...
7 7	...	...	ל	ל מל דמל	...
7 9	ל	...	...	ל	...
7 7	...	...	יד פס ולא ולא	...	...
7 7	...	...	ל	...	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	ל	ל	...
7 7	...	...	ח	ח	...
7 7	...	...	סנ	סנ	...
7 10	...	...	ג	ג	...
7 7	ג מל	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	ג	ג	...
7 11	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	ב	...	...
7 7	...	...	ב	...	...
7 7	...	ב	...	...	...
7 12	יג בטע	...	...	יח בטע	יג בטע
7 7	...	...	ב	ב	...
7 7	...	...	ד	...	...
7 13	...	יג	יג	יג	...
7 7	...	...	ל	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ ii, 6—ii, 13.

ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. ii. 6
ג בעי	...	...	...	וְנוֹמִים	7
...	...	...	ל	הוֹרָתָם	"
ב	...	...	...	מִאֲהָבִי	"
...	...	...	ב	צִמְרִי	"
...	...	...	...	וּפִשְׁתִּי	"
ל	...	ל	ל וחד וישקוי	וְיִשְׁקֹנוּ	"
...	ל	ל וח בסך	ל כת שין והוא מן דחמין שין וקרי סמך	שֶׁךְ	8
ל	...	...	ל	בְּפִירִים	"
...	...	...	ל	וְנִדְרָה	"
ל	...	ל	ל	וְנִתְּיבוֹתֶיהָ	"
ל	...	ל	ל	וְרִדְפָּה	9
...	...	...	...	וְלֹא	"
...	...	...	...	וְלֹא־תִשָּׁג	"
...	ל	ל	ל	וּבְקִשְׁתָּם	"
ח תיבו } מם בסי	...	...	...	"	"
...	...	...	ל	וְלֹא תִמְצָא	"
...	...	...	...	אִישִׁי	"
...	...	...	סג	הָרֹאשׁוֹן	"
...	...	ג	ג	אֶלְכִי נְתַתִּי	10
...	...	...	ל	וְתִתִּירֹשׁ	"
...	...	...	...	וְתִצְהָר	"
...	...	מל	...	וְתִירֹשִׁי	11
...	...	...	...	בְּמוֹעֶדוֹ	"
...	...	...	...	צִמְרִי	"
...	...	...	...	וּפִשְׁתִּי	"
ב	ב	...	ב ובענין	צִמְרִי וּפִשְׁתִּי	"
...	...	...	יח בטע	וְעַתָּה	12
...	...	...	ל	אֶנְלָה	"
ל וחם	ל	ל	ל	נִבְלָתָהּ	"
...	...	...	יג	וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי	13
...	...	ל	ל	מִשְׁוֹשָׁהּ	"

MASSORAI PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ ii, 13—ii, 21.

[illegible]

MASSORAH PARVA

HOSEA הושע ii, 13—ii, 21.

MS. ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V.
תר פסוק הא בכל }	...	...	ג פסוק מן ג מלין מודרפין מפקין הא וסי מזובי דשבת בהכנה }	מִשְׁוֹשָׁה	ii. 13
...	...	...	ל	חָזָה	" "
...	...	...	ל	חֲדָשָׁה	" "
...	...	...	ל	וְשִׁבְתָּהּ	" "
...	...	...	ל	מִזְעָרָה	" "
...	...	...	...	נִפְנָה	" 14
...	...	...	...	וּתְאֲנִתָּהּ	" "
...	ל	ל מן אלף	ל	אֲתָנָה	" "
...	...	ב עים	...	לְיַעַר	" "
ת	...	...	ב	וְאֶכְלָתֶם	" "
...	...	...	ל	וּתְעַד	" 15
...	...	...	...	נִזְמָה	" "
ל	ל	ל	...	וּחֲלִיתָהּ	" "
ל ומל	ל	ל	ל	מִפְתִּיחַ	" 16
...	...	...	ל וחם ויו	וְהִלְכִיתִּי	" "
...	...	...	...	אֶת־כְּרָמִי	" 17
...	...	...	...	וְאֶת־עֵמֶק	" "
ב	...	...	...	עֲבוֹר	" "
ד	...	...	...	וְעֲנִתָּהּ	" "
...	...	ל	...	וְעֲנִתָּהּ שְׁמִי	" "
ל	...	...	ל	וּכְיוֹם	" "
...	ג ב מל וא חם	מל	ב חר מל וחד חם	עֲלוֹתָהּ	" "
ח	...	...	...	אִישִׁי	" 18
...	...	חם דחם	...	וְהִסְרֵתִי	" 19
ל	...	...	...	בְּשִׁמָּם	" "
...	...	ל דסמ	...	וְעַם־עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם	" 20
ל	...	...	...	וְקִשְׁתִּי וְחֶרֶב וּמִלְחָמָה	" "
...	ג מל	מל בע	ל מל וד מל בליש	אֲשִׁבּוֹר	" "
...	...	...	ל	וְהִשְׁבַּכְתִּים	" "
ג ובעיל	ג	...	ג	וְאֶרְשִׁיתִי	" 21
...	ג	...	ג	וְאֶרְשִׁיתִי	" "

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Hosea הושע ii, 21—iii, 4.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HABL. 67
CH. v. ii. 21	...	...	...	...	...
22	...	...	ב	ב	...
23	...	...	ז	...	...
24	...	ז	ז	ז	...
25	ז בטע	...	ז בט בספ	ז בטע בספ	...
26	...	...	וקס צל	...	...
27	...	...	...	...	ס סו הארץ
28	...	...	...	...	תריה והארץ
29	ח רא פסו	חרף	ח רא פס	ח רפ	א פס
30	...	...	...	...	...
31	...	ד וחם	ד וחם	ד יב בספ	חם
32	...	...	יא	ג וחם	...
33	...	...	...	ז בטע לעיל	סמו
34	...	...	...	...	...
35	...	...	...	ב	...
iii. 1	...	...	...	ל	...
2	...	ל	...	ל	...
3	...	...	...	...	יכן דרך אשה
4	...	...	...	...	פת
5	...	...	...	ל	...
6	...	...	...	...	...
7	ד	...	ד	ד	...
8	...	...	ל	ל	...
9	2	...	ל	ל ודג	...
10	...	ל	ל	ל	...
11	3	...	...	...	...
12	...	...	...	...	...
13	...	...	ל	...	...
14	...	...	...	ל	ד ותהיי לי
15	...	...	...	...	ז וב מלי לסו
16	...	...	...	ח מצע פסו	...
17	...	...	ל	...	...
18	4	...	ב	ב	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושיע ii, 21—iii, 4.

MS. ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. ii. 21
...	...	ל ובסיפ מוג	...	ובחכד וברחמים	" "
...	...	...	ב	וברחמים	" "
...	...	...	ז	וארשתי	" 22
...	...	...	ז	וידעת	" "
...	...	...	ז בטע בסיפ	וקיה פיו	" 23
...	...	...	...	והם	" "
...	...	...	...	הארץ	" "
ח ראש פס	ח ראש פס	ח ר פ	ח רפ	וקארץ	" 24
...	...	...	ל	וורעתיה	" 25
ד וחם	ד	...	ד וחם	רחמה	" "
...	...	...	יא	ללא	" "
ל	...	...	...	עמי עמי	" "
...	...	...	...	אתה	" "
ב	...	ב	...	יאמר אליה	" "
...	...	ל	ל	אהב	iii. 1
ל	ל	ל	ל	אהבת	" "
...	...	...	...	ומנאפת	" "
...	...	ל	...	באהבת	" "
...	...	כול חס בת	...	פנים	" "
ל וד אהבי	...	...	ד	ואהבי	" "
...	...	...	ל	אשיתי	" "
...	ל	ל וחם	ל	ואקרה	" 2
ל	ל	ל	ל	ולתך	" "
...	...	...	ל	לא תזני ולא תהיי	" 3
ל	...	...	...	תזני	" "
...	...	...	...	ולא תהיי	" "
...	...	ל	...	תהיי	" "
...	...	...	יא ספ ובתריה ב מלין }	וגם	" "
...	...	...	...	וגם-אני	" "
...	...	...	...	וגם-אני אליך	" "
ב	...	ב	...	ישובו	" 4

[The remainder of this Article, together with additional notes, will be given in Vol. V, Part 2.]





COMPARATIVE ALPHABET.

	PHOENICIAN (Old Hebrew)	MODERN HEBREW	SABAAN	ETHIOPIIC	MODERN ARABIC	POWER in English.		PHOENICIAN (Old Hebrew)	MODERN HEBREW	SABAAN	ETHIOPIIC	MODERN ARABIC	POWER in English.
1.	𐤀	א	א	አ	ا	a, ă	16.	𐤁	ב	ב	በ	ع, ع	ā, gh
2.	𐤂	ב	ב, פ	በ	ب	b	17.	𐤃	ג, ד	ג, ד	ג	ف	f
3.	𐤄	ג	ג	ג	ג	g	18.	𐤅	ד, ז	ד, ז	ד	ص	g, ʿ
4.	𐤆	ד	ד	ד	ד	d	19.	𐤇	ה	ה	ה	ق	k, c
5.	𐤈	ה	ה	ה	ה, ו	h	20.	𐤉	ו	ו, י	ו	ر	r
6.	𐤊	ו	ו	ו	ו	v, w	21.	𐤋	ז, ש	ז, ש	ז	ش	sh
7.	𐤌	ז	ז	ז	ז	z	22.	𐤍	ח	ח	ח	ت	t
8.	𐤎	ח	ח	ח	ח	h	23.	𐤏	ט	ט	(w)	ث	th
9.	𐤐	ט	ט	ט	ט	t	24.	𐤑	י	י	(H)	ذ	dh
10.	𐤒	י	י	י	י	i, y	25.	𐤓	כ	כ	..	غ	gh
11.	𐤔	כ, כ	כ	כ	כ	k	26.	𐤕	ל	ל	ל	ع	kh
12.	𐤖	ל	ל	ל	ل	l	27.	𐤗	מ	מ	..	א	p
13.	𐤘	מ, מ	מ, מ	מ	م	m	28.	𐤙	נ	נ	θ	ش	z
14.	𐤚	נ, נ	נ	נ	ن	n	29.	𐤛	ס, ז, ז	ס, ז, ז	(θ)	ظ	zh
15.	𐤜	ס	ס	ס	س	s	30.	𐤝	..	X	(w) (θ)	(ث)	ts

A SKETCH OF SABÆAN GRAMMAR ;

WITH

EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATION.

BY CAPTAIN W. F. PRIDEAUX, F.R.G.S., *Fellow of
the University of Bombay.*

Read 4th January, 1876.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH the British Museum possesses the largest collection of Sabæan inscriptions extant in any European country, no systematic attempt has been made by any English scholar to elucidate the grammatical principles of the language in which the epigraphs are composed. The labours of Osiander, Ewald, Levy, Gildemeister, and other Continental writers, have done much to smooth the path of Sabæan study ; and later students, such as Lenormant, Praetorius, Halévy, and D. H. Müller, have formulated with exactitude some of the more important canons of the grammar. M. Halévy's latest work, *Études Sabéennes*, which first appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* for May-June, October, 1873, and December, 1874, and which has subsequently been republished in a separate volume, has formed the basis of the following sketch ; and although I differ from him in one or two particulars, I cannot help acknowledging the industry and skill by which he has shown that he is not less distinguished in the field of philological research than in that of original discovery. But there is still much room for further investigation ; and I have some hope that the publication of the following imperfect

sketch may stimulate some of our English Orientalists to pursue further a study which not only lies invitingly open to them, but which, as near akin to the language of inspiration, possesses an extrinsic value of the highest kind.

There can be no doubt that the Sabæan is an independent branch of the great Semitic family. To which of its congeners it is most nearly related it is difficult to say. Its antiquity is shown in its display of forms sometimes shared in common with other languages, and sometimes peculiar to itself. As instances of the former kind, it is sufficient to adduce the following characteristics of the language. It agrees with the Hebrew and differs from the Arabic and Æthiopic in possessing a Hiphil conjugation; it agrees with the Assyrian and differs from the Arabic and Æthiopic in refusing a prosthetic Alif in the X. conjugation; it agrees with the Assyrian and Arabic and differs from the Hebrew¹ and Æthiopic in possessing declinable triptote nouns; it agrees with the Hebrew and differs from the Arabic and Æthiopic in forming a *pluralis sanus* in $\square$; and it agrees with the Arabic and Æthiopic and differs from the Hebrew and Assyrian in having *plurales fracti*. Perhaps the most distinctive peculiarity of the language is the reduplication of the $\}$ in the plural of the subjunctive imperfect tense.

In its alphabet, the Sabæan resembles the Æthiopic, and there can be little doubt that for a considerable period there was only one language on either side of the Red Sea. As Sabæan inscriptions have been found in Abyssinia, it is probable that Sabæan is earlier than the Geëz. In both the Sabæan and the modern Amharic we find an admixture of words which are inexplicable by the aid of the other Semitic tongues, and which are probably attributable to an earlier Cushite stock. The relics of this primal race, which is typified as the serpent Aru, are probably still lingering in the Agau and Bilen districts.

The Sabæan vocabulary has a great affinity to the Æthiopic and Arabic. It is, however, dangerous to infer that every word we meet with can be satisfactorily explained from

¹ There is, however, good reason to believe that the earliest form of the Hebrew noun was both declinable, and minated.

the cognate languages, even when there is an apparent identity with some well-known root. It is notorious that the Arab lexicologists are determined to find an Arabic etymon for every word which occurs in a native author; and it is far more likely that such words as 𐤀𐤃𐤁 or 𐤀𐤁𐤁 (plur. 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀) *a chief*, and 𐤀𐤁𐤁, *a wife*, are independent vocables than that they have any connection with the roots 𐤀𐤁𐤁 and 𐤀𐤁𐤁.¹

The point on which I differ chiefly from the Continental writers is with regard to the regular plural of nouns, which I believe is formed in 𐤁 and not in 𐤁. This opinion is based not only on a careful examination of the texts, but on the *à priori* ground that as 𐤁- is in Arabic the dynamical development of 𐤁, and 𐤁- of 𐤁, so in Sabæan 𐤀 (âm or im) would be the analogous form produced from the mimation. In Hebrew the mimation is found in the adverbs 𐤀𐤁𐤁 (acc. of 𐤀𐤁𐤁) *truly*, 𐤀𐤁𐤁 (acc. of 𐤀𐤁𐤁) *gratis, etc.*; and although a mimative nominative is not found, it appears in the construct state in such words as 𐤀𐤁𐤁 and 𐤀𐤁𐤁. From the *status constructus* of the singular, therefore, the regular plural in 𐤁 is developed, and the Sabæan 𐤀𐤁𐤁, for instance, is the etymological equivalent of the Hebrew 𐤀𐤁𐤁. The final 𐤁 is, I believe, in every case either the enclitic demonstrative, which often has merely the force of a definite article, or an adjectival ending, corresponding to the Arabic 𐤁. I may also add that my views differ from those of M. Halévy in regard to the employment of the conjunction 𐤁. I do not think this is ever used to give a precativè sense to the verb except when it governs the subjunctive mood of the imperfect tense, and that it is never thus employed with the perfect tense. I should perhaps add a word upon the term "Sabæan," which I have adopted in preference to "Himyaritic." The latter term was borrowed from the Arabs, who were only acquainted with the Kingdom of the 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀, or Himyarites. But it is evident from the texts

¹ 𐤀𐤁𐤁 is said by the Arab lexicons to mean *a wife*, because she *follows*, or conforms with the wishes of her husband.

that this kingdom rose upon the ruins of the ancient dynasty of which the chiefs bore the title of 𐩧𐩣𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩣, King of Sabä and Dhû-Raidân. Sabä was a district of which 𐩢𐩣𐩣 (Maryab) was the capital, and Raidân or Dhu-Raidân was, as I have shown in a former paper,¹ the name of the palace of the kings near Zhafâr. The language employed in the inscriptions was that of the people of Sabä, as the frequent references to the kings testify, and it is therefore only proper to call the language after them, instead of after the inhabitants of a petty provincial kingdom.

An older dialect is perhaps that of the 𐩢𐩣𐩣, or people of the kingdom of Ma'n, of whom so many inscriptions have been brought to light by M. Halévy. This is very similar to the language of the 𐩢𐩣𐩣𐩢𐩣, or people of Ḥadhrāmūt. The principal characteristics are the frequent employment of a paragogic 𐩣 in nouns, when in the construct state, or employed with the enclitic 𐩣; the use of a Saphel instead of a Hiphil conjugation; and the possessive suffixes 𐩣, 𐩣𐩣, and 𐩣𐩢𐩣, instead of the more ordinary forms 𐩣𐩣 and 𐩣𐩢𐩣. In these two latter particulars it resembles the Assyrian.

In conclusion, I may state that I have selected the inscriptions in the British Museum for translation, because doubtful passages can be so easily verified either by an inspection of the monuments themselves or of Mr. Netherclift's excellent facsimiles. There is therefore no room for *variorum* readings. I have added a translation of an inscription, which is now in the British Museum, but which at the time M. Halévy copied it as No. 686 of his *Recueil*, was in my house at Aden. The true reading of the text, which was to a certain extent incorrectly transcribed by M. Halévy, will be apparent from my translation, and will I trust lead to a peaceful settlement of a dispute, which was for some time carried on between MM. Halévy and Prætorius, on the subject of this very stone.²

¹ *On some Recent Discoveries in South-Western Arabia.* Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. II, p. 1.

² Halévy, *Études Sabéennes*, Paris, 1875, p. 30; Prætorius, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Himjarischen Inschriften*, Drittes Heft, Halle, 1874, p. iv.

GRAMMATICAL SKETCH.

I.—ORTHOGRAPHY.

There are twenty-nine letters in the Sabæan alphabet, all of which are consonants, although two at least of them are also used as vowels. The accompanying table exhibits the letters, and their equivalents in the cognate Semitic languages.

As all our knowledge of Sabæan is solely derived from the inscriptions discovered in El-Yemen and in Abyssinia, it is impossible to lay down precise rules with regard to the exact phonetic value of the letters, and, indeed, it is only within the last year or two, that the power of some of them has been determined. They may, as in other languages, be divided into the classes of (*a*) Gutturals, (*b*) Dentals, (*c*) Labials, (*d*) Sibilants, (*e*) Palatals, and (*f*) Liquids.

(*a*) *The Gutturals*, 𐩀, 𐩁, 𐩂, 𐩃, 𐩄, 𐩅, 𐩆.

Of these 𐩀 represents the *spiritus lenis* of the Greeks, and the *Alif* Hamza (أ) of the Arabs. Possessing, as it does, the powers of a semi-consonant and semi-vowel, it can never be elided, nor can words in which it occurs be written defectively. 𐩃, as in Hebrew, must have been pronounced as a very strong guttural, as many words are spelt with it which in Arabic have غ, as 𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈 𐩉𐩊𐩋. 𐩌 represents the ordinary غ of the Arabs, but is occasionally in Sabæan confounded with 𐩍, from which it is evidently derived.

(*b*) *The Dentals*, 𐩎, 𐩏, 𐩐, 𐩑.

These were probably pronounced in the same manner as their representatives in Arabic.

(c) *The Labials*, 𐩦, 𐩧, 𐩨.

Are also represented in all the other Semitic languages.

(d) *The Sibilants*, 𐩣, 𐩤, 𐩥, 𐩦, 𐩧.

Of these, 𐩧 appears to have an intermediate sound between 𐩣 and 𐩧.¹

(e) *The Palatals*, 𐩨, 𐩩, 𐩪.(f) *The Liquids*, 𐩫, 𐩬, 𐩭.

In addition to the above, there are the two *faucial* letters, 𐩮, and the explosive 𐩯; and the two *weak* letters, 𐩰, and 𐩱, which have the double consonantal and vowel powers. The latter is, however, very rare, except at the end of words, and it is even doubtful whether it ever occurs medially excepting the name of the Semitic lunar-god Sîn. Both 𐩰 and 𐩱 have diphthongal powers, and words thus spelt may be written defectively, *e.g.* :—

𐩮𐩱 for 𐩮𐩰𐩱, *a day* ;
 𐩫𐩬 for 𐩫𐩬𐩭, *a chief* ;
 𐩰𐩱𐩬𐩭 for 𐩰𐩱𐩬𐩭𐩭, *his brothers* ; and
 𐩣𐩮𐩱𐩰𐩱 for 𐩣𐩰𐩮𐩱𐩰𐩱, *Hadhrāmut*.

The orthographic signs used in Arabic, such as the *Jazma*, *Tashdīd*, and *Hamza*, are not represented in Sabæan, although the words are of course influenced by the principles which govern those signs. For instance, *Alif* is invariably *Hamzatum*, and we know that many syllables must necessarily be *Jazmatum*, from analogy. *Mushaddad* consonants are generally, if not always, written in full in the case of liquids, and are contracted in the case of gutturals. The *Wasla*, and prosthetic *Alif* are not found in Sabæan.

¹ Cf. Dr. D. H. Müller's valuable remarks on the pronunciation of this letter, which in Sabā seems to have been the equivalent of the Arabic ; (*Zeitschrift d. D. M. G.* XXIX, p. 588).

II.--ETYMOLOGY.

1. *The Verb.*

The verb in Sabæan is with very rare exceptions triliteral, and from the first, or ground-form, are derived six other forms, which, to use Dr. Wright's words, "express various modifications of the idea expressed by the first."

The following table shows the original and derived forms, so far as they are at present known, the numbering being reckoned on the basis of the Arabic.

No.	Arabic.	Sabæan.	Hebrew.	Force.
I.	فَعَلَ	X O 3	קָטַל	Simple
II.	فَعَّلَ	1 ח ח	קָטַל	{ Intensive Causative
IV	عَمِلَ افْعَلَ	{ 9 4 6 4 9 4 6 ח }	הִקְטִיל	Causative
V.	تَفَعَّلَ	ח ן 4 X	הִתְקַטַּל	{ Reflexive Effective
VII.	اِنْفَعَلَ	ח 0 4 4 4	נִקְטַל	{ Reflexive Effective
VIII.	اِفْتَعَلَ	1 ח X ח	.. ..	{ Reflexive Reciprocal
X.	اِسْتَفْعَلَ	ח 1 8 X ח	.. ..	{ Reflexive Rogative

It will be seen from the above that the second form is produced by doubling the second radical of the first or simple form; the fourth by prefixing the letter 4, or in the Minæan and Hadhramaut dialects, the letter ח, to the simple form; the fifth by prefixing the letter X to the second form; the

seventh by prefixing the syllable 𐤣𐤣 to the simple form; the eighth by inserting the letter 𐤀 between the first and second radicals of the simple form; and the tenth by prefixing the syllable 𐤀𐤠 to the simple form.

There are two tenses to the verb in Sabæan, the Perfect and the Imperfect; and four moods, the Indicative, Subjunctive or Conditional, Precative, and Imperative.

Owing to the nature of the inscriptions, on which all our information with respect to Sabæan grammar is based, it is impossible to state with certainty the suffixes of the first and second persons of the Perfect Tense, or the affixes of the first and second persons of the Imperfect. We know, either from the inscriptions or by analogy, that the following are the forms of the third persons of these Tenses in the singular, dual, and plural numbers:—

PERFECT TENSE.

	MASCULINE.	FEMININE.
<i>3rd pers. Sing.</i>	𐤀𐤌𐤐	𐤀𐤀𐤌𐤐
” ”	𐤉𐤣𐤍	𐤀𐤉𐤣𐤍
” ”	𐤠𐤛𐤍	𐤀𐤠𐤛𐤍
” ”	𐤣𐤍𐤕	𐤀𐤣𐤍𐤕
” ”	𐤂𐤉𐤐	𐤀𐤂𐤉𐤐
<i>3rd pers. Dual</i>	𐤉𐤀𐤌𐤐	𐤉𐤀𐤀𐤌𐤐
” ”	𐤉𐤉𐤣𐤍	𐤉𐤀𐤉𐤣𐤍
” ”	𐤉𐤂𐤉𐤐	𐤉𐤀𐤂𐤉𐤐
<i>3rd pers. Plur.</i>	𐤍𐤀𐤌𐤐	
” ”	𐤍𐤉𐤣𐤍	
” ”	𐤍𐤠𐤛𐤍	

When one verb in the perfect tense is the consecutive of another in the same tense, the letter ל is added to it if in the singular, and is substituted for the letter ׀ if in the feminine singular, and for the letters ׀ and ׀ if in the dual or plural, *e.g.* :—

לֹא־חָשַׁבְתִּי לֹא־יָצַח, *he aided and preserved.*

לֹא־הִלָּלְתָּ לֹא־יָדַעְתָּ, *she glorified and solemnly vowed.*

לֹא־בָנְיָם לֹא־שָׁלְמוּ, *they constructed and completed.*

This paragogic ל is probably a sign of energy, and may be a relic of the old Hebrew form, as in קָטַלְתִּי.

IMPERFECT TENSE.

	MASCULINE.	FEMININE.
3rd pers. Sing.	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב
„ Dual	Not found.	
„ Plur.	יִכְתֹּב	

The Subjunctive mood is formed from the Imperfect tense by adding an energetic ל to the third person singular, which is doubled in the plural :—

	SIMPLE FORM.	HIPHIL FORM.
3rd pers. Sing.	יִכְתֹּב־לֵּ	יִכְתֹּב־לֵּ
„ Plur.	יִכְתֹּב־לֵּ	יִכְתֹּב־לֵּ

The Precative mood is formed by prefixing the preposition

1, with or without the pronouns **H** and **XH**, to the Subjunctive :—

	SIMPLE FORM.	SATAPHEL FORM.
3rd pers. Sing.	ላዐኃዐየገ	ላየዐወሐሐየገ
„ Plur.	ላላዐኃዐየገ	ላላየዐወሐሐየገ

It would appear that in verbs of the formation **ላላዐ**, the medial **ላ** is preserved in conjugating, as in **ላላዐሐ**, whereas in verbs of the formation **ላላዐ**, the **ላ** is elided, as **ላላዐ**, from **ላላዐ**. In verbs **ላላዐ**, the **ላ** falls in the imperfect tense, as **ላላዐ** from **ላላዐ**, etc. The final **ላ** and **ሐ** are always maintained in verbs **ላላዐ** and **ላላዐ**, as in **ወየላበ**, **ላየላበ**, **ላየላላላ**, **ወሐኑበ**, etc.

Owing to the want of vocalization, it is difficult to ascertain the participial forms. The participle of the I. conjugation is probably found in the divine epithets **ላዐዐ** or **ዐዐ** and **ዐሐ**, and in such words as **ላላዐ**; that of the II. conjugation in **ላላዐዐ**, etc. The forms **ላየዐላበሐሐ** and **ወበዐላበሐሐ** are apparently derived from the V. conjugation.

The impersonal verb **ላዐላ** (Arabic **نعم**) is always written in the feminine gender, as in the common phrase, **ላላዐላሐዐላሐዐላዐሐ**, *because there has been favour* (in times past), and *may there be favour* (in times to come).

The following are the personal suffixes of the verb, so far as they are known :—

		MASCULINE.
3rd pers. Sing.	..	ወሐ — = Arab. هو
„ Dual	..	የላዐ — = Arab. هما
„ Plur.	..	ወላዐ — = Old Arab. هم

MINÆAN DIALECT.

		MASCULINE.	
3rd pers. Sing.	..	ḥ—	⊙ ḥ
„	Plur.	ḡ ḥ—	

The same forms serve, when appended to the noun, to indicate the possessive, as—

⊙ ḡ ḡ ḡ ḡ, *his servant*;

⊙ ḡ ḡ ḡ ḡ ḡ ḡ, *their free-born males*.

2. THE NOUN.

The Noun is divided into two classes, *triptotes* and *diptotes*. Triptotes are known by the termination ḡ, usually called the *Mimation* in Sabæan, which answers to the *Tanwîn* in Arabic. Owing to the consonantal character of the language, we are unable to indicate the vowels which respectively denote the nominative, genitive, and accusative cases, but they were probably the same as in Arabic, *e.g.*:—

ḡ ḡ ḡ ḡ (15, l. 1) = ^{انمار}انمار, *pron.* Anmâr^{um}.

ḡ ḡ ḡ ḡ (15, l. 6-7) = ^{انمارا}انمارا, *pron.* Anmâr^{am}.

ḡ ḡ ḡ ḡ 1 (15, l. 11-12) = ^{لانمار}لانمار, *pron.* Anmâr^{im}.

A noun is diptote when it does not possess the mimation, as ḡ ḡ, *Arab.* شمر, *Shammaru*.

The following nouns are diptote:—

1. Proper names which resemble the II. conjugation of the verb, as ḡ ḡ ḡ.

2. Proper names which resemble any of the persons of the imperfect, as—

ዳዕሐሕ, ዳላጸ, ዳላዓ, ነዕዓዓ.

3. Proper names which end in ጸ, whether masculine or feminine, as—

ጸበገሐ, ጸፃላዓዓ, ጸጎፃፃ.

4. Compound proper names, as—

ጸፃጎፀዓ, በጎሐዓፃሐ.

5. Proper names ending in ኂ, the Arabic حـ, as—

ኂጎፃዕ, ኂፃዕዕዕ, ኂዓገዕ.

6. Proper names ending in Hamza, as—

ሕበሐ,

or consisting of more than three letters, as—

ነጸፀዕ, በዓነፃ.

This rule is not, however, constant.

The genitive case follows the rule in Æthiopic, and is formed either by the governing word being in the *status constructus*, or by the addition of the preposition **ዘ** to the second word. The latter form might perhaps be more accurately termed the possessive case.

The mimation in triptote nouns is lost in the *status constructus*, as—

ፃሐገፃ, *a king*,

ሕበሐገሐገፃ, *king of Sabä*;

ፃጸዓበ, *a house*,

ፃዕፀዓጸዓበ, *the house or temple of Yāthi'im*.

In the regular plural, the *status constructus* is marked by a ዓ, as—

ነዕፃገዓጸዓገሐዕገዓገሐ, *the gods and goddesses of Ma'n*;

ሕበሐገዓገሐገፃ, *the kings of Sabä*.

The mination also falls naturally before the personal suffixes, as—

𐩦𐩡𐩢𐩣, *a servant or worshipper,*

𐩣𐩡𐩢𐩣, *his servant.*

There are three numbers to the noun in Sabæan; the singular, dual, and plural.

The dual¹ is formed by suffixing 𐩨𐩣 to the singular, as—

𐩨𐩣𐩡𐩢𐩣, *two forts;*

but in the construct state the 𐩨 is generally dropped, as—

𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩨𐩣, *two kings of Sabä;*

𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩨𐩣, *two mistresses of the cottage;*

whilst the 𐩨 disappears when the determinative 𐩨𐩣 is employed, as—

𐩨𐩣𐩡𐩢𐩣, *between the two seasons;*

𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩨𐩣, { *the two houses of Hirrân*
and *No'mân;*

𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩨𐩣, { *the two repositories of*
the offerings of 'Athtor
and *Shams^{im}.*

The plural is divided into the *pluralis sanus*, and the *pluralis fractus*.

The *pluralis sanus*³ of masculine nouns is formed by adding 𐩦 to the *status constructus* singular, as—

[𐩦] 𐩡𐩢𐩣, *a human being,*

𐩡𐩢𐩣, *human beings;*

[𐩦] 𐩡𐩢𐩣, *a beast of burden,*

𐩡𐩢𐩣, *beasts of burden.*

¹ In the examples given by M. Halévy from his own inscriptions at page 52 of *Études Sabéennes*, I am of opinion that the 𐩨 is the demonstrative enclitic, and not a part of the dual.

² This is probably a contraction of 𐩨𐩣𐩡𐩢𐩣, *two*.

³ The pronunciation of the regular plural was probably *ima* in the nominative, and *ima* in the objective cases.

It may be observed, that verbals are sometimes masculine in Sabæan, feminine is Arabic, as—

𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩢𐩦 *a prayer*, ^{سَلَاةٌ} *سَلَاةٌ*.

The adjective, in Sabæan, is often formed from the substantive by the addition of a 𐩣, as—

𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩢𐩦, *the east*, 𐩣𐩣𐩢𐩢𐩦, *eastern*;

𐩦𐩢𐩣𐩦, *the west*, 𐩢𐩢𐩣𐩦, *western*;

𐩦𐩢𐩣𐩦, *a king*, 𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩦, *royal*.

Gentile adjectives are, in the singular, often formed by the addition of 𐩢, as—

𐩣𐩢𐩦, *Ma'in*, 𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩦, *a Minean*;

𐩢𐩢𐩦, *Sabä*, 𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩦, *a Sabæan*;

but this is elided in the plural, as—

𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩦, *Mineans*;

𐩦𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩦𐩢𐩢𐩦, *people of Hadhramaut*.

There is no article in Sabæan. The final 𐩦 of the mination has no doubt the force of an indefinite article; and the demonstrative enclitic 𐩣 serves as a sign of determination. But article, *pur et simple*, there is none; and the theory of M. Halévy, that 𐩢𐩢 is used as a definite article, cannot be upheld. The paragogic 𐩢 is common in the Hadhramaut and Minean dialects, in the case of words in the construct state, as—

𐩣𐩢𐩦, *a name*; 𐩣𐩢𐩢𐩦, *a statio*;

𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩦, *a city*; 𐩣𐩢𐩢𐩦, *a day*;

but this is not an article.¹ As for the compound names, 𐩣𐩢𐩦𐩢𐩢𐩦, 𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩦, a study of Sabæan nomen-

¹ The nearest corresponding form would be the final 𐩢 of the Aramæan dialects.

clature would have convinced M. Halévy that in royal appellations, it was usual to employ an epithet of the deity as the second division of the word, governing a verb in the first; and that in the above names, the word is composed of the epithet of the divinity **ሂ፩ሐ**, i.e., the participle of the verb **ሂ፩ሐ** = the Hebrew root **שָׁפַח**, *altus fuit*, and the Arab. **سَمَو** (سما), and the verb **ዐ፩ዓ** = Heb. **יָדַע** *cognovit*; whereas in the second word, the epithet is from **፲፭ሐ**, i.e., the participle of **፲፭ሐ**, the verb, whence is derived the Hebrew **כְּרוּב**, *cherub*, and signifying *to be mighty, powerful*; and the verb **ሂ፩ሐ**. Similarly, **ዓ፲ዐሂ፩ሐ**, in which the latter constituent was probably originally **ሂ፲ዐ** = Heb. root **עלה**, *elatus est*, and Arab. **علا** (علا). It is an interesting feature in the Sabæan language that (especially in proper names) we so often see the original form in **ሂ** in verbs of which in Arabic the third radical is **و**, and **ى**, and in Aramæan **א** or (in intransitive verbs) **י**.

The syllable **ዐሂ**, which M. Halévy takes to be the *forma plena* of **ሂ**, and which he assimilates to the third personal pronoun **הוא** and to the Hebrew article **ה**, is more probably the suffix of the third possessive pronoun, as in—

፩፩፭፯፯፯ዐሂ፯፯ሂ, *his city of Nashk^{im}*,

፲፱፩፯፯ዐሂ፩፯ሂ, *his sanctuary of Madhab*.

In the Hadhramaut dialect we accordingly find **ሐ** in lieu of **ዐሂ**, as—

፩፲፭፯፯ሐ፩፯ሂ፩, *his sanctuary of Alam*,

፩፯ዐ፩፯፯ሐ፲ዐ፭, *his tribe of the Minæans*.

III.—THE PRONOUN.

The following table exhibits the forms of the demonstrative pronouns in Sabæan :—

1. *The near Demonstrative (THIS).*

		SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
<i>Masc.</i>	..	Ḥ	Ḥ
<i>Fem.</i>	..	ḤḤ	ḤḤ

2. *The distant Demonstrative (THAT).*

		SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
<i>Masc.</i>	..	Ḥ Ṣ Ḥ	Ḥ Ṣ Ḥ
<i>Fem.</i>	..	Ḥ Ṣ Ḥ	Ḥ Ṣ Ḥ

The connexion of the distant demonstrative with the pronominal system of the other Semitic languages, is not readily apparent to the student; and great credit is due to M. Halévy for the acumen he has displayed in establishing the radical identity of this part of speech with the forms under which it is preserved in Æthiopic.¹

The plural of the near demonstrative receives the paragogic Ḥ in the Minæan dialect, as ḤḤḤ, and a form ḤḤḤ is also found, but it is uncertain whether this is a dialectic or a regular form.

Closely allied to the demonstrative are the monosyllables Ḥ and ḤḤ, which, though signs of the genitive case, have invariably a possessive signification like the Arabic ذَا and ذَات. The form ḤḤ is also found with identical force, as ḤḤḤ = ḤḤḤḤ.

¹ Halévy, *Études Sabéennes*, Paris, 1875, pp. 63, 237.

The conjunctive relative pronouns are:—

𐩦, 𐩦𐩦, *who, that* = Arab. ^{الَّذِي}، ^{الَّتِي}

𐩦𐩬𐩦, 𐩦𐩦𐩬𐩦, *he who, she who, whoever* = Arab. ^{مَنْ}

𐩦 is used adjectively like the Arab. ^{الَّذِي}, and agrees with its substantive in gender, number, and case; *e.g.*,

⊕ 𐩦—𐩦 = Arab. ^{الَّذِي}—^{دُ},

⊕ 𐩦𐩦𐩦, *by which*,

⊕ 𐩦𐩦𐩬𐩦𐩦, *which he has offered*.

When used substantively, it is equivalent to 𐩦𐩬𐩦, as—

⊕ 𐩦𐩬𐩦𐩦𐩬𐩦, *whosoever may break it*

The texts do not supply with examples of the neuter conjunctive pronoun, nor of the interrogative pronouns. As they are invariably written in the third person, we have no opportunity of knowing the form of the first and second persons, but the third is probably in the singular 𐩦 𐩦 and in the plural 𐩦𐩦. M. Halévy's remarks on this subject may be studied with interest.¹

IV.—THE DEMONSTRATIVE ENCLITIC.

In some of M. Halévy's inscriptions, an early form of the demonstrative is found as 𐩦 𐩦. This is probably identical with the Aram. 𐩦𐩦, *this*, and thence *lo!* the Heb. 𐩦𐩦, *lo!*, and the Arab. ^{هَذَا}، in ^{هَذَا} (هَذَا). The 𐩦 𐩦 in Sabæan is however generally found combined with an enclitic 𐩦, as 𐩦 𐩦, corresponding to the Heb. 𐩦𐩦, and the Arab. ^{لَئِنْ} *lo!* The demonstrative force of this letter is well displayed in the Arab. ^{هَذَا} and the Heb. 𐩦𐩦. In Sabæan the enclitic

¹ Halévy's *Études Sabéennes*, Paris, 1875, p. 68.

is invariably added to the masculine singular demonstrative **H**, as **ḤH**, and frequently to the plural **ḤḤ**, as **ḤḤḤ**. It is not used with the feminine demonstrative, and in the distant forms the final **X** is equally an enclitic, and is of equal power. But it must be added to every noun which is preceded by a pronoun; as—

Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ
 Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ
 Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ
 Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ
 Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ

It is obvious that when the noun is thus made determinate, it loses the indefinite mination.

The enclitic is also occasionally added to a preposition, when it occurs before a determinate noun, as—

Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ, *in that calamity.*

This must not be confounded with the other preposition **ḤḤ**, *from*.

A word is occasionally emphasized by the addition of the syllable **ḤḤ** to the ordinary enclitic **Ḥ**. The etymology of this particle has been explained above. It gives the signification of *this itself, the very*, as **ḤḤ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ ḤḤ**, *in the shrine itself, in the very shrine*. Halévy is mistaken in thinking that **Ḥ** is *merely* a contraction of **ḤḤ**, or that the latter can be employed by itself. On the contrary, **ḤḤ** is invariably found in conjunction with **Ḥ**. The two examples **ḤḤ ḤḤ** and **ḤḤ ḤḤ** in British Museum Inscription No. 29 are in the Hadhramaut dialect, and the normal forms of **ḤḤ ḤḤ** and **ḤḤ ḤḤ** in Sabæan are **ḤḤ** and **ḤḤ**, consequently **ḤḤ ḤḤ** = **ḤḤ ḤḤ** and **ḤḤ ḤḤ** = **ḤḤ ḤḤ**.

V.—THE NUMERALS.

The cardinal numbers from 3 to 10 follow the analogy of the Hebrew and Arabic languages (in opposition to the Æthiopic) in placing the feminine form in **X** before masculine nouns, and the normal form before feminine nouns. They are as follows, an asterisk being placed after such as do not actually occur in the inscriptions:—

	MASCULINE.	FEMININE.
1.	𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩠	𐩦𐩭𐩣𐩠
2.	𐩦𐩣𐩠	𐩦𐩭𐩣𐩠
3.	𐩦𐩠𐩠𐩠	𐩦𐩭𐩠𐩠𐩠
4.	𐩦𐩠𐩠𐩠𐩠	𐩦𐩭𐩠𐩠𐩠𐩠
5.	𐩦𐩠𐩦𐩠	𐩦𐩭𐩠𐩠𐩦𐩠*
6.	𐩦𐩠𐩣𐩠	𐩦𐩭𐩠𐩠𐩣𐩠
7.	𐩦𐩠𐩠𐩠	𐩦𐩭𐩠𐩠𐩠*
8.	𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩠	𐩦𐩭𐩣𐩦𐩠*
9.	𐩦𐩠𐩠𐩭	𐩦𐩭𐩠𐩠𐩭*
10.	𐩦𐩠𐩠𐩠	𐩦𐩭𐩠𐩠𐩠

Some dialectic forms are found in the inscriptions, such as the substitution of **𐩣** for **𐩣** in **𐩭𐩣𐩠**, and of **𐩠** for **𐩭** in the same word; the elision of the **𐩣** in **𐩦𐩭𐩣𐩠** and of the **𐩣** in **𐩠𐩣𐩠**; and the substitution of **𐩠**, **𐩭**, or (as in Aramaic) **𐩭** for **𐩠** in **𐩠𐩠𐩠**. In the Minæan dialect the letter **𐩣** is inserted between the first and second radicals of **𐩣𐩠𐩠**.

It will be observed that the cardinal numbers, with the exception of the dual 2, are triptote, although the mimation is lost in composition, and the demonstrative enclitic, both in its simple and its intensified form may be affixed to them, as

ኣጸፀበኣ, ኣሃኣኣፀፀ.

The cardinal numbers from 11 to 19 are formed by the addition of ኣፀፀ or ጸኣፀፀ, as the case may be, as:—

	MASCULINE.	FEMININE.
11.	ኣፀፀፀፀፀፀፀ	ጸኣፀፀፀፀፀፀፀ
14.	ኣፀፀፀፀፀፀፀፀ	ጸኣፀፀፀፀፀፀፀፀ
17.	ኣፀፀፀፀፀፀፀፀፀ	ጸኣፀፀፀፀፀፀፀፀፀ

The cardinal numbers from 20 to 90 are formed by the addition of የ to the original masculine form:—

20.	የኣፀፀፀ	60.	የፀፀፀፀ
30.	የፀፀፀፀ	70.	የፀፀፀፀ
40.	የፀፀፀፀፀፀ	80.	የኣፀፀፀፀ
50.	የፀፀፀፀፀፀ*	90.	የፀፀፀፀፀፀ*

The phonetic variations noted above of course take place in these words; and in the Minæan dialect the paragogic ሃ is inserted before the final የ, as የሃፀፀፀፀ for የፀፀፀፀፀፀ.

The numerals 100 and 1000 are represented by ፀፀፀፀፀ and ፀፀፀፀፀፀፀ, and the intervening numbers are formed regularly, as in the other Semitic languages, as—

ፀፀፀፀፀፀፀፀፀ, 500 ;

ፀፀፀፀፀፀፀፀፀ, 600.

So far as we are able to judge, the ordinal numbers are formed similarly to the cardinals. There was doubtless a change of vocalization, but the force of this cannot be predicated with certainty in a purely consonantal language. The formation of the fractions is not yet accurately determined for want of texts.

The system of notation employed by the Sabæans was exceedingly simple. The figures are always placed between two ladders, thus   , which at once distinguishes them. Up-and-down strokes are used to denote 1 to 4; 5 is , the initial of   ; 10 is , the initial of   ; 50 is , or half of , the initial of    , 100; and 1000 is , the initial of   .

The nearest approach to such a system is the Roman.

1	  	20	  
2	  	30	  
3	  	40	  
4	  	50	  
5	  	60	  
6	  	70	  
7	  	80	  
8	  	90	  
9	  	100	  
10	  	1000	  

“The *separable* prepositions are of *two* sorts. Those of “the first class, which are all biliteral or triliteral, have “different terminations; those of the second class are “simply nouns of different forms in the accusative singular, “determined by the following genitive” (Wright, p. 313). They are consequently without the *mimation*.

The separable prepositions of the first class are :—

- (a) 𐩦𐩣𐩪 *over, upon, to* (Heb. ^{עַל}עַלִּי; Aram. ^{עַל}עַל; Arab. ^{عَلَى}عَلَى).
- (b) 𐩧𐩣, *from* (Heb. Aram. ^{מִן}מִן; Arab. ^{مِنْ}مِنْ; Æth. ለጸፋ:). But in Sabæan this particle usually appears as 𐩧𐩣.
- (c) 𐩧𐩣, *till, up to* (Heb. ^{עַד}עַד; Arab. ^{حَتَّى}حَتَّى; Æth. ለእስ:). The poetical form 𐩦𐩧𐩣, Heb. ^{עַד}עַדִּי, is also found; and the Ḥadhramaut dialect gives the form 𐩧𐩣.

The separable prepositions of the second class are :—

- (a) 𐩧𐩣𐩣; *between, among* (Heb. ^{בֵּין}בֵּין, Arab. ^{بَيْنَ}بَيْنَ).
- (b) 𐩧𐩣𐩣; *after* (Heb. ^{אַחֲרַי}אַחֲרַי, Arab. ^{بَعْدَ}بَعْدَ).
- (c) 𐩧𐩣𐩣; *behind, after*; different from Arab. ^{خَلْفَ}خَلْفَ.
- (d) 𐩧𐩣𐩣; *before, of time* (Heb. ^{קִדְמָה}קִדְמָה, Arab. ^{قَبْلَ}قَبْلَ).
- (e) 𐩧𐩣𐩣; *before, of place* (Heb. ^{קִדְמָה}קִדְמָה, Arab. ^{قُدَّامَ}قُدَّامَ).
- (f) 𐩧𐩣𐩣; *in exchange for, in consideration of* (Halévy).

There are also a few compound prepositions, as 𐩧𐩣𐩣, composed of 𐩧𐩣 and 𐩣𐩣 (Heb. ^{עִם}עִם, Arab. ^{عَمَّا}عَمَّا, *with, near, by*) and equivalent in meaning to the Latin *apud*; 𐩧𐩣𐩣, *behind, in the neighbourhood of*; 𐩧𐩣𐩣, i.e. 𐩧𐩣 and 𐩧𐩣𐩣, Heb. ^{תַּחַת}תַּחַת, Arab. ^{تَحْتَ}تَحْتَ, *below*; 𐩧𐩣𐩣 = Arab. ^{بِغَيْرِ}بِغَيْرِ, *without*; and 𐩧𐩣𐩣, composed of 𐩧𐩣 and 𐩦𐩣𐩪 (Heb. ^{מֵעַל}מֵעַל, Arab. ^{مِنْ}مِنْ عَلَى). Cf. *Zeitschrift d. D. M. G.*, vol. xxix, pp. 606–608.

B.—The Adverbs.

Very little is known about the adverbs in Sabæan, but it seems pretty clear that, as in Arabic, the accusative case of a noun is often used *adverbially*, as 𐩧𐩬𐩢𐩣𐩪, *favourably*. The adverb of negation is perhaps 𐩢𐩪 (Arab. ^{لَا}), but this only occurs in one inscription. The inseparable adverb 𐩪 (Arab. ^{بِ}), *verily, truly*, is found occasionally.

C.—The Conjunctions.

The following are the inseparable conjunctions:—

- (a) 𐩪; which is usually employed for connecting words and sentences (Heb. Aram. ^{וְ}, Arab. ^{وَ}, Æth. 𐩪:) but is also used as a disjunctive particle, like the Arab. ^{وَ} ^{أَوْ}.
- (b) 𐩪; this sometimes connects single words, as 𐩪𐩢𐩪𐩢𐩪𐩢𐩪; but it more usually introduces the consequence resulting from an antecedent cause (Arab. ^{فَ}, Heb. ^{לָכֵן}). When it follows 𐩪 in the disjunctive sense of the latter, it introduces the apodosis of a sentence.
- (c) 𐩪; *that, in order that*, which is identical with the preposition, and is prefixed to the subjunctive and precativè moods of the imperfect; and to the perfect in the sense of *because*.

The following are the separable conjunctions:—

- (a) 𐩪𐩢; *or* (Heb. ^{וְ}, Arab. ^{أَوْ}).
- (b) 𐩪𐩢𐩪; *as well as*.

(c) **ገሂ**; *because, in that*. This conjunction appears to be derived from a root similar to the Arab. **حَبَى**, or **حَجَّ**, *adapted, fit, suitable*. Its original meaning is therefore *conformably to, in accordance with*. In the sense of *because*, it is commonly used with the enclitic **ሓ**, or with the demonstrative pronoun **ኧ**; as **ሓገሂ**, **ኧከገሂ**. It is also occasionally followed by the preposition **ከ** or preceded by **በ** or **ገ**, as **ከሓገሂ**, **ገሂበ**, **ሓገሂገ**.

(d) **ከበ**, **ከከበ**, **ከገ**, **ከከገ**; formed by prefixing the prepositions **በ** and **ገ** to the demonstrative pronoun, have the signification of *because, in that*. **ከከገ** occasionally rules the precative, instead of the simple **ገ**. **ከከበ** before the subjunctive is *in order that*.

(e) **ከከ**; *when* (Arab. **إِذَا**, cf. Heb. **כִּי**).

(f) **ሓከበ**; *just as, when* (cf. Heb. **כִּי־כֵן**).

(g) **በወዓ**, **በዓ**; originally *a day*, but generally used conjunctively as *when*.

(h) **ከሓገ**; *after that, when* = Arab. **بَعْدَ**.

2. ⲟ ⲓ ⲕ ⲟ ⲕ , perf. 3rd pers. masc. plur. IV. of ⲓ ⲕ ⲟ ,
to be in possession = Arab. قَنِي ; hence, IV. signifies to
place in possession of, or, of votive objects, to endow.

3. ⲕ ⲟ ⲉ ⲓ ⲕ , n. pr. a lunar god of the Sabæans, wor-
shipped especially at Hîrrân, Na'mân, and Awâm, towns
of Al-Yemen. The noun being compound, is diptote.

ⲕ ⲓ ⲕ ; ⲕ , a possessive adjective, which frequently,
but not invariably, has the sense of the Arabic ذو ,
possessor, owner. Here it has the force of the Æthiopic
genitive particle ⲕ . ⲕ ⲓ ⲕ , a town of Al-Yemen,
sacred to the cultus of Il-Makah.

3-4. ⲕ ⲕ = ⲕ , *this*, and the demonstrative enclitic ⲕ .

4. ⲕ ⲉ ⲕ ⲉ ⲉ , n. subs. The exact derivation of this word
is unknown, but as it is only employed upon the
bronze tablets, and never on any stone memorial, it
is commonly taken to indicate the offering itself, *i.e.*,
the tablet. The final ⲕ is the demonstrative enclitic,
this, which takes the place of the mîmation.

4. ⲕ ⲓ ⲕ , conj. derived from a root = Arab. حَجَّي or حَجَّ
adapted, fit, suitable, proper. Its primary meaning seems
to be *in conformity with*, and with the demonstrative
enclitic ⲕ , *according to this, for this reason, i.e., because*.

5. ⲟ ⲉ ⲕ ⲕ ⲟ ⲟ , perf. 3rd pers. masc. sing. I. = Arab. وَقَّعَ
he obeyed. In Sabæan, with ⲓ , it signifies *to hear a*
prayer favourably, i.e., to grant it.

5-6. ⲟ ⲕ ⲓ ⲕ ⲉ ⲉ ⲓ ; ⲓ , prep. *according to*. ⲓ ⲕ ⲉ ⲉ , a
triptote noun derived from ⲓ ⲕ ⲉ = Arab. سَأَلَ , *he*
asked, and equivalent to سَأَلٌ , *a thing asked, a petition,*
a prayer. ⲟ ⲕ , the possessive suffix = (the prayer)
addressed to the god, *lit. his prayer*. I cannot see on

what grounds Halévy translated 𐤀𐤇𐤇𐤁 a “grâce.” There is no difficulty in the phrase, if we look on the prayer addressed to a god as, thereby, coming into the god’s possession.

6. 𐤀𐤁𐤅𐤓𐤕𐤁: 𐤁 is here a conjunction, signifying, *because that, in that*. 𐤓𐤕𐤁, perf. 3rd pers. masc. sing. III. of 𐤓𐤕𐤁 = Arab. *وَفِي*, *integer fuit*: therefore III. signifies, *to restore to health, to keep whole, to keep safely*. Halévy thinks that 𐤁 here indicates the precative, but the precative is not a mood of the perfect tense; nor is his difficulty about 𐤓𐤕𐤁 very clear.

7. 𐤀𐤁𐤇𐤔𐤕𐤕, perf. 3rd pers. masc. sing. III. of 𐤔𐤕𐤕 = Arab. III. *سَاعَدَ*, *to assist or help; to prosper*. 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤕, adv. = Arab. *نِعْمَةً*, acc. of the triptote noun *نِعْمَةٌ*, *favourably*, or *with favour*.

Translation.

Wahhâb^{um} and his brothers, the Benû Kalbat, have endowed Il-Maḡah of Hīrân with this tablet, because he has granted the prayer addressed to him, in that he has restored them to health and has assisted them favourably.

II.

(B.M. 21; Os. 21.)

This inscription, with the exception of the proper names, is almost word for word identical with the preceding one. The pronoun 𐤇𐤇 is omitted before 𐤇𐤔𐤕𐤕𐤁, but the demonstrative enclitic is a sufficient determinative. The verb 𐤀𐤁𐤅𐤓𐤕𐤁 is also wanting, apparently through an error of the artist.

1. 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪, n. prop., probably derived from a root = Heb. עָלָה, Arab. علو, signifying “lofty,” or “superbus.” As it ends in 𐩧, it is diptote.

𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩧, a well-known triptote Sabæan name, here in the genitive = Arab. عَـرْثِد. It is said by the Arab lexicographers to mean “a generous man,” or “a lion.” In Sabæan, the *eponymus* of the great tribe which held the country about 'Amrân.

2. 𐩧𐩧𐩨𐩧, perf. 3rd pers. masc. sing. IV. 𐩧𐩧𐩨.

Translation.

'Allhân son of Marthad^{im} has endowed Il-Maḩah of Hīrrân with this tablet, because Il-Maḩah has granted the prayer addressed to him [in that he has restored him to health] and in that Il-Maḩah has assisted him favourably.

III.

(B.M. 36; Os. 34.)

1. 𐩮𐩨𐩪𐩨𐩧𐩨, n. prop. fem. peculiarly formed from the two words 𐩨𐩨𐩪, *sister*, and 𐩪𐩨, *mother*, with the possessive suffix 𐩮𐩨; comp. the Hebrew *Ahab*.
2. 𐩪𐩪𐩨𐩣𐩪, n. pr. fem. of uncertain etymology.
- 2-3. 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩪, n. subst. fem. dual of 𐩣𐩪𐩪, *an owner, lord*.
3. 𐩧𐩨𐩪𐩨, n. subst. fem. = Arab. خَيْمَة, lit. *a house constructed of branches of trees*, but here meaning a roughly made house or cottage; with the enclitic demonstrative 𐩧 to draw attention to it.
- 𐩮𐩣𐩪𐩪, prep. compounded of 𐩪 and 𐩮𐩣𐩪, = Arab. خَلْفَ, *behind, over against, hard by*.

3-4. ካነገሃ, n. subst. masc. = Æth. ሀገር: a city, with the demonstrative enclitic ካ.

4. በየነጻ, n. pr. of a large city, the capital of the kingdom of Sabä, the Roman *Maryaba*, and modern *Mârib*.

የጸጸ, perf. 3rd pers. fem. dual I of ጸየጸ or ጸጸ = Heb. וָשׂ posuit.

4-5. ካገፀ, n. subst. = Arab. وَشَى, an idol, with the demonstrative enclitic ካ.

5-6. በወክላ, n. pr. epithet of Il-Makah: Awân is apparently a town of Al-Yemen, dedicated to the cultus of that god.

6-7. — የጸሃሃቶ — የጸሃሃዕገ; these verbs have the feminine dual pronominal suffix የጸሃ.

Translation.

Ukhtumhu and Shafanram, the two owners of the cottage, which is hard by this city of Maryab, have offered this idol to Il-Makah, the lord of Awâm, because he has granted the prayer addressed to him, in that he has kept both in safety.

IV.

(B.M. 34; Os. 33.)

1. ዳዕላ, n. pr. masc., from the root ዳዕላ, to prosper. As it resembles the 1st person of the imperfect, it is diptote.

ካጸሃየ, n. pr. surname of As'ad; probably the 3rd person sing. perf. IV. of ካጸላ = Arab. نَسَبَ. It would, therefore, be equivalent to "Le Gros" or "The Fat."

𐩧𐩣𐩨𐩨, n. pr. formed from the 3rd pers. sing. perf. IV. of 𐩧𐩣 = Arab. *أَعَانَ*, *he helped or assisted*.

2. 𐩨𐩣𐩨𐩨, n. pr. of a god of the Sabæans, from a word equivalent to the Arab. *سَمَاء*, *the heavens*.

𐩧𐩨𐩨𐩨, n. subst. = *מִשְׁכָּן*, *an image*, with the demonstrative enclitic 𐩧.

2-3. 𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩣, n. pr. a well-known god of the Sabæans.

3. 𐩨𐩨𐩣𐩨, n. pr. also of a Sabæan god.

3-4. 𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩨, n. pr. a name or epithet of a Sabæan goddess, the "lady of the temenos" = *ἄγος*, *a prohibited space*, of pasture or of water.

4. 𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩨, n. pr. also of a goddess. Halévy identifies 𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩨 with the *Vodona* of Ptolemy. If this is the case, I should be inclined to translate the term as "the lady of the Vodonitæ," as 𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩨, ending in 𐩨, is a diptote noun, and 𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩨 would be the plural of 𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩨, or 𐩨𐩨𐩨𐩨, *an inhabitant of Vodona*. In the plural of gentile nouns. the final 𐩨𐩨 or 𐩨 of the sing. is always dropped.

Translation.

As'ad Yahasman son of Yaha'an has endowed *Dhû-Samâwî* with this image, because he has kept him safely in the name of 'Athtar and Haubas, and in the name of Il-Maḩah and *Dhât-Himäim* and *Dhât-Ba'danim* and *Dhû-Samâwî*.

V.

(B.M. 17; Os. 15.)

1. ḤṬ. ṬḤ, n. pr. fem. restored by Halévy as ḤṬṬḤ, which, although always masculine in the Bible, he compares with the names Abigail and Abishag, which were feminine. The word ḤṬ appears to be omitted before ṬḤṬḤ.

2. ḤṬ = Arab. ^{بنت}, a daughter, here in the construct state.

ḤḤḤ, n. pr. masc. of doubtful etymology. Ending in Ḥ, it is diptote.

ḤḤḤ, perf. 3rd pers. sing. fem. IV. of ḤḤḤ.

- 3-4. ḤḤḤḤḤ; the substantival relative is here expressed by the form ḤḤ — Ḥ = Arab. ^{الذي}.
ḤḤḤ, perf. 3rd pers. sing. fem. I. of ḤḤḤ, = Heb. ^{שפח}, to place, to give, and in Sabæan, to place before a god, i.e., to offer.

4. ḤḤḤḤḤ, the suffix here refers to the whole tribe of which the votary was a representative.

5. ḤḤḤ, conj., a fuller form of Ḥ, comp. ḤḤḤḤḤ, because of, in that.

ḤḤḤ, perf. 3rd pers. fem. sing. of the impersonal verb ḤḤ = Arab. ^{نعم}, to be well with a person. In Sabæan it appears to be always used impersonally in the feminine gender.

- 5-6. ḤḤḤḤḤ, imperf. precative, 3rd pers. fem. sing. of ḤḤḤ, governed by ḤḤḤḤḤ.

Translation.

Abimelek, a lady of the Benû Marthad^{im}, the daughter of 'Ananân, has endowed Il-Makah of Hîrrân with this tablet, which she has offered to him because he has kept them safely, and because it has been well *in times past*, and may it be well *in times to come* with the Benû Marthad^{im}.

VI.

(B.M. 24; Os. 22.)

1. 𐩦𐩠𐩢𐩣, n. pr. fem. = ? Arab. حَلَكٌ, *blackness*, i.g., Nigra. or Nera.

𐩦𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣, n. pr. of a tribe = بَنِي عَمْدٍ, 𐩢𐩣𐩠
for 𐩠𐩢𐩣, as the word is governed by 𐩠𐩢.

2. 𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢, n. pr. probably a town or district of Al-Yemen, the abode of the Benû-'Abd.

𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣, n. pr. of uncertain etymology.

Translation.

Halak^{um}, a lady of the Beni 'Abd^{im}, daughter of Bin Däyân, has endowed Il-Makah of Hîrrân with a tablet, because

VII.

(B.M. 28; Os. 24.)

1. 𐩦𐩢𐩣𐩠, n. pr. masc. = prob. the Arab. هَادِي, *a guide*.

2. 𐩦𐩢𐩣𐩠, n. pr. masc. = Arab. سَهْلٌ, *smooth or easy of disposition*.

3. **XHΠ**, conj. formed of the prep. **Π** and the fem. rel. pron. **XH** = **XHIΓΨ** or **XHIΓ**, *because, in that*.

Translation.

Hâdî^{mu}, son of Sahlⁱⁿⁿ has endowed Il-Maḡah of Hirrân with this tablet because he has granted the prayer addressed to him, in that [he has restored him to health].

VIII

(B.M. 9; Os. 11.)

1. **ΠΙΘ8**, n. pr. masc. = Arab. ^{سور}ثور, *a bull*.
ΠΙΨΗ, n. pr. masc. dim. of **ΠΙΨ** = ^{أسد}أسد, *a lion*.
2. **ΨΠΥΛΠ**, written defectively for **ΨΠΥΨΛΠ**.
- 2-3. **ΠΔΠΗΠΔΠ**. n. pr. of a tribe inhabiting Al-Yemen.
ΠΔΠΗ is diptote, because it resembles the 1st pers. sing. of the imperfect.
3. **ΠΨΗ**, n. subst. Halévy thinks that this word is connected with the Arabic ^{أدم}أدم, *he associated him with his family*, and translates it "subject." I am inclined to ascribe it to the same root, without giving it exactly the same meaning. There is no idea of inferiority in ^{أدم}أدم; on the contrary, the subst. ^{أدم}أدم signifies *a pattern* or *example*, and is used sometimes in the sense of *chief* (c. Lane's *Lexicon*, *sub voce*). I would therefore translate **ΠΨΗ** as the clan of a great **ΠΘΞ** or tribe, such as the Benu Marthad^{im}.

6. 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 , n. subst. plur. frac. of 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣𐩢 , *fruit* = Arab. ثَمَرَات , here in the acc. case, أَثْمَارًا .
7. 𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 , prep. = Heb. עַל , *to, amongst, in*.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 , n. subst. = Arab. أَرْض , *earth, land*.
- 7-8. 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 , n. subst. plur. fract. of 𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 , *a receptacle, storehouse, barn*.
10. 𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 , perf. 3rd pers. plur. I. of 𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 = Arab. رَضِيَ , *he was pleased, contented, satisfied*.
- 10-11. 𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 , n. subst. plur. frac. of 𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 , *a man*; here applied to the chiefs of the great 𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 of the Beni Marthad^{im} in the Chaldee sense of ܡܪܬܐ .

Translation.

Tham^{um} and Usaid^{um} and the brothers and sons of both, the Benû Arfat, a clan of Bin Marthad^{im} have endowed Il-Makah of Hirrân with this tablet, in that Il-Makah has kept them whole and has prospered them *in giving* the fruits in their land and their storehouses; and their chiefs, the Benû Marthad^{im} are pleased with this; and because he has kept them whole.

IX.

(B.M. 7; Os. 9.)

1. 𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 , n. pr. of uncertain etymology. As it ends in 𐩦 , it is diptote.
6. 𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 , n. adj. agreeing with 𐩦𐩣𐩢𐩪 ; cognate to Arab. هَنِي , and Heb. הנאה (Halévy). It may be translated "abundant."

Translation.

Hainamat, and his brothers, and their sons, the Benû Arfat, have endowed Il-Maḡah of Hirrân with this tablet, because he has granted the prayer addressed to him, in that he has kept them whole, and has prospered them *in giving* abundance of fruits in their land and their storehouses; and because it has been well *in times past*, and may it be well *in times to come* with the Benu Arfat; and because he has assisted them, their chiefs the Beni Marthad^{im} are pleased.

X.

(B.M. 20; Os. 16.)

1. $\diamond \gg \text{P}$, n. pr. masc. perhaps 3rd pers. sing. imperf. of $\diamond \text{w} \gg$, *to overlook*.

2. $\text{P} \Pi \text{P} \text{H} | \text{w} \text{H} \Pi$, n. pr. of a tribe.

5. $\text{H} \circ \diamond \text{P} \text{H}$; H , a conjunction, *that*; $\text{H} \circ \diamond \text{P}$, imperf. 3rd person, sing. masc. in the subjunctive mood, from $\circ \diamond \text{P}$, *to raise up, to elevate*.

$\text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$, n. subst. in stat. constructus with $\text{w} \Pi \text{P} \text{X} \text{P} \Pi$ in line 6, consequently without *nimation* = Arab. ⁵انس, primarily *a chosen or particular friend, or intimate*; here meaning *the people of the house, the inmates*.

5-6. $\text{P} \text{H} \diamond$; $\diamond$ = Arab. ⁵ف, *and, also*. $\text{P} \text{H}$, also in the construct state = Arab. ⁵جار, *a neighbour*, but here rather *a relation or kinsman residing in the neighbourhood, and under the protection of the house*. Halévy has well pointed out the similarity of these expressions with the Hebrew בֵּית אִשִּׁי and בֵּית גָּרִי , which signify the indoor and outdoor dependants of the house.

6. $\text{⊕} \text{⊗} \text{⊕} \text{⊗}$, perf. 3rd pers. plur. from = حَمَد , to praise.
6. $\text{⊕} \text{⊗} \text{⊕}$, n. subst. loci. from = Arab. مَقَام , a station, or seat of a divinity; probably the place where the statue was erected in the temple.
7. $\text{⊕} \text{⊗} \text{⊗} \text{⊗} \text{⊕} \text{⊗} \text{⊗}$, perf. 3rd pers. sing. IV. of $\text{⊗} \text{⊗} \text{⊕}$, with the signification of III.
- 7-8. $\text{⊕} \text{⊗} \text{⊕}$; ⊕ , prep. in, by, according to. $\text{⊕} \text{⊗} =$ Arab. كُلَّ .
 $\text{⊗} \text{⊕} \text{⊗}$, n. subst. plur. fract. of $\text{⊗} \text{⊕}$, a fulfilment.
 Heb. שְׁלֵמָה .
8. $\text{⊕} \text{⊗} \text{⊕} \text{⊗} \text{⊗}$, perf. 3rd pers. plur. X. of $\text{⊗} \text{⊕}$, to demand fulfilment.
- $\text{⊗} \text{⊗} \text{⊗} \text{⊕} \text{⊗} \text{⊗} \text{⊗}$, imperf. 3rd pers. plur. conjunctive mood, X. of $\text{⊗} \text{⊕}$. In this and the preceding word the relative ⊗ is understood.
- 8-9. $\text{⊕} \text{⊗} \text{⊕} \text{⊗} \text{⊕}$, prep. compounded of ⊕ and $\text{⊕} \text{⊗}$, in his presence, before him.
- 9-10. $\text{⊕} \text{⊗} \text{⊕} \text{⊗}$, n. subst. $\text{⊕} \text{⊗} \text{⊕} \text{⊗}$, used in the accusative with an adverbial signification.

Translation.

Yeshuf and his brothers, and their sons, the Benû Kâthab^{im}, a clan of Bin Marthad^{im}, have endowed Il-Maḡah of Hirrân with this tablet, because Il-Maḡah has granted the prayer addressed to him that he would raise up the inmates and kinsmen of their house, and they have praised the seat of Il-Maḡah because he has kept them whole in the fulfilment of everything which they demanded, and which they may demand before him; and in that he has prospered them with favour and with health; and their lords, the Beni Marthad^{im} are pleased.

XI.

(B.M. 18; Os. 17.)

1. 𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤕, n. pr. surname of 'As'ad.

𐤍𐤍𐤕, n. subst. in stat. construct. = Arab. ⁵عبد, *a servant*.

3. 𐤀𐤍𐤕𐤕 = simply 𐤀𐤕𐤕.

5. 𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤕, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. = Chald. ܐܬܢ, *to lend* (Halévy). In Sabæan the meaning is *to give* or *bestow*. The plural suffix relates to the whole tribe of Marthad^{im}.

𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤕, n. subst., acc. case. plur. fract. of 𐤍𐤕𐤕, a son = Arab. ⁵ولد, plur. ⁵اولاد.

6. 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤕, n. adj., acc. case, plur. fract. of 𐤍𐤕𐤕, male = Arab. ⁵ذكر. The 𐤕 appears to be inserted through an error of the artist.

7. 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤕, n. subst., acc. case., plur. fract. of 𐤍𐤕𐤕, a fruit-bearing plant.

- 8-9. 𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤕, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. Halévy supposes this word to be equivalent to 𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤕, in No. 11, line 10, and to be connected with the Arab. ⁵غيب, *he concealed*, thence, in an extended meaning, *to protect from harm*. This is probably correct.

9. 𐤀𐤍, prep. = Arab. ⁵من, *from*.

𐤕𐤕𐤕, n. subst. cognate, either with the Arabic حَار, *he became in a defective or bad condition*, or حَار, *he became confounded*, or *erred*. Probably the former.

𐤀𐤕𐤕, n. subst. The Arab. ⁵لسان, means *a tongue*. thence *evil-speaking*.

- 9-10. 𐩦𐩢𐩣𐩦, n. subst. Compare the Arab. عَصَـة, *he uttered calumny and falsehood*, or عَصَا, *he enchanted*.
10. 𐩦𐩢𐩣, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. = Arab. هَرَمَ, *he made weak. to enfeeble*.
- 𐩢𐩢𐩣, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. = Æth. ወዕረ: *he clove*; in Sabæan it seems to mean generally *to scatter*.
- 10-11. 𐩦𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩣, = Arab. كُلُّ أَنْتَاسٍ, being in the accusative case, and having the generic meaning of *man, mankind*.
11. 𐩢𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩣, imperf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. conjunctive mood from 𐩢𐩢𐩣. Compare Arab. شَصَوُ, i.q., شِدَّة, *hardship, distress, adversity*. In Sabæan the verb governs with 𐩢.
12. 𐩦𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩣 = Arab. بِغَيْرِ عِدْقٍ, *without righteousness or justice, unjustly*.

Translation.

As'ad Faukamân, servant of Bin Marthad^{im}, has endowed Il-Makāh of Hirrân with this tablet because he has granted the prayer addressed to him, in that he has kept them whole and has bestowed male children in abundance, and in that he has bestowed the fruits [of the tree] and the fruits [of the earth], and in that he has kept whole the lords of their house, and in that he has protected them from loss and evil-speaking and calumny (or enchantment); and has enfeebled and scattered every man who may have distressed them unjustly.

XII.

(B.M. 19; Os. 18.)

1. **X80941**, n. prop. masc. of uncertain etymology.

The termination **X80**, in such words as this, is here generally understood to be an abbreviation of **1X80** and **941** may = Arab. ^{لحي}, *face, chin*.

1hπ08, n. pr. subst. = Arab. ^{ثواب}, and *Il*, the shortened form of *Il-Makah*, i.q. *the reward* (or *recompense*) of *Il*.

2. **4440104π**, n. pr. of a tribe sprung from the Benû Marthad^{im}.

5. **91π61**, conj. = simply **1**, or more intensively, **XH11π61**, *inasmuch as*.

66h, n. subst. plur. fract. of **66** = Arab. ^{صاف}, a ram (or other animal) *bearing much wool*, plur. ^{اصوف}. Here it means wool-bearing animals collectively, a *flock*. In this passage, **4419—91π61**, which is of some difficulty, I shall adopt, as far as possible, Halévy's interpretation.

- 5-6. **44π09**, imperf. 3rd pers. sing. masc., subjunctive mood = Heb. and Chald. ^{עבר}; *to conceive, to be great with young*. The relative **H** is understood.

6. **04x**, n. subst. = Arab. ^{زرع}, *seed or progeny*.

11ππ, n. adj. = Arab. ^{باجل}, *in a good state or condition*, but used perhaps here adverbially ^{باجلاً}, *joyfully, happily*.

- 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠, imperf. 3rd pers. sing. masc., subjunctive mood = Arab. *يُؤَدِّ*, to bring forth.
 7. 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠, for that; the word 𐩧𐩢𐩣 is the masculine demonstrative pronoun (see Chapter on Pronouns), means for, in consideration of.
 8. 𐩧𐩢𐩣, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc., signifies to continue to do anything, always with another verb.
 9. 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣, n. subst. = Arab. *جَرَبَة*, a place of seed, produce; a tract of land for planting, cultivable land; the plur. is 𐩠𐩢𐩣 = *جَرَب*.
 10. 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣, see No. XI. lines 8-9.
 𐩧𐩢𐩣, n. subst. Comp. Arab. *وَضَعَ*, to humiliate.
 𐩠𐩢𐩣, see No. XI, line 11.
 𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩠, n. subst. plur. = Arab. *شَائِي*, a hater, an enemy.

Translation.

Lahiatht and his son, Thawwâb-il. and his brothers, and their sons, the Benu Wahrân, a clan of the Beni Marthad^m have endowed Il-Maḩah of Hirrân with this tablet,¹ because he has heard the prayer addressed to him that the flock which was great with young might joyfully bring forth offspring (or might bring forth a healthy offspring); and Il-Maḩah has favourably heard him in consideration of this tablet; and because Il-Maḩah has continued to prosper them [*in giving*] abundance of males and because he has kept their cultivable land in good condition, and because he has protected them from humiliation and the adversity of enemies, and because it has been well *in times past*, and may it be well *in times to come* with Bin Wahrân.

¹ In the tablet these words are misplaced by a fault of the artist.

XIII.

(B.M. 15; Os. 17.)

1. 𐩦𐩣𐩭𐩢 , n. pr. masc. prob. = Arab. ^{وَقْتَر}, *one, only unique*; or Heb. ^{יָתֵר}, *excellencia*; Chald. ^{יֵתִיר}, *per-magnus, eximius*.
3. 𐩥𐩢𐩣𐩭 , perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. V. of 𐩥𐩢𐩣 , prob. = Arab. ^{نَبَّأَ}, *to proclaim*; but in Sabæan it appears to have a future force, *to augur, to promise*.
- 3-4. 𐩦𐩣𐩭𐩣𐩣𐩦 , n. adj. = Arab. ^{مَشْهُور}, *conspicuous, eminent, public*; here probably used adverbially.
4. 𐩥𐩣𐩢 , prep. Arab. ^{بَيْنَ}, *betwixt, amongst*; of time, *during*.
 𐩥𐩣𐩣𐩦𐩣𐩣 , n. subst. = Arab. ^{خَرِيف}, *autumn, thence, a year*. 𐩥𐩣 the demonstrative enclitic, intensified by 𐩥𐩣 .
5. 𐩢𐩣𐩥𐩣𐩦𐩢𐩥 , n. pr., a compound diptote noun, composed of 𐩣𐩦𐩢𐩥 = Heb. ^{שָׁמַיָּה}, Arab. ^{سَمَاء}, *to be exalted*; and 𐩢𐩣𐩥 , *the powerful*, an epithet of the deity. Here the name of an *eponymus*, probably a king.
6. 𐩢𐩣𐩥𐩣𐩢𐩭 , n. pr. a compound diptote noun; composed of 𐩢𐩣𐩭 , a verb of which the meaning is not very clear; and 𐩢𐩣𐩥 , vide supra.
- 6-7. 𐩭𐩢𐩥𐩣𐩣 , n. pr. Comp. Arab. ^{حَذَوِيَّة}, *a woman who is short in stature*. In this place, I am inclined to think it is a woman's name, as the Sabæans often traced back to their maternal ancestors in their genealogies.
9. 𐩢𐩣𐩣 , n. subst. = Arab. ^{شُعَب}, *a great tribe*, such as is divided into sub-tribes, like the Benû Marthad^{im}. See Lane's Lexicon, Book I, part IV, p. 1556, for the more modern sub-divisions of the tribe.

Translation.

Watr^{um}, Bin Marthad^{im}, has endowed Il-Makāh of Hirrān with this tablet, which he promised publicly during this very year, in the year of Samaha-Karib, son of Toba'a-Karib, son of Hudhamat, because it has been well *in times past*, and may it be well *in times to come* with the Beni Marthad^{im} and their tribe.

XIV.

(B.M. 4; Os. 1.)

1. 𐩦𐩢𐩦𐩣, n. pr. masc., of uncertain etymology. Perhaps akin to Arab. رِيَابٌ, *that which cast doubt, or terror, into others*; but more probably رَائِبٌ, part. of رَابٌ, *to rectify*.
2. 𐩣𐩣𐩦𐩣, n. pr., a town to the north-west of San'â, where these inscriptions were found. Probably the head-quarters of the Beni-Marthad^{im}.
3. 𐩦𐩦𐩣, n. subst. = Æth. ለወደዎ, *propositus*. In Sabæan, *a patron, or tutelary god*.
5. 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩦𐩣, = Arab. بِمَسَالٍ.
7. 𐩦𐩣𐩣; M. Halévy ingeniously connects this with the Arab. عَرَفَ, *exchange* (although it is doubtful whether عَرَفَ has this meaning but it may signify *value*; cf. Lane's Lexicon, *sub voce*), and translates "in consideration of." Lénormant translates 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣, "la collection de leur offrande," taking 𐩦𐩣𐩣 as cognate with the Arabic عَرَبَ, but this is very

doubtful. It may be remarked, however, that IV. **اصرب**, means *he gave*, which may originally have come from another root. In a confessedly difficult passage, I adopt Halévy's suggestion, which suits the context both here and in the only other place where the words occur (XXXII, 9).

ⲟⲓⲩⲭⲟⲥ, n. subst., *an offering*, cf. V, 3-4.

ⲟⲩⲡⲏ = Arab. **الَّذِي بِهِ**, *in the which*.

8. **ⲕⲟⲁ**, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. = Arab. **كَانَ**, Æth. **ኣረ**:

ⲕⲓⲩⲥ, n. subst., a doubtful word, but identified by Halévy with the Heb. **בִּיַר**, *permutation*, and here with the sense of *value*. The final **ⲕ** is the demonstrative enclitic.

ⲕⲓⲛ, numeral adj., feminine, as **ⲓⲛⲓ** is of that gender. *eight*.

ⲓⲛⲓ, n. subst. fem. plur. = Arab. **بُرَّةٌ**, sing. plur. **بُرُون**, *a ring or bracelet*, used as a measure of value, cf. Heb. **כֶּרוֹם**.

ⲕⲡⲩⲏⲏ, n. subst. nit. genitive particle **ⲏ** = Arab. **ذَهَبٌ**. The final **ⲕ** is the demonstrative enclitic.

ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ, n. subst. Halévy compares with the Arab. **بِلَاطٌ**, *stones*, especially *flag-stones for paving*, used as a term for *weights*, like the Heb. **אֲבִי יָדָק** (Lev. xix, 36).

ⲓⲩⲙⲓ, n. adj., agreeing with above; *approved*.

10. **ⲓⲛⲕⲓⲟ**, n. pr. composed of **ⲓⲟ** = Arab. **عَمَّ**, *he gave universally to all*, and **ⲓⲛⲕ**, an epithet of the deity.

11. 𐩦𐩣𐩬𐩨𐩢 , n. pr. fem. of uncertain etymology.

𐩦𐩣𐩬𐩨𐩢 ; the lady of Thaur^{im}. Thaur is a village near San'â. in the Wâdy Thaur.

Translation.

Râ-ib^{um} and his brothers, Benû-Marthad^{im}, and their tribe of 'Amrân, has endowed their patron god, Il-Maḡah of Hirrân, with this tablet, because he has granted the prayer addressed to him, in that Il-Maḡah has kept them whole in consideration of their offering, in the which was this value, eight rings of very gold, of approved weight, in the year of 'Am-Karib, son of Samaha-Karib, son of Ḥatsfar^{im}, the lady of Thaur^{im}.

XV.

(B.M. 14; Os. 7.)

1. 𐩦𐩣𐩬𐩨𐩢 , n. pr. = Arab. ^{نمر}نَمَر plur. of ^{نمر}نَمِر, a leopard

𐩨𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢 , n. pr. diptote as it ends in 𐩨 . Cognate with Arab. II. of ^{شمر}شَمِر, he strove laboriously.

3. 𐩨𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢 = 𐩨𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢 , because.

4. 𐩬𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢 , n. subst. = Arab. ^{حضر}حَضْر a region or district of towns and cultivated land.

𐩬𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢 , n. pr. of a district. I cannot accept Halévy's suggestion that the word means a famine from ^{عاص}عَاص.

5. 𐩬𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢 ; for 𐩬𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢 .

6. 𐩬𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢 , perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. II. of 𐩬𐩢𐩬𐩨𐩢 (see IV. 1).

𐤅𐤍𐤕𐤍, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. = מַהַע, perfect to enlarge, thence to deliver. This being the second of two verbs in apposition has the energetic or paragogic 𐤅.

7. 𐤅𐤅𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤅𐤕; comp. Arab. II. اَتَّخَذَ, in its Kuranic sense of to make much slaughter. H is, as is very common, understood before the verb 𐤅𐤅𐤕.

𐤅𐤅𐤍𐤕, n. subst. = Arab. وَطَنٌ, with the demonstrative enclitic.

7-8. 𐤕𐤅𐤍, n. subst. = Arab. قَسَحَ, hardness; Heb. קִשָּׁה, durus, here violence.

𐤅𐤅𐤍𐤕, n. subst., properly meaning lion, must in the inscription, I think, signify the well-known tribe of Asad. The dem. enclitic draws attention to the tribe.

8. 𐤕𐤕𐤕, to overlook (see X, 1). This sentence 𐤅𐤍𐤕𐤕-1 is in the precativè mood.

9. 𐤕𐤕𐤍𐤕, n. subst. = Arab. بَأْسَةٌ, distress, affliction.

9-10. 𐤕𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕, n. subst., both derived from the same root = Heb. נָכַח, to strike, to beat; thence a blow, calamity, wound.

Translation.

Anmâr^{am}, son of Shammarat, has endowed Il-Maḩah of Hîrrân with this tablet, because he has granted the prayer addressed to him, inasmuch as he has left him safe in his district of Ma'îzân, and because Il-Maḩah of Hîrrân has prospered him in his cattle, and because Il-Maḩah has aided and delivered his servant Anmâr^{am} from the slaughter which befel in this country from the violence of the tribe of Asad; and may Il-Maḩah continue to overlook and deliver his

servant Anmâr^{am} from affliction and distress and danger; and in that he has prospered him, their lords, the Beni Marthad^{im} are pleased; and because it has been well (in times past), and that it may be well (in times to come) with Anmâr^{im}

XVI.

(B.M. Os. 23.)

1. 𐩦𐩣 — for 𐩦𐩣𐩠.

𐩦𐩣𐩠𐩬𐩪, n. pr. verbal from 𐩣𐩠𐩬.

5-6. 𐩦𐩬𐩢𐩪𐩠𐩦𐩬𐩢. n. pr. of a tribe, of uncertain derivation.

Translation.

[In that he has kept] his servant Musa'd^{am} whole in the fulfilment [of that] which he demanded before him in Ma'lsân, and may Il-Maḩah continue to keep his servant Musa'd^{am} whole in the fulfilment of everything which he may demand before him; and because it has been well (in times past) and that it may be well (in times to come) to the Beni Dhabü^{im} through Il-Maḩah of Hirrân.

[Additional Examples of Translations will be given in
the next Part.]





CHRONOLOGICAL REMARKS
ON
THE HISTORY OF ESTHER AND AHASUERUS,
OR
'ATOSSA AND TANU-AXARES.

BY J. W. BOSANQUET, F.R.A.S.

Read, 6th June, 1876.

PART 1.

No portion of sacred history has been more roughly handled by historians and commentators than the Book of Esther. This book still wanders up and down the borders of legend and history, seeking entrance within the pale of sacred Scripture, and has as yet found no sure resting place within the sacred canon. Though greatly prized by the Jews as authentic history, it only takes its rank in the Hebrew Bible amongst the books called Khetubim, or Hagiographa; and rightly so, for there is one remarkable fact connected with it, viz., that while it professes to contain the record of one of the most signal deliverances of the "holy people" by Jehovah, the name Jehovah is carefully suppressed throughout the book, which seems at first sight sufficient to exclude it from the category of sacred writings.

But if, as I am satisfied, it is a true and genuine piece of sacred history, why does the chronological position of the history still remain so unfixed and uncertain in the scale of time? Not on account of any obscurity or ambiguity in the narrative itself, which is remarkably plain and intelligible, but simply owing to the assumed necessity of fitting the events within a framework of conventional dates, put together some three centuries ago by the most learned men of their day, according to the best materials then within

their reach, but whose outline of reckoning as applied to the Bible, since the discoveries of Layard, Rawlinson, Botta, Loftus, and Smith, is found to be untenable, owing to incorrectness and insufficiency of historical data. Before then we attempt to fix the true position of the book of Esther in sacred history, it is necessary first that the outline of the chronology of sacred history should be clearly ascertained.

The common Bible chronology which still lingers on in schools and colleges, is based upon the manifest untruths—that Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, and *father* of Cambyzes king of Persia and Babylon, in conjunction with “Darius, son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, who was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans” (Dan. ix, 1), took the throne of Babylon after a long siege in the year B.C. 538; that “Darius the Mede,” so called by Daniel (v. 36), then reigned at Babylon for two years, organising the affairs of that kingdom, and dividing his great empire into 120 provinces, with Daniel as his chief minister; and that he was succeeded by Cyrus, who reigned over Babylon for seven years, from B.C. 536 to 530. Such is the foundation of Bible chronology as laid down by such men as Scaliger, Petavius, Ussher, Des Vignoles, Clinton, Ideler, and other eminent chronologists to the present day. Mr. George Smith closes the list of those who accept this untenable mode of reckoning in his valuable work entitled “The Assyrian Eponym Canon,” p. 157. “Our best authority, the Canon of Ptolémy,” he says, “places the first year of Cyrus in B.C. 538, which would indicate the previous year, B.C. 539, as the date of the capture of Babylon and the fall of the Babylonian monarchy.” I have no hesitation in saying that this chronological arrangement is purely fictitious. There was no such Median king as Darius reigning at Babylon in B.C. 538. And the authority of the Canon of Ptolemy compiled two centuries after Christ, is not equal to the authority of Xenophon and Ctesias writing in the fourth century before Christ, who are opposed to it.

The fact, now come to light, that Cyrus king of Babylon, that is to say he who repaired the temples of Bitsaggath and Bitzida at Babylon, was “*son of Cambyzes*” (Trans. vol. ii, p. 148), coupled with the clear statement of Ctesias from the

royal records, that the founder of the Persian empire was Cyrus, *father of Cambyses*, of whom no exploits against Babylon are recorded by that historian,¹ goes far to set aside the idea of Herodotus, that Cyrus, who conquered the Medes and founded the Persian empire, was the same Persian king as he who first reigned over the Chaldeans. For unless it can be shown that both the father of Cambyses and the son of Cambyses reigned at Babylon, which no one yet has attempted to prove, the evidence of the brick at Senkereh, showing that it was the son who reigned, is directly opposed to this commonly accepted notion. Again, it cannot be true that the great king Darius, who ruled over 120 provinces, and who, as inheritor of the dominions of "Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes," is properly called, according to eastern custom, his "son" (Daniel ix, 1), was reigning at Babylon as early as B.C. 538, seeing that the only known king in history living about that time and bearing that title was the well-known Persian king Darius, son of Hystaspes, whose years are fixed by eclipses recorded in Ptolemy's *Almagest* as beginning in B.C. 521. That two such mighty kings bearing the same title, born of different races, one a Mede, the other a Persian, should both have reigned at Babylon, one precisely at the termination of seventy years counted from "the desolation of Jerusalem," and the other at the close of seventy years of indignation against Jerusalem (Zech. i, 7, 12), yet reigning eighteen years apart, is also inconceivable and absurd. If such were the fact, how is it that the name of the first of these kings does not appear either in the list of kings in the Babylonian Canon, or in the list of Median kings named by Herodotus, Xenophon, or Ctesias? Dr. Pusey does indeed surmise that the Darius of Daniel may possibly be identified with some yet undiscovered king of Media; but to assume such an identification as a fact, and to found a system of chronology upon it, is merely fabricating history to support a purpose. Canon Rawlinson, a high authority on Median and Persian history, writes, "It must be acknowledged that there is scarcely sufficient ground for determining whether the Darius Medus of Daniel is identical with any monarch known

¹ Ctesiae Fragmenta, Dind. (p. 47).

to us in profane history, or a personage of whose existence there remains no other record.”¹ In the face then of this uncertainty, it cannot be reasonable to make the reign of this king a fundamental datum in sacred history. Truly, Darius Medus, as distinguished from the son of Hystaspes, is an imaginary king; and, to borrow an expression which has I think been wrongly applied to Deioces king of Media, this unknown king “must be relegated to the historical limbo, in which repose so many shades of mighty names.”² I have begun at once by calling in question the existence of this supposed Median king, because it must ever be in vain to attempt to reconcile Assyrian discoveries with Sacred Scripture while such a system of authoritative teaching prevails. It is obvious, as I have said, that such teaching is purely arbitrary and fictitious, and ought to be discontinued. It has brought sacred history into contempt, and has even led to disbelief in the authenticity of the Book of Daniel.

As regards the date B.C. 538, attached to the reign of the first Cyrus (Kai-Khosru), as marking his accession to the throne of Media, it stands upon a different footing. No one need dispute the idea entertained by the earliest authorities, that Cyrus, father of Cambyses, may have come to the throne of Media and Persia in B.C. 538. But this is not the same idea as that which makes him king of Babylon at that date. This latter idea is as untrue as the assertion that Darius and Cyrus were associated at that time as kings at Babylon, and that the first year of Cyrus was B.C. 536, marking the year when his decree went forth to build the temple of Jerusalem.

I have already shown (vol. i, pp. 201, 202) that Cyrus the Persian, of the race of Achæmenes, the founder of the empire, died in battle with the Scythians in B.C. 536, when Darius son of Hystaspes was barely twenty years of age (Herod. i, 209). The decree for the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem, issued “in the first year of Cyrus” (Ezra i, 1), from which the dates in our Bibles are reckoned, could not, therefore, have been issued in that year, or by that king, whose third year is mentioned by Daniel. There is, however, sufficient evidence

¹ Essay III, p. 418, Median Chronology of Herodotus.

² Ancient Monarchies, vol. iii, p. 174.

to show that this same Cyrus, that is to say, Kai-Khosru of the Persian historians, who according to Ctesias was not related by blood to Astyages, conquered the Medes in the 55th Olympiad (B.C. 560), and came into undisputed possession of the throne of Media in B.C. 538.

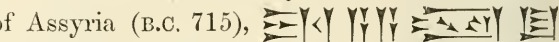
The reckoning of the reigns of the kings of Media of the dynasty of Deioces downwards is very simple and very exact, if not arbitrarily disarranged with a view to modern interpretation. But before we proceed to fix the dates of the Median kings of this dynasty, let us go back for a moment to the rise of the dynasty of Arbaces the Mede after the fall of the first Sardanapalus, as truly I think related by Ctesias, and then come down to the reign of Deioces. Syncellus, following Ctesias, has preserved the date of the overthrow of Assyria by Belesys (or Belochus) and Arbaces in the year B.C. 825, with exactness. He places the first year of Belus the Assyrian in his own Anno Mundi 3216 = B.C. 2286-7, making reference no doubt to the first year of the Cycle of Belus = B.C. 2287 (Syn. Dind. vol. i, p. 181; Trans. Bib. Arch., vol. iii, p. 16).

From thence he counts 1460 years in round numbers, (p. 312), say 1461, to the overthrow of Sardanapalus by Arbaces, that is in A.M. 4676 = B.C. 825; and in confirmation of the exactness of this date, Megasthenes counts upwards from the first year of Darius son of Hystaspes (B.C. 521), to Belochus and Arbaces 304 years, which begin, therefore, in the year B.C. 825 (Trans. Bib. Arch., vol. i, p. 262).

This Belochus, or Phul-Belochus of Megasthenes, contemporary with Arbaces, is no doubt the same king as Samsi-Vul or Shamas-Phul of the Assyrian Canon, king of Assyria, who began to reign at Nineveh about the year B.C. 825 (Smith's Eponym Canon, p. 60). The establishment of this date and synchronism is of much importance to ancient history, and should be borne in mind as fixed throughout these observations.

We now come down to the dynasty of Deioces, the reckoning of the reigns between whom and Arbaces varies according to the theory of the different writers. I am inclined, however, to think with Mr. Clinton that Diodorus

may have preserved a true date, when he places the first exercise of influence over the Median tribes by Deioces, while but a young man, not yet on the throne, in the second year of the 17th Olympiad = B.C. 711, twenty-three years before his accession.

Those writers are not justified who expunge the name of Deioces, the first king of the second dynasty, from the list of Median kings.¹ For in the seventh year of the annals of Sargon king of Assyria (B.C. 715),  Da-ya-uk-ku, or Deioces,² is named as having been banished to Hamath, together with his distinguished family. He was then no doubt merely a youth, for his predecessor on the throne, Carducas, was still one amongst the twenty-four chiefs of the Median tribes who paid tribute to Sargon in B.C. 713.³ And again in B.C. 703, Sennacherib received "tribute from the distant Medes," and conquered Aspabara another of the twenty-four chiefs, so that Deioces had not yet become king of Media in B.C. 703.⁴ Herodotus states that

Deioces reigned	....	....	....	53 years.
Phraortes	„	....	....	22 „
Cyaxares	„	....	....	40 „
Astyages	„	....	....	35 „
Together	....	....	....	150 years.

Now, the question is, in what years did these kings begin to reign? The testimony of Josephus—who, nevertheless, has done much to obscure sacred chronology—is invaluable as to the precise time of the reigns of these kings. After relating the wonderful event which happened at Jerusalem in the reign of Hezekiah, of the return of the shadow of the sun ten steps "on the steps of Ahaz," which it had gone down, which event we know from a living witness took place about the time when Sennacherib's army of 185,000 men was destroyed by pestilence on its return from Egypt, inflicting a blow on the power of Assyria not soon to be recovered, he adds, "It

¹ *Anc. Monarchies*, vol. iii, p. 174.

² *Fastes de Sargon*, line 49. *Zeitschrift für Ägypt. Sprache*, July, 1869, p. 99. The Armenian historian Moses Chorenensis gives the succession of Median kings, and names Cardiceas, or Carducas. Dr. Haigh was the first to point out the value of the record of Ctesias as a key to the Assyrian Canon.

³ *Smith's Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 289, Chardukka.

⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. i, p. 28.

was at this time that the dominion of the Assyrians was overthrown by the Medes" (*Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι*). Ant. x, ii, 1. The phenomenon of the movement of the shadow on the steps I have already shown (Trans. Bib. Arch., vol. iii, pp. 32-40, and in "Messiah the Prince," 2nd edit., pp. 176, 193) was occasioned by the solar eclipse of the 11th January, B.C. 689, and could have been occasioned by the sun in no other way than by a partial solar eclipse, towards noonday, about the time of the winter solstice. It was then in the following year, B.C. 688, that Deioces, shaking off the feeble Assyrian yoke, was placed on the throne of Media; and if so Median chronology stands thus astronomically fixed:—

Deioces reigns	53 years,	from B.C. 688 ¹	
Phraortes	22	„	635
Cyaxares	40	„	613
Astyages	35	„	573 to 539

So that Astyages died in the year B.C. 539, and Cyrus received his kingdom in B.C. 538. The year B.C. 538 attached to the first year of Cyrus (that is Kai-Khosru) father of Cambyses, thus rests upon no uncertain authority.

Herodotus incidentally seems to confirm the correctness of this computation in a passage which has given rise to no little discussion (i, 130). After describing how Harpagus, the general of Astyages, deserted and joined with Cyrus in the overthrow of the army of Astyages, he fixes the time of the overthrow in these words:—"Thus after a reign of thirty-five years (*ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα*), Astyages lost his crown, and the Medes, in consequence of his cruelty, were brought under the yoke of the Persians. Their empire over the parts of Asia beyond the Halys had lasted 128 years, excepting the time when the Scythians had the dominion." (*ἀρξάντες τῆς ἄνω Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίας ἐπ' ἕτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, παρέξ ἣ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον.*) But these 128 years, which are, I think, correct, can never be reconciled with the 150 years counted from Deioces to the end

¹ Canon Rawlinson expunges Deioces from the list of kings. F. Lenormant makes the year B.C. 688 the last year of Deioces. *Lettres Assyriologiques*, tom i, p. 61. Fynes Clinton and Jackson have both perceived that B.C. 688 must have been the first year of his reign. *Fast. Hell.*, vol. ii, p. 260; Jackson's *Ant.* vol. i, p. 284.

of the reign of Astyages.¹ The text must either be rejected, or amended. I would suggest, as possible, that *πέντε καὶ* is a late interpolation, and should be removed, and that *τρισκαίδεκα* should be substituted for *τρίηκοντα*. There would then be no difficulty in counting the 128 years from the year B.C. 688, for we should thus arrive at the year B.C. 560, or the first year of the 55th Olympiad, for the overthrow of Astyages by Cyrus, which is an undisputed date in history, and testified to by Diodorus, Thallus, Castor, Polybius, and Phlegon.² Herodotus is evidently incorrect when he calls this the thirty-fifth or last year of Astyages, for in this he contradicts himself, and is also contradicted by Ctesias. He admits that Astyages lived after his defeat, and was treated by Cyrus with kindness till his death. But Ctesias tells us that he was not only well treated, but continued to reign over the Barcanians, or Hyrcanians, and was looked upon by Cyrus as a father, and buried with kingly honours.

Again, the book of Judith, which certainly contains records of true history, and parts of which are evidently transcribed from some Assyrian tablet which contained the history of Nabopalassar, which may some day be recovered (compare chap. i and chap. ii with the history of the campaigns of Assurbanipal), affords valuable and exact testimony to the same reckoning of Median chronology. We are all aware that the years of the reign of Nabopalassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, are fixed by a lunar eclipse in his fifth year, B.C. 621; and if the fifth year of his reign was 621, the twelfth year would of course be B.C. 614. Now, the Book of Judith relates that "Nabuchodonosor who reigned at Nineveh," who could only have been the same as Nabopalassar, in his twelfth year slew Arphaxad, Phraortes, or Frawartish, as the name is written in the Assyrian inscriptions, in the plain on the borders of Ragau, or Rhages, not far distant from

¹ Mr. Clinton rightly places the first year of Deioeces as king in B.C. 687-8. *Fast. Hell.*, vol. i, p. 260. But he suggests that twenty-two superfluous years above B.C. 688, though forming part of the 53 years of Deioeces, should be reckoned as years preceding his actual reign of only 31 years. But if so placed, the last year of Phraortes would not coincide with the 12th of Nabopalassar, who slew him in B.C. 614.

² *Africani Chronicon*. Routh, vol. ii, p. 271.

Teheran, the present capital of the Shah of Persia. So that Cyaxares, his son and successor, came to the throne of Media in B.C. 613, the same year which we have arrived at by counting with the aid of Josephus from the eclipse of B.C. 689. Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, would therefore have come to the throne in B.C. 573, and have died in his thirty-fifth year in B.C. 539, being followed by Cyrus in B.C. 538. These combined testimonies afford sufficient evidence of the historical accuracy of the reckoning which places Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, on the throne of Media in B.C. 538. But there is not the slightest ground, thus far, for connecting the year B.C. 539 with the capture of Babylon.

The writer of the apocryphal additions to the book of Daniel seems to come somewhat near to this idea, where we read, "And king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus of Persia received his kingdom," and then goes on to relate the story of Bel-Dagon, or Bel and the Dragon at Babylon. But there is no ground whatever for believing that the kingdom of Astyages ever included Babylon. On the contrary, Herodotus says, that when the Medes under Cyaxares, father of Astyages (say in 583), took Nineveh, "they conquered all Assyria except the district of Babylonia" (Herod. I, 106). And he mentions no expedition against Babylon in the reign of Astyages. Eight years later, that is in B.C. 530, Cyrus the grandson of Astyages no doubt conquered that city, which is sufficient to satisfy the words of the apocryphal writer.

Asiatic chronology, as understood by the Greeks in the fourth century B.C., closes with the testimony of Xenophon, the most graceful, truthful, and matter-of-fact of historians, whose researches concerning the education of Cyrus, and his war with the confederate princes of Lydia, Egypt, and Babylonia previous to his conquest of Babylon are of inestimable value, as throwing light on sacred history. Xenophon, in agreement with Herodotus, tells us that it was Cyrus the grandson of Astyages who then conquered Babylon. But in opposition to Herodotus, he goes on to say that he lived in harmony with his grandfather, and that the fall of that great city took place before Cyrus had come to the Persian throne, and when his father Cambyses, son of Cyrus and Mandane,

was reigning in Persia; and that acting as general of the forces of the king of Media and the king of Persia, the empire being still divided into two kingdoms, Cyrus, yet a young man of about five and twenty years of age, obtained possession of Babylon on behalf of his father, Cambyzes, who we know first began to reign over Babylon in B.C. 529. Cyrus himself, he adds, did not become entitled either to the throne of Persia or of Babylon till after his father's death (B.C. 518),¹ that is, *not till after the thrones of Persia and Babylon and Egypt had been usurped by his kinsman Darius, son of Hystaspes* (see Trans., vol. ii, pp. 243, 244).

Now this last inevitable inference, that Cyrus, son of Cambyzes king of Babylon, and Darius son of Hystaspes, were contemporary kings, is an historical truth of deep significance, though startling at first sight as greatly at variance with the long-accepted interpretation of Herodotus. Nevertheless, it will be found to rest upon unquestionable authority. It is a truth essential to the scheme of reckoning herein maintained, which identifies Darius son of Hystaspes with "Darius the Mede" of Daniel. And, with regard to the main subject in hand, the position of the Book of Esther in history, it leads to the interesting identification of Esther, or Ishtar, with the well-known queen Hadassah or 'Atossa, daughter of Cyrus,² wife of Darius, and mother of Xerxes, through whom Darius inherited the dominions of Ahasuerus, or Tanu-Axares son of Cyrus. He who would deny these inferences must first set aside:—

1. The direct evidence of Xenophon, that Cyrus (Kores), son of Cambyzes king of Babylon, and of Mandane daughter of Astyages, reigned at Babylon after his father's death, and therefore in the reign of Darius. (Trans., vol. i, p. 244.)
2. Of Herodotus, that Astyages his grandfather married in the year of the eclipse in B.C. 585, and that the Cyrus who conquered him in B.C. 560 was not therefore Cyrus son of Mandane.

¹ Cambyzes, according to Ctesias, reigned eighteen years, that is from B.C. 535 to 518.

² That is, daughter-in-law. Herod. III, 133.

3. Of Ctesias, that it was the father of Cambyses king of Babylon (Kai-Khosru), who conquered Astyages, before Cambyses reigned, and therefore not the son of Cambyses king of Babylon.
4. Of the inscription on the brick from Senkereh, that "Cyrus son of Cambyses," repaired the temples at Babylon, and was therefore the Cyrus who reigned at Babylon.
5. Of Herodotus, that the body of Cyrus father of Cambyses was left unburied on the field of battle, when fighting with the Scythians, when Darius was about twenty years' old.¹
6. Of Arrian, that the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ contained the body of "Cyrus son of Cambyses."
7. Of Megasthenes, that when Cyrus (son of Cambyses) had appointed Nabonadius, the last king of Babylon, as ruler over the province of Carmania, Darius drove him thence (vol. i, p. 189); and again, that when the last of the kings of the Medes (called by him Aspanda, perhaps Isfendiar) died, "Cyrus and Darius ruled over the Persian empire for thirty-six years" (vol. i, p. 262).
8. Of Lucian, that Cyrus survived his son, the king Cambyses, and died, as he supposed, at the age of one hundred years (Trans. vol. i, p. 207).
9. Of Clement of Alexandria (Trans. vol. i, p. 250), that Babylon was overthrown in B.C. 510, that is in the reign of Darius: and of Orosius, that about the time when consuls began to rule instead of kings at Rome² (B.C. 510), Cyrus conquered Babylon a second time, that is in the reign of Darius.
10. Of Joannes Malalas, who records that Cyrus perished in a naval war between the Persians and Samians, not earlier therefore than the time of Darius, whom he calls son of Cyrus.³
11. Of Josephus, copying from Berosus or Megasthenes, that Cyrus and Darius came together against Naboandelus, or Nabonadius, the last king of Babylon, and over-

¹ Herod., L. I., 209-214.² Fasti Consulares, Euseb. Auch., p. 190.³ Joannes Malalas, Dind., p. 158.

threw him (Ant. x, xi, 2); and how from the captivity of the ten tribes (that is in B.C. 696) to the first year of Cyrus, there were counted $182\frac{1}{2}$ years (that is $696 - 183 = \text{B.C. } 513$).

12. Of the Book of Daniel, that "Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus" (vi, 28); and again, that "in the third year of Cyrus" (B.C. 511), "the prince of the kingdom of Persia¹ withstood him (Daniel) one-and-twenty days," or years, that is till B.C. 491; also that he "remained there with the kings of Persia," that is with Cyrus and Darius, then at Babylon, in B.C. 511 (x, 13).
13. Of the contemporary sacred historian Ezra, who relates that about the time of Zerubbabel (B.C. 511), or third year of Cyrus (Koresh), when Daniel's release from Babylon was opposed by "the prince of the kingdom of Persia," the building of the temple of Jerusalem was also stopped, and the decree of Cyrus set at nought "all the days of Cyrus, even until the (second year of) the reign of Darius," that is till Darius at about sixty-three years old, in B.C. 591, took the kingdom, or empire, just twenty-one years after the contest had arisen between these kings as stated by Daniel (Ezra iv, 5, 24).
14. The evidence of the Babylonian contract tablets, or tribute tablets of the reigns of Cyrus and Darius, is not yet sufficiently complete to place these conclusions beyond the reach of controversy. We have, however, in the British Museum a series of six tablets among others, reaching to the seventh year of the reign of Cyrus, B.C. 507, that is, of course, of Cyrus son of Cambyses, who repaired the temples of

¹ There is an inscription at Persepolis, copied by Niebuhr, in which Darius speaks of himself at one time merely as having become king of the "province of Persia." (Journal R.A. Soc., Vol. x, Part iii, pp. 274-5). It was probably also during these twenty-one years that Darius sought to weaken the power of Babylon by diverting the trade of the East and of the Persian Gulf through the Isthmus of Suez by the canal which he then finished. This policy was afterwards reversed, and part of the canal destroyed. See Oppert's *Mémoire sur les Rapports de l'Égypte et de l'Assyrie*, p. 125.

Babylon, from which it appears that he was first styled "king of Babylon" on the 28th day of the month Adar, B.C. 511. We have also tablets of the twelfth and thirteenth years of Darius, that is in B.C. 510 and 509, on the first of which he is styled "king of Babylon," on the second merely "king of the countries," which seems to confirm the statement of Daniel and Megasthenes that both these kings were acting together at Babylon about the first of these years, B.C. 510.

I take this opportunity of drawing the attention of collectors to the extreme importance of obtaining a complete series of thirty-six tablets, which no doubt are in existence in the mounds of Babylonia, or elsewhere, relating to the thirty-six years' reign of Darius son of Hystaspes, whereby to ascertain whether or not Darius was styled "king of Babylon" during the several years after B.C. 510, in which Cyrus is so designated, and even down to 505, during which six years I assume that the two kings were acting in opposition, and in a state of rivalry. Meanwhile the evidence above is sufficient to show that Cyrus king of Babylon and Darius Medus were not reigning together in Babylon in B.C. 538, and that such an assumption as a foundation upon which to erect a scheme of sacred chronology can only lead to extreme error and confusion.

Little light is thrown upon the chronology of the reign of Darius by the inscription at Behistun, in which the court historiographer carefully avoids to mark events by regnal years. One leading fact, however, is derived from the inscription, viz., that the 36 years of Darius, which we know began in B.C. 521, and ended in B.C. 486, when Xerxes came to the throne, were divided into two parts, in these words:—

"This is what I did before I became king."

"This is what I did after I became king."

And by interpreting these words in connection with the histories of Herodotus and Ctesias we learn that Cyrus I, having died in battle when Darius was twenty years old, in B.C. 536, Cambyses his son began to reign in B.C. 535. Ctesias then tells us that Cambyses reigned eighteen years, till B.C. 518, and that Darius reigned thirty-one years, after the fall of the Magian, till 486.

B.C.	TABLETS		CYRUS KING OF BABYLON.	PERSIA AND MEDIA.
	Selected from several in the British Museum, dated in the reign of Cyrus.			𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠 1
513	1			{ King of the two Countries
512	2	Warka, month Elul. 24th day, 2nd year	.....	
		Warka, month Adar, 27th day, 2nd year	.....	{ King of the two Countries
		Warka, month Adar, 28th day, 2nd year	King of Babylon	" "
511	3	Warka, month Adar, 28th day, 3rd year	King of Babylon	" "
510	4	Warka, month Sivan, 18th day, 4th year	King of Babylon	" "
509	5	Warka, month Kisilu, 7th day, 5th year	King of Babylon	" "
508	6	Warka, 6th year	King of Babylon	" "
507	7	Warka, month Ab. 9th day, 7th year	King of Babylon	" "

B.C.	TABLETS dated in the reign of Darius.		DARIUS KING OF BABYLON.	THE TWO COUNTRIES OF PERSIA AND MEDIA.
521	1			
520	2	Warka, month Elul, 5th day, 2nd year	King of Babylon	King of Countries
519	3	Rabbat, month Elul, 11th day, 3rd year	_____	King of Countries
518	4	Warka, month Adar, _____ 4th year	King of Babylon	King of Countries
517	5	.....	.....	
516	6	 6th year	King of Babylon	King of Countries
515	7	Bitpata, month Nisan, 1st day, 7th year	_____	{ King of the two Countries
514	8	.....		
513	9			
512	10	Ellanamitn, month Elul, 17th day, 10th yr.	_____	{ King of the two Countries
511	11	Babylon 9th day, 11th year	King of Babylon	
510	12	" month Sebat		" "
509	13	Karrinabu, month Sivan, 1st day, 13th yr.		{ King of the two Countries
508	14	Diblat, month Kisilu, 7th day, 14th year	_____	{ King of the two Countries
507	15		_____	
506	16		_____	
505	17		_____	
504	18	Month Tammuz, 10th day, 18th year	_____	{ (King of the two Countries?)
503	19			
502	20	Warka, month Sivan, 24th day, 20th year	King of Babylon	{ King of the two Countries
501	21			
500	22			
499	23			
498	24			
497	25	month Kisilu, 7th day, 25th year	King of Babylon	{ King of the two Countries
496	26	Warka, month Tisri, 10th day, 26th year	King of Babylon	{ King of the two Countries
495	27	1. Belshazzar?		
494	28	2. "		
493	29	3. "		
492	30	Darius, 30th year	King of Babylon	{ King of the two Countries
491	31	month Adar, 4th day,		
490	32			
489	33			
488	34			
487	35	Babylon, month Tammuz, 14th day, 35th yr.	King of Babylon	" " ?
486	36			

1 *Mat, mat*, the two countries, that is of Media and Persia.

So that Ctesias begins the second period spoken of in the Behistun inscription in the 6th year of Darius, B.C. 516, when Darius was certainly paramount in Egypt. There are tablets in existence which show also that Darius was recognized as paramount at Babylon from B.C. 520 to 516; and these five years were no doubt years of usurpation. Nabonidoehus the viceroy then threw off the yoke in 515, and Babylon was recovered by Cyrus and Darius in B.C. 510. After which it is assumed that Cyrus reigned at Babylon till B.C. 505.

Thus far it will be observed that the chronological question in the scale for decision, turns upon the reception, or otherwise, of the scholastic fiction, 'which places a great Median king on the throne of Babylon in the year B.C. 538; or, on the other hand, upon the realization of the scene in the dial chamber of king Ahaz, when, as described by Isaiah, the pious Hezekiah, "sick unto death," and confined to his couch, amidst the scientific apparatus of his immediate predecessor, beheld the retrograde motion of the sun's "shadow on the steps," marking a date entirely at variance with such teaching. In support of the reality of the dial scene, upon which, perhaps, already sufficient may have been said, I would draw attention to an almost exact repetition of this scene, in the palace of Hûlâkû, the khan of the Moghuls, at Marâghah in Aderbijan, in the days when the empire of the Arabian Caliphs was overthrown, in A.D. 1258. This scientific monarch, it appears had, like Ahaz, gathered round him from every part of his dominions, philosophers and astronomers, who laboured in works of science under the direction of the famous Nasser-u-deen, by whom as we are told a room in the observatory had been constructed with a dome, and that "through a perforation in the dome the rays of the sun were admitted so as to strike upon certain lines on the pavement in a way to indicate in degrees and minutes the altitude and declination of that luminary during every season, and marking the time and hour of the day throughout the year." By means of this apparatus, "an error of surprising magnitude, and to the great confusion of chronology, was detected in the mode formerly observed for adjusting the

commencement of the new year.”¹ Such was the nature of the chamber in which Hezekiah lay stretched upon his couch, shaded from the noon-day sun, yet watching from within the rise and fall of the meridian shadow on “the steps of Ahaz.”

I propose, therefore, in place of the erroneous date (B.C. 538) to substitute the year B.C. 690–689, which embraces the invasion of Sennacherib during 690, and the illness of Hezekiah in the beginning of 689, as the essential key-date of sacred chronology. I look upon the latter part of the 14th year of the reign of Hezekiah as securely fixed by the eclipse on the 11th January in that year: and with reverence I submit, as a just inference from the precision and value of the results, that this sign in the heavens manifested in the chamber of the sick king at Jerusalem, was not so manifested merely for the confirmation of the wavering faith of the desponding king, but also, by divine prescience, for the guidance and instruction of future and far distant generations.

With this master key in hand, the gift of the Almighty Architect Himself, a child may venture to explore the sacred edifice of Scripture history, and trace, without error or confusion, the dates of the successive stages of the history of God’s “holy people.” Alas that the holy people should themselves ignore the chief foundation “stone” on which the sacred edifice is raised. Come then, and as it were in vision, let us take an artless child as guide—for of such is the kingdom of heaven.—Let us go up to the mountain of the house of Jehovah, and bearing in hand the sacred key, let us seek the entrance of that lofty chamber where lie hid the everlasting title deeds of the Holy Land: for on those deeds is indelibly inscribed the date of their delivery in Ur of the Chaldees²: and from thence there are but two steps upward to the date of man’s creation.

It has already been shown (Trans. of Soc. Bibl. Arch., vol. I, p. 93) that the date of Christ’s nativity was in the autumn of the year B.C. 3, at the beginning of the sabbatical year B.C. 3–2, being just 490 years after the first year of “Darius king of

¹ Malcolm’s History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 224.

² Acts vii, 2.

Babylon," when "about three score and two years old" (Dan. v, 31); that is to say, in the 63rd year of his age, and the 30th year of his reign over the Persians, B.C. 492, in agreement with the prophetic words of Daniel, "seventy weeks" (that is 70 sabbatical weeks of years, or 490 years) "are determined on Thy people, and Thy holy city, to finish the transgression and to anoint the Holy of Holies" (Dan. ix, 24).

I. Now, starting from this fixed and certain date of the Nativity, we rise by four successive stages, with extreme exactness, up to the time of the laying of the foundation stone of Solomon's temple in the year B.C. 990. An intelligent child would first inquire, was there in secular history a king called "Darius king of Babylon" living 490 years before the autumn of B.C. 3? All history attests that Darius son of Hystaspes was sovereign of the whole eastern world in B.C. 493.

It is an interesting fact bearing on this result that within a few weeks previous to the writing of these words, a tablet from Babylonia has reached the British Museum, bearing the legend "30th year of Darius, *king of Babylon*, king of the countries," that is to say, dated in the year B.C. 492, and Babylon is thus set forth in that year as the capital of the two confederate kingdoms of the Medes and Persians.¹ The empire at this time we also know embraced the provinces of the kingdom of Assyria, seeing that Ezra, at the dedication of the temple (B.C. 485), styles Darius "king of Assyria" (vi, 22).

But it may be asked, how can it be ascertained that Darius was *about* "three score and two years old" in B.C. 492, that is to say, in the 63rd year of his age? We turn to the historian Ctesias, the most trustworthy writer concerning this period of Persian history, and he states the fact; for we read—"Δαρείος δὲ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Πέρσας, καὶ θύσας, καὶ ἡμέρας νοσήσας λ τελευτᾷ, ζήσας μὲν ἔτη οβ," having lived seventy-two years. Now, if Darius completed his 72nd year say in

¹ Daniel v, 28, "Thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians."
"And Darius the Median received the kingdom."

B.C. 484, and died, he would have been still *about* 72, if he had lived to the year B.C. 483, and therefore was "about 62" in the year B.C. 493, when he "took the kingdom" from Belshazzar. How very far astray from the truth are those who search for Darius Medus in the year B.C. 538, nearly half a century earlier than this obvious date.¹

Before we proceed further, it will not be out of place, but adding weight to the argument, to say a few words concerning a very remarkable change of policy in the government of the kingdom of Persia about the year B.C. 492-90, which affords another strong mark of identity between Darius the Mede and Darius son of Hystaspes. It is referred to briefly by Daniel in these words, "It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom (that is Darius the Mede, when about 63 years old), 120 princes, which should be over the whole kingdom; and over them three presidents (Sarkin, סַרְקִין), of whom Daniel was the first." (Dan. vi. 1, 2.) Now we know that during the greater part of the reign of Darius son of Hystaspes, the prominent feature of the government of Persia was its division into some twenty, or twenty-three, powerful and despotic satrapies. These twenty or twenty-three divisions are fully described by Herodotus, and are also engraved in cuneiform character on three different Persian monuments set up in his reign. The sudden division of each of these satrapies, on an average, into five or six parts, immediately after Darius took possession of Babylon, is so bold and striking a feature of state policy, that it cannot in reason be supposed to apply to two different kings bearing the same title, yet issuing their decrees at an interval of 46 years apart. This change of government was certainly carried into execution by Darius the Mede, and with equal certainty also by Darius son of Hystaspes. The two kings thus spoken of were,

¹ Since the above was in type the sixth volume of the Speaker's Commentary has appeared, in which I regret to see that the same date B.C. 538 is retained for the unknown Darius, and the two questions are gravely discussed, whether Darius Medus may not have been the same king as Astyages, and the Belshazzar of Daniel, who reigned at the close of seventy years after the "desolations of Jerusalem," may not be identified with the Evil-merodach of Jeremiah, who reigned twenty-six years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

therefore, one and the same. Herodotus refers to the event only so far as it affected the satrapy of Ionia. The battle of Marathon we know was fought in the year B.C. 490: and not long before the time when Mardonius was sent by Darius on the expedition to Marathon he was directed to proceed to Ionia. And, now, says Herodotus, "a marvellous event occurred (*μέγιστον θῶμα*) which would scarcely be believed by those Greeks who do not allow that Otanes had advised the seven conspirators (at the time of the accession of Darius) to make Persia a democracy; for Mardonius put down all the despotic governors throughout Ionia, *and established democracies in their place*" (Herod. vi, 43). The Babylonian satrapy no doubt was then also subjected to the same division, considering the series of revolts of pretenders, claiming to be sons of Nabonadius, the late powerful satrap of that kingdom, even down to the final revolt of his son Belshazzar. After the death of Cyrus II son of Cambyses, say in B.C. 505, Darius in virtue of the rights of queen 'Atossa, daughter-in-law of Cyrus I, and widow of Tanu-Axares, immediately laid claim to the provinces of Persia, "on this side the river" (Ezra iv, 11, 16), in addition to the 127 provinces of Media, on the other side the river, already belonging to his queen, and his seat of government may have been probably a few years later removed from Susa to Persepolis. His claim to the empire, however, was disputed by Atrines and Martius at Susa, Phraortes and Sitratachmes in Media, Phraates in Margiana,¹ and Aristagoras in Ionia. These powerful satraps had greatly weakened the empire by their revolts, and the form of government by satraps had proved itself quite unmanageable. The marvellous change of policy spoken of by Herodotus, by which this system of government was suddenly set aside, seems to be confirmed by the wording of the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis, especially of that on the tomb of Darius at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, inscribed, as Sir Henry Rawlinson considers, after the year B.C. 492 (Journ. R.A.S., Vol. X, part III, p. 289). For in addition to the ordinary titles, "great king," "king of kings," we there read the several new and unusual titles,

¹ Behistun Inscription.

"Darius king of the countries of the people" (p. 279), "king of the people," "lawgiver of the people," that is, *king and lawgiver of the democracies* (pp. 286, 291). It was then Darius son of Hystaspes, beyond question, who was pleased to set over the kingdom 120 princes or lieutenants which should be over the whole kingdom, in the days of Daniel, B.C. 492, and not some unknown king supposed to have been reigning in Babylon in B.C. 538.

But it has been said, that Darius on his tomb describes himself as a "Persian, son of a Persian." How then could Daniel, who knew him face to face, properly speak of him as "Darius the Median"? In reply, it may be said he could do no otherwise in the year B.C. 492; for, as a Persian prince of a junior branch from Achæmenes, Darius had no legitimate claim to the empire. He had no greater, but less claim to the empire of Assyria and Babylon than his father Hystaspes, or Gushtasp, still living about the year B.C. 492.¹ He had, however, a legitimate claim to the throne of the Medes, as in possession of the provinces attached to the throne of Susa, through queen 'Atossa, or Hadassah, which were then actually under his sceptre, together with the kingdom of Egypt. Again, his claim to the imperial throne could only be through 'Atossa, after the death of Hystaspes: the empire, therefore, did not come into his possession till the fall of Babylon in B.C. 493. Daniel accordingly rightly sets forth his title as "son of, or successor of, Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes," or Darius the Mede, in B.C. 493, who then "received the kingdom," or empire of Persia thus late in his reign.

Some indications of turbulence, it may be inferred, had occurred in Phœnicia before this time to have given colour to the report spread by Aristagoras, that it was the intention of Darius to transport the Phœnicians into Ionia and to replace them by transporting Ionians into Phœnicia. (Herod. vi, 3). For the 70 years' depression of Tyre were now at an end, and the joyous city was once more singing as a harlot.

¹ Hystaspes was still living when Darius had completed the inscriptions on his tomb at Rakhsh-i-Rustam (Ctesiae Fragmenta, p. 49). He is also spoken of in the Behistan inscription, column iii, late in the history of Darius. The native Persian historians speak of Gushtasp where Herodotus speaks of Darius.

Again, we know with certainty from the book of Ezra that the power of the rulers in Palestine, who had, in opposition to the king's command, obstructed the fulfilment of the decree of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the temple, was partly taken away in the year B.C. 491 by Darius, by the commission then granted to the Jews under Zerubbabel and Jeshua to build the temple and to govern themselves according to their own laws, free from tax or interference from Samaria (Ezra iv, 5).

Thus, on the final subjugation of Babylon in B.C. 493, when Belshazzar was slain, and the walls of that city broken down, and "all" the gates carried away (Herod. iii, 159), Darius, having put down the last enemy of his supremacy, became, as we have said, sovereign of the whole eastern world, the ruler of the most extensive empire which had yet existed on the earth. It must be understood, therefore, that when Daniel, Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah speak of the "first," "second," "fourth," and "sixth" years of his reign, they count in imperial years from B.C. 493, not from B.C. 521, or 538.

This was indeed a marked epoch in the history of the heathen world, as also great in the annals of "the holy people": the commencement of the Persian empire proper, spoken of by Daniel as coming up "last," and out-topping the kingdom of the Medes.¹ Accordingly, Josephus, following the first book of Esdras, tells us that in the first year of Darius he made a great feast, no doubt at Shushan, at which were assembled the 127 "*rulers of the Medes* and princes of the *Persians*,"² comprehending the whole of his late dominions derived from Ahasuerus (1 Esdras iii, 1, 2); and that during the days of that banquet it was so contrived, either by the king himself, or by his three princely body guards, all of the Hebrew race, that it should be publicly proclaimed from "the royal seat of judgment," to all the princes of the empire of "*Persia and Media*" (v. 9), that it was now his royal will and pleasure to restore the captive Jews, still retained at Babylon³ notwithstanding the decree

¹ Dan. viii, 3.

² Jos. Ant. xi, iii, 2.

³ "Deliver thyself, O Zion, that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon." (Zech. ii, 7). Written in the 2nd year of Darius as emperor of Persia.

of Cyrus, and that the far-famed temple of Jehovah should be rebuilt. Such was the princely feeling of favour and affection of Darius towards the late exiled race. And how, it will be asked, could such a change¹ of feeling have grown up in the heart of the heathen king. The tale has long ago been written, as far as regards the Jewish record of the history, and only by much secular learning has it become obscured and laid aside. On the secular side, however, of the history, we are told that Cambyzes had been compelled to obtain the sanction of the "royal judges of Persia" (Herod. iii, 31) to his marriage with his sister-in-law, Hadassah, called his sister by Herodotus, and thereby added Media to his Persian dominions. At his death in B.C. 518, Darius married this princess, and fixed his throne at Shushan, but did not yet put forth his title to the empire, which fell, of course, to Cyrus. The whole atmosphere of the Median court at Shushan now became impregnated with Jewish feelings and ideas. Esther and Mordecai, of course, were always about the person of Darius, the one as queen, the other probably as one of the three trusted body-guards. Again, Josephus tells us that friendship had long existed between Zerubbabel, "the prince of Judah," and the expectant future sovereign of the Persian empire. So much so that Darius had made a vow that whenever he came to the throne of the empire, he would permit the return of the Jewish captives to Jerusalem.² Zerubbabel had, he says, been one of the king's three body guards. "Nehemiah the Tirshatha," or cupbearer to Xerxes, who now took the title Artaxerxes (Ezra vi, 14), was also in attendance in the palace of the king, being a descendant from the house of David (ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ).³ David and Saul, we know, were related by the marriage of David with the daughter of Saul, and the descendants on both sides were, therefore, of course more or less distant cousins. Through queen Esther, descended from Kish, they stood in the same relationship to the king; so that we may readily comprehend how Darius, in consideration of their princely birth and connection with Atossa, should have pledged his word to either of the three, that he who should prove himself the wisest

¹ Ezra vi, 22.² 1 Esdras iv, 43.³ Johan : Malalæ, p. 160.

in discourse should be clothed in purple, and sit next to the king, and be addressed as “cousin of Darius” (1 Esdras iii, 7).

In addition to the daily influence of Esther, and Mordecai, and Zerubbabel, and Nehemiah, at the Median court, there was also that of the holy sage, the aged Daniel, the grandest of all the characters of sacred Scripture.¹ The whole policy of the empire seems to have been set in motion by the divine spirit of this extraordinary man. In the year B.C. 492, being on the extreme verge of his existence, he held a mighty influence over the mind of Darius, so that he was preferred before all the presidents and princes of the empire, “and the king sought to set him over the whole realm” (Dan. vi, 3). He aimed not to be clothed in purple, or in scarlet, the abhorred colour of Babylon and idolatry, but he sought and obtained his heart’s desire from the devoted king—the restoration of the temple of Jehovah, and the decree that in every dominion of the kingdom of Darius men should worship the God whom he adored (Dan. vi, 26).

Herodotus has, no doubt, truly recorded how the fiery and ambitious ‘Atossa, probably not long after the death of Cyrus, in B.C. 505, had urged Darius, before his expedition against the Scythians, to invade the Grecian states, and how she wisely counselled him that by occupying his indolent nobles in foreign wars, the satraps might be restrained from breaking into sedition and revolt. There was not improbably a party also in the state, who promoted the views of the enterprising, restless queen, known, perhaps, as “Hadassites,” or הַדַּסִּים, “Hadassim.” For in the book of Zechariah (i, 8), dated in “the second year of Darius,” in the month Sebat, or February, B.C. 490, under the veil of a vision of a horseman clothed in red amongst “the myrtle trees (Ha-Hadassim),” with other two horsemen, white and speckled, and four “carpenters,” or workers in timber, perhaps builders of ships, great preparations are described as being made for war. The prophet Haggai also, in the second year of Darius (Haggai ii, 20), refers to the same impending warlike movements, not as commonly assumed in B.C. 520, but twenty-nine years later, in B.C. 491. The allusion

¹ A building shown at the ruins of Susa is said to be the tomb of the prophet Daniel.

is unquestionably to the ten years' operations against Greece, beginning at Marathon, and ending with Salamis and Plataea. And while the prophet communes in vision with the angel concerning these foreboding warlike preparations, the question is asked—a question which might be asked with equal devotion and earnestness in these most ominous days—"O, Lord of Hosts, how long wilt Thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, against which Thou hast had indignation these three score and ten years"? The answer is, "I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies, My house shall be built in it, saith the Lord of Hosts, and a line shall be stretched forth on Jerusalem" (Zech. i, 16). "And Darius sent with them a thousand horsemen, till they had brought them back to Jerusalem safely" (1 Esdras v, 2). Yet, "not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith Jehovah of hosts. Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain" (Zech. iii, 6, 7). "And the elders of the Jews builded, and they prospered through the prophecy of Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo. And they builded and finished it, according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes (that is Xerxes, now just placed on the throne with Darius). And this house was finished on the 3rd day of the month Adar, in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king," that is in March, B.C. 485.

It was at this time, therefore, according to Jewish tradition, that "the men of the great synagogue" were assembled to perform the work of reconstruction in B.C. 491, not separately and at different times, but together in a body, at Jerusalem, viz., "Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Ezra, Seraiah, Reelaiah, Mizpar, Rehun, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi";¹ the birth of Mordecai, say B.C. 580, and the death of Nehemiah, say in 431, marking the extreme limits within which these contemporaries lived.

II. And now again the thoughtful child—our guide—at once perceives that in this "first year of Darius son of" (or

¹ *Chronologia Sacra-Profana*, R. David Ganz, p. 56.

heir to the 127 provinces of) "Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes" (Dan. ix, 2), Darius had come to the throne of Babylon after the completion of "seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem," that is to say, 70 years after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, in the 19th year of his reign (Jerem. lii, 12). So that Jerusalem must have been destroyed in the year B.C. 563, just seventy years before the year B.C. 493. Nebuchadnezzar must also have begun his reign in Babylon eighteen years before that date, that is in B.C. 581, which again is a very important date to fix in Babylonian history, being twenty-three years lower than the date in Ptolemy's canon, yet rightly fixed as following soon after the solar eclipse of B.C. 585, and overthrow of Nineveh in B.C. 483.

Again, it will be asked—where is the record to prove that the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar was the year B.C. 563? The answer is, that Demetrius, writing about 222 years before Christ, when Assyrian and Babylonian tablets might be referred to in every royal library in Asia, and counting the years of Nebuchadnezzar from B.C. 582, that is from the fall of Nineveh, one year earlier than Jeremiah, states that "the last carrying away of captives from Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar" (alluding no doubt to the last chapter of Jeremiah, c. 30), that is in his 23rd year, was 338 years and 3 months before the reign of the 4th Ptolemy, who began to reign in November, B.C. 222, that is 221 years 2 months + 338 years 3 months = B.C. 559 years 5 months; so that according to this reckoning the 23rd of Nebuchadnezzar began in Nisan B.C. 560, and ended in Adar 559. But if any part of the year B.C. 559 was commensurate with the 23rd year, B.C. 563 would have been commensurate with the 19th of Nebuchadnezzar. The testimony of Demetrius, therefore, varies twenty-three years from that of the Canon of Ptolemy, and confirms our reckoning.

The testimony of Demetrius concerning this date, as opposed to that of Ptolemy, is now placed beyond dispute by a recent discovery. Ptolemy the astronomer knew of no eclipse whereby to fix the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. But we learn from the Book of Ezekiel that the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar

was marked by the decisive mark of a total solar eclipse at Tahpanhes or Daphnæ: and this 27th year, according to Demetrius, was the year B.C. 556, in which year I shall now show that a total solar eclipse was visible at Daphnæ.

Here I regret to find that the proposed dates come into collision with those of the learned writer in the Speaker's Commentary on the book of Ezekiel concerning Apries or Hophra, king of Egypt. For it is clear that if the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar ended in B.C. 559, the death of Pharaoh Hophra, as stated by Josephus, must have followed about two or three years later. For Josephus writes—"In the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the 23rd year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Coelesyria; and when he had possessed himself of it he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all those nations under subjection, he fell upon Egypt in order to overthrow it: *and he slew the king that then reigned*, and set up another,"¹ that is, he slew Apries or Hophra, who had been conquered, though not slain, by Amasis some years before, according to Herodotus (ii, 169), and confirmed the position of Amasis as tributary king, say in B.C. 556, that is in the 26th year of his own reign counted from after the death of his father, or the 27th year from the date of the battle of Carchemish, B.C. 482, which year is also counted as the first year of Nebuchadnezzar.²

The "Downfall of Pharaoh Hophra, and the Ruin of Egypt," forms an important epoch in the reckoning of the Speaker's Commentary. The learned writer's date for the fall of Hophra, is the common yet untenable date B.C. 570. The date for which I firmly contend is B.C. 556, full thirteen years later. This later date is unquestionably to be preferred to the earlier for many reasons. In the first place, because the "forty years'" degradation of Egypt,³ which began in the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar, *and which cannot be accounted for in the common reckoning*, is exactly fulfilled between the years B.C. 556 and 517, in which latter year, on the death of the tyrant Cambyses, Darius began to reign in Egypt,

¹ Josephus, Ant. x, ix, 7.

² Jerem. xxv, 1, xlv, 2.

³ Ezek. xxix, 11.

and was greatly honoured by the Egyptians as the restorer of their prosperity. (Trans. vol. i, p. 234.)

Again, the evidence of the Apis monuments, published by Monsr. Mariette in his "Sérapéum de Memphis," is invaluable as regards the reigns of Ouaphres, or Hophra, and Amasis.¹ For it is clear from the following copies of the two last Apis epitaphs of the XXVIth Dynasty, that the fifth year of Amasis, which no one will deny began on the 12th January, B.C. 566, followed immediately after the twelfth year of Hophra, so that this twelfth year of Hophra must have begun on the 12th January, B.C. 567, and his first regnal year must have been counted from 578, though already seated on the throne in B.C. 579.

XXVI^e Dynastie—cinq Apis.

Apis IV—né l'an, 16, le 7 de Paophi, de Nechao :
 intronisé l'an 1, le 9 d'Epiphi, de Psammétichus II :
 mort l'an 12, le 12 de Pharmouthi,
 d'Ouaphres :
 enseveli l'an 12, le 21 Payni :
 âgé de 17 ans, 6 mois et 5 jours.

Apis V—né l'an 5, le 7 de Thoth, d'Amasis :
 intronisé l'an 5, le 18 Payni :
 mort l'an 23, le 6 de Phamenoth :
 enseveli l'an 23, le 15 de Pachons :
 âgé de 18 ans, 6 mois.

These epitaphs show that the Apis which died in the 12th of Hophra, in the month Pharmouthi, the eighth month, was succeeded by an Apis born in the following year on the 7th of Thoth, the first month, in the 5th year of Amasis, that is on the 18th January, B.C. 566. The Apis his predecessor must have died, therefore, on the 24th August, in the 12th year of Hophra, B.C. 567.

How then can it be contended that Hophra, who certainly reigned not less than 19 years, could have died so early as the year B.C. 570? Those who maintain this opinion must necessarily *create an intermediate Apis* between the IVth and Vth, which does not appear to have existed.

¹ "Le Sérapéum de Memphis," p. 28.

But the upholders of this opinion are under a still greater and insurmountable difficulty. For it is clear from the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, that the death of Hophra was signalized by the occurrence of a total eclipse of the sun at Daphnæ, or Tahpanhes, in latitude 31° , somewhere near the time of his death, which probably took place after Nebuchadnezzar had pitched his royal tent at the entrance of that city to besiege it. For Jeremiah writes (xliii, 8, 9), "Then came the word of Jehovah unto Jeremiah in Tahpanhes, saying, Take great stones in thy hand, and hide them in the day time, in the brick-kiln which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes I will send and take Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, my servant, and will set his throne upon these stones and he shall spread his royal pavilion over them." The words of Ezekiel concerning Hophra are, "The sword of the king of Babylon shall come upon thee" "I will also *water with thy blood* the land" "When I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark: I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light. All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon the land" (xxxii, 6-11). "*At Tehaphnehes also the day shall be darkened*" (xxx, 18).

There can be little doubt that these words have reference to a total eclipse of the sun at Daphnæ, south of Pelusium; and I am informed by Mr. Hind that there was a solar eclipse, by computation just short of totality¹ on the 1st November, B.C. 556, the central path of which is laid down as passing somewhat below latitude 29° , which no doubt was that which darkened the day at Daphnæ or Tahpanhes. No such eclipse can be found in any year near to B.C. 570. Those therefore who place the death of Hophra in 570, are under the necessity also of inventing a total solar eclipse at the mouth of the Nile in that year, which they will find difficult in conformity with any recent lunar tables.

Now it is probable that Amasis, hearing of the approach of Nebuchadnezzar towards Egypt, in his 23rd year, B.C. 559,

¹ "Small corrections quite compatible with calculations of other eclipses might make the eclipse total at this point."—J. R. II.

seized the reins of government and of the army, setting aside Hophra, now merely nominal king, and prepared himself for resistance to the invasion ; so that the 35th year of Amasis, counted from this 20th of Hophra, was B.C. 526. This result agrees well with the evidence of two Egyptian inscriptions, one at Florence, the other at Leyden. The Florence inscription records the death of one Psammetichus, on the 6th day of Paopi, the second month, in the 35th year of Amasis, that is, on the 6th February, B.C. 526 (for the 1st of Thoth was on the 1st January in that year), and this Psammetichus had lived 71 years, 4 months and 6 days, from the 3rd year of Necho, which 3rd of Necho was therefore commensurate with the year B.C. 597, as it should be.

The Leyden inscription records the death of one who died on the 6th August, B.C. 533, in the 27th year of Amasis, having lived 65 years, 10 months and 2 days, from the 1st year of Necho, month Epiphi, that is, from October, 599. In this month, therefore, Necho was already seated on the throne, though his 1st regnal year was dated from Thoth, 598. This inscription, therefore, agrees also with the proposed reckoning.

The reckoning of this period of chronology is very simple and complete, when arranged in conformity with four well ascertained total solar eclipses which form the framework for the dates, and the result is to show that King Psammetichus I must have died in B.C. 599, and that he put an end to the dodecarchy and began to reign in B.C. 653 or 654, as stated by Manetho.

B.C.

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 610, 30th Sept. | Total solar eclipse in Armenia. Invasion of Asia by the Scythians, who crossed the Caucasus, and fought a battle near Armavir, or Erivan, during the darkness of an eclipse. (Herodotus, and Firdousi.) |
| 585, 28th May | Total solar eclipse in Asia Minor during a battle between Cyaxares and Alyattes, when Astyages married the grandmother of Cyrus II. (Herodotus.) |
| 583 | Nineveh taken by Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar, during the reign of his mother queen Nitocris ; and the Scythians now expelled from Asia at the end of twenty-eight years of occupation. (Herodotus.) |

B.C.

- 582 Battle of Carchemish.—Death of Necho.—Psammuthis begins to reign in the 4th Jehoiakim. (Jerem. xxv, 1, xlv, 2.)
- 581 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar, after the death of his father.
- 563 Destruction of Jerusalem, in the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar = 11th Zedekiah.
- 557, 19th May. Total solar eclipse at Larissa, or Nimrûd, about the time of the conquest of the Medes by the Persians, in B.C. 560. (Xenophon.)
- 556, 1st Nov. Total solar eclipse at Tahpanhes, or Daphnæ, near Pelusium, lat. $30^{\circ} 50'$, in the 26th year of Nebuchadnezzar.
- 555 Egypt given over into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, in the 27th year of his reign. (Ezekiel xxix, 17.)

This eclipse near the mouths of the Nile, at Tahpanhes, is of extreme value towards the settling of Egyptian chronology. For thus we find that Psammetichus began to reign in B.C. 653, and that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who did not reign more than twenty-eight years, according to the following epitaph, must have died only a year or two before that date.

XXVI^e Dynastie.

Apis I—né l'an 26 de Tahraka :

intronisé le 9 de Pharmouthi :

mort l'an 20, le 20 de Mésori, de Psammétichus 1 :

enseveli l'an 21, le 23 de Paophi.

ELEMENTS OF THE TOTAL SOLAR ECLIPSE OF B.C. 556,
OCT. 31—NOV. 1.

GREENWICH MEAN TIME OF CONJUNCTION IN RIGHT ASCENSION,
B.C. 556, OCT. 31st, at $20^{\text{h}} 56^{\text{m}} 16^{\text{s}}$.

				^o	[']	["]
Right Ascension	....	....	....	210	53	6
Moon's hourly motion in R.A.	....				37	26
Sun's " "			....		2	27
Moon's Declination	....	....	....	12	8	42 S
Sun's " "		....	....	12	44	31 S
Moon's hourly motion in Declination					9	39 S
Sun's " " "					0	53 S
Moon's Horizontal Parallax	....	....			60	27
Sun's " "			....		0	9
Moon's Semi-diameter	....	....			16	28
Sun's " "		....	....		16	15

The following are points upon the centre line :—

Longitude	^o 26	['] 57 E.	Latitude	^o 28	['] 27 N.
„	36	8 E.	„	27	25 N.
„	42	46 E.	„	23	54 N.

Assuming for Pelusium, Long. 2^h 12^m 40^s E., Lat. 31° 15' N., a direct calculation gives—

	d.	h.	m.	
Beginning, Oct.	31	21	35	} Local Astronomical Mean Time.
Ending, Nov.	1	0	6	

Greatest phase about 22^h 51^m (Nov. 1^d 10^h 51^m a.m.) magnitude 0.96.

III. The next stage upwards in the ascent of the edifice of sacred history needs no question, even from a child, who takes his Bible in hand, and placing the 11th year of Zedekiah, when Jerusalem was taken, in B.C. 563, counts upwards to the close of the 14th year of Hezekiah in Adar, B.C. 689. Now Jehovah had said unto the king, through Isaiah, “I will add unto thy days fifteen years” (Isaiah xxxviii, 5): and so Hezekiah reigned in all twenty-nine years.

The 15th year of the reign of Hezekiah	began in Nisan	B.C. 689
55 years' reign of Manasseh	„ „	674
2 „ „ Amon	„ „	619
32 „ „ Josiah	„ „	617
(including 3 months of Jehoahaz).		
11 years' reign of Jehoiakim	„ „	585
1 „ „ Jechoniah	„ „	574
10 4m. „ Zedekiah	„ „	573
		to
126 4m.		
+ 562 5m.	Jerusalem taken, Temple burnt Aug.	563

B.C. 688 9m. = Nisan 689.

that is to say 126 years 6 months + B.C. 562 years 5 months = Jan., 689, the date of Hezekiah's recovery from sickness, being the primary date of this arrangement, in which the 14th of Hezekiah begins in Nisan, B.C. 690, and ends in Nisan, 689.

IV. From Nisan, B.C. 690, we next count just three hundred years to the laying of the foundation of Solomon's temple, in the fourth year of his reign, B.C. 990, thus:—

						B.C.					
If Solomon reigned 40 years, beginning in B.C. 993, the											
37 last years of the reign of Solomon began in Nisan						990					
17	years' reign of	....	Rehoboam	”	”	953					
2	”	”	....	Abijah	”	”	936				
41	”	”	....	Asa	”	”	934				
25	”	”	....	Jehosophat	”	”	893				
6	”	”	....	Jehoram	”	”	868				
1	”	”	....	Ahaziah	”	”	862				
6	”	”	....	Athaliah	”	”	861				
40	”	”	....	Jehoash	”	”	855				
29	”	”	....	Amaziah	”	”	815				
52	”	”	....	Uzziah	”	”	786				
15	”	”	....	Jotham	”	”	734				
16	”	”	....	Ahaz	”	”	719				
13	”	”	....	Hezekiah	”	”	703				
300 years to 14th of							Hezekiah			Nisan	690

This computation is very simple and very exact.

Some slight research is now required to prove that the historical date of the foundation of Solomon's temple was originally fixed in the year B.C. 990, until displaced by later theories.

First. The annals of Tyre exactly confirm this reckoning. For Josephus, in his controversy with Apion, refers to the annals of Tyre, which, as copied by Menander, appear to have been preserved with extreme exactness, and in the same form as those of the kings of Judæa, that is giving the age at the time of death of each king, and the number of the years of reign; and he sums up his observations thus:—"So the whole time from the reign of Hirom till the building of Carthage (that is to say, till the time when a colony of Phœnicians was led by the sister of Pygmalion to Africa) amounts to the sum of 155 years and 8 months. Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem in the 12th year of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the temple to the building of Carthage, 143 years, and 8 months" (Josephus cont Apion I, 18). Now Carthage was destroyed by Scipio Africanus in the year B.C. 146, just 700 years after the foundation of the colony by Pygmalion's sister, that is in the year B.C. 846,¹ and if we add to this

¹ According to Polybius, the epitomiser of Livy, Suidas, Solinus, and Orosius. See "Messiah the Prince," 2nd edit., p. 394.

date 143 years, 8 months, we arrive at the date B.C. 989 years, 8 months, or B.C. 990 for the building of Solomon's temple.

Secondly, This was the date of the building expressed in very early records preserved in Armenia, as appears from the writings of the Arabian historian Abulpharagius, in the thirteenth century A.D., who examined certain Syriac, Saracenic and Persian records then in existence in the city of Margan, in the province of Azerbaijan, on the south of the Caucasus. This historian, speaking of Herod the Great, writes:—"Tempore hujus Herodis natus est Redemptor noster, finitæque sunt hebdomades septem una cum hebdomadibus 62 Danielis, quæ conficiunt annos 483, consolidandos ab anno sexto Darii Hystaspis" (vol. i, p. 46) "anno ejus (Darii filii Hystaspis) sexto perfectum est templum, in mense Tjar (Adar?), altum sexaginta cubitorum, latum viginti. Colliguntur anni a condito templo primo Solomonis usque ad hunc annum, quo structura altera finita est, 508" (vol. i, p. 31), making together, B.C. 4 + 482 + 508 = B.C. 994. Abulpharagius thus apparently computes four years in excess. This discrepancy is partly explained in his own words, thus:—"Annum nativitatis Domini nostri, quem nos in annum Græcorum 309 (= B.C. 4), die secundo hebdomadis cadere invenimus, alii scriptores in alium transferunt." If, then, we place the Nativity in B.C. 2. 3^m, and the finishing of the second temple in March, B.C. 485, this latter date will fall in the 506th year after the laying of the foundation of the first temple in May, B.C. 990. The difference therefore is two years.

Thirdly, and lastly, it was foretold by the prophet Amos that the death of Jeroboam II, king of Samaria, should be preceded by tremblings of the earth, or earthquakes, and by the awful sign of the *going down of the sun at noon*, and the darkening of the earth in the clear day (Amos vii, 11, viii, 8, 9), that is to say by the total darkness of a total solar eclipse in the kingdom of Samaria at mid-day.¹ Now

¹ The eclipse, according to the words of Amos, would probably have passed over Dan, to which place the people of Samaria went up to worship the golden calf (1 Kings xii, 29, 30). For Amos seems to make special reference to the destruction of the idol at Dan (viii, 14). The shadow of totality, therefore, might be placed one degree higher than I have before assumed (Trans., vol. ii, p. 152), that is to say, as covering Dan, in the north of Samaria.

Jeroboam died in the 55th year after the accession of Amaziah (2 Kings xiv, 23), and Amaziah we have already seen came to the throne in B.C. 815. So that the death of Jeroboam fell in the year B.C. 762-1.

One of the most valuable discoveries made by Sir H. Rawlinson from the records of Nineveh is, that a notable eclipse of the sun in the month Sivan (June) was registered in the Assyrian annals in the year when Bursagale (Oppert), or Edsusarabe (Smith), was archon eponymous at Nineveh, that is, as all are agreed in the year B.C. 763; while Sir George Airy and Mr. Hind agree, that on the 15th June, B.C. 763, a total solar eclipse took place at Nineveh somewhere about midday, the path of which must have passed near to or over Dan, that is over the northern extremity of Samaria (Trans. vol. ii, p. 152).

This last proof is decisive of the question of the actual date of the foundation of the temple by Solomon in B.C. 990. For Amos prophesied "two years before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah" (Amos i, 1). Jeroboam II was alive when Amos wrote, and his death was to be marked by the signs of earthquakes and darkness. Till recent days no one could have shown that such rare phenomena had actually occurred about the time of his death in B.C. 762-1. But now, in these latter days of wavering faith, witnesses from the mounds of Nineveh spring up to prove that about a year before his death total darkness from an eclipse, about noon, fell upon Samaria, and that a series of earthquakes were recorded at Nineveh in the years B.C. 763, 762, 761, 760, and 759, that is to say in a country bordering upon Samaria, in the midst of which portentous signs Jeroboam died, and the kingdom of Israel for a time ceased to exist. Nothing can ever set aside the force of this remarkable proof.¹ The death of Jeroboam II cannot henceforth be placed earlier than B.C. 763.

It is satisfactory to observe that, as far as regards the

¹ Dr. Pusey, after searching in vain for a visible eclipse, pronounces that "no eclipse of the sun, in which the sun might seem to be shrouded in darkness at mid-day, has been calculated which should have suggested this image to the prophet's mind," and that it "is *more likely* that the words are an image of a sudden reverse" ("Amos," pp. 216, 217). The Speaker's Commentary takes the same view. The reckoning of both must therefore be incorrect.

date of the building of Solomon's temple, the conclusion here arrived at closely coincides with the reckoning of Dr. Lepsius, the greatest Egyptian chronologist in Europe, who places the date of the foundation of Solomon's temple in B.C. 989.¹

It also coincides with the æra of the captivity of the ten tribes, in the reign of Hoshea (לְגִלְתָּא) B.C. 696, preserved by Demetrius, and inscribed on certain well-known Jewish grave-stones found in the Crimea, and now at St. Petersburg (Trans. vol. iii, p. 28).

And again, it agrees with the reckoning of Ezekiel, who computes an interval of 190 years between the apostasy of the ten tribes in B.C. 953, and the destruction of Jerusalem in B.C. 563.²

But by far the most interesting test and proof of the correctness of this modification of the sacred calendar, from the time of Solomon to the birth of Christ, is the exactness and simplicity with which the continuous series of sabbaths and jubilees fixed in the calendar falls in with the actual history of the holy people: a result which many learned men have attempted in vain to produce in connection with the common reckoning. The sabbatical and jubilaic cycles set down for observance in the Levitical law, formed of course a perfect framework within which the events of sacred history actually came to pass. These cyclical periods were interwoven with the chief institutions and festivals of the holy people. They were also largely used in prophetic utterances from time to time concerning past or future events. Dr. Kalish writes:—"The great chain, from the seventh day to the end of the seven times seven years"—he might have added also, to the end of the seventy times seven years—"encompassed in its widening circles the sanctification of the individual Hebrew and of the Hebrew nation, the protection of every citizen and the commonwealth, the relation of God to the holy land and holy people. It is the most perfect system of

¹ Synoptische Tafeln der Aegyptischen Dynastien, p. 7. Dr. Lepsius, however, and Niebuhr, propose to cut out twenty years from the reign of Manasseh, to meet the erroneous reckoning of Herodotus, who misidentifies Nabonidus with Nebuchadnezzar son of Nitocris.

² Ezekiel iv, 4.

theocracy which has ever been devised. If we could prove that it was originated in all its parts by one mind, or at one epoch, it would be without parallel or analogy in all history as a work of largely conceived legislation." (Comment on Leviticus xxv, 1, Part II, p. 534.)

Dr. Kalish, however, denies that any proof to this effect can be produced in ancient days. In modern days indeed we know that the sabbatic chain lies broken and neglected beneath the feet both of Islam and of Christendom. The one keeps holy the sixth, the other the first day of the week. And yet the Decalogue sufficiently attests that the seventh was the day to be observed in unbroken series *by the holy people* from the beginning. "The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." It is hard also to deny, in the face of Gen. xxix, 27, the antiquity of the practice of counting by weeks of years.¹ And there can be no question concerning the command to keep the Jubilee (Levit. xxv, 8). Now when the records of the events of sacred history are strictly arranged in conformity with the internal framework of scripture dates, the wondrous proof of unity of design becomes complete. The one mind which more than three thousand years ago laid down this wide scheme of legislation, marked by times and festivals, thenceforth to be evolved as the peculiar history of the select and holy race, and brought the same to pass within the exact bounds prescribed, is thereby manifested to be no other mind than that of the Great Creator Himself.

As regards sacred chronology, what I wish to express is this, that the Bible contains within itself its own distinct and perfect system of chronology, fixed as it were in tables of celestial time, that is to say, marked by successive eclipses of sun and moon, which are recorded in its own pages in connexion with some of the leading events of which it speaks. Provided that a sufficient number of these combinations of time and event can be recovered, it is clear that such a method of reconstructing sacred history must be perfect and exact.

¹ "Et facti sunt omnes dies vitæ Saræ, centum et viginti et septem, id est Jubelaci duo, et septimanæ quatuor, et unus annus."—*Book of the Jubilees*, p. 25, Dillmann. "Until 177 days are completed (by the moon): according to the mode of computation by weeks, twenty-five weeks and two days." *Lawrence's Book of Enoch*, p. 101.

The five following instances of well-established eclipses are, I submit, sufficient for the present to verify the truth of the outline of chronology herein proposed.

HISTORICAL ECLIPSES ILLUSTRATIVE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE.

I.

Total solar eclipse of 15th June, B.C. 763.¹

Marking the death of Jeroboam II.

The shadow of totality passing over Dan and Nimrûd.

By means of this eclipse we learn that :—

The death of Jeroboam II	was somewhere about the year B.C.	762, or 763
The death of Joash	....	802
The death of Jehoahaz	....	817
The death of Jehu	....	833
The anointing of Jehu and Hazael	....	861
The death of Ahab	....	874

II.

Partial eclipse of the sun at Jerusalem,

11th January, B.C. 689.

When the shadow of the sun went back ten steps on the
steps of Ahaz.

Marking the 14th year of Hezekiah, and the
Sabbatical year 689–8.

From this eclipse we also infer that Sennacherib had threatened to destroy Jerusalem in B.C. 690, and lost his whole army by pestilence in that year, and also, through Josephus, that Deioces began to reign in Media in 688, in the same year that Babylon revolted from Assyria.

III.

ECLIPSE OF THALES,

28th May, B.C. 585.

Marking the day and year of the battle in Asia Minor between
Cyaxares king of Media, and Alyattes king of Lydia,
and the marriage of Astyages son of Cyaxares, and

¹ Amos viii, 8, 9.

grandfather of Cyrus, while Astyages was yet between 30 and 40 years of age; being the 29th year of Cyaxares, and two years before the fall of Nineveh, and of the expulsion of the Scythians from Asia in B.C. 583.

From this eclipse we infer with certainty that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, placed in command of the army of his father Nabopalassar when yet alive, and counted from the fall of Nineveh, fell in the year B.C. 582, and that Cyrus grandson of Astyages did not conquer his grandfather in B.C. 560, twenty-five years after his grandfather's marriage.

IV.

Total solar eclipse at Daphnæ,

1st November, B.C. 556.

"And it came to pass in the twenty-seventh year (that is, in the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 556) the word of the Lord came unto me—— Behold, I will give the land of Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar." (Ezek. xxix, 17, 18.)

Concerning Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries, Ezekiel writes:—

"The sword of the king of Babylon shall come upon thee—— When I put thee out—— I will cover the sun with a cloud—— and set darkness upon thy land." (Ezek. xxxii, 7, 8.)

"At Tehaphneches also (or Tahpanhes, that is Daphnæ) the day shall be darkened." (Ezek. xxx, 18.)

From this eclipse we learn that:—

Hophra, or Apries, reigned	25 ¹	years	....	....	from 555 to 579 B.C.
Psammuthis	"	5	"	....	580 to 584
Necho	"	16	"	....	584 to 599
Psammetichus I	"	54 ²	"	....	600 to 653
Dodecarchy in Egypt	"	15	"	....	653 to 668
Reign of Assurbanipal....	....	....	....	....	B.C. 668

V.

Total lunar eclipse,

10th January, B.C. 1.

Marking the year of the death of Herod, and the Birth of Christ in Autumn, B.C. 3, in the Sabbatical year 3-2, about one year and four or five months before Herod's death.

See Josephus Ant. xvii, vi, 4. Trans. vol. i, p. 93.

¹ Herod. ii, 161.

² Africanus, Routh, vol. ii, p. 260.

The eclipse of B.C. 556 at Daphnæ, marking the time of the fall of Pharaoh Hophra, and the subjugation of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar in the twenty-seventh year of his reign,¹ is very valuable to chronology, as already observed, as leading to the establishment of the precise date of the accession of Psammetichus in the year B.C. 653. And it has elsewhere been pointed out how this date, 653, agrees to a single year with the testimony of Manetho, as copied by Africanus, concerning the beginning of Psammetichus's reign. And again, we observe how the same date is confirmed by the history of Assurbanipal king of Assyria, who either in B.C. 668 or 667, just *fifteen years* before the year B.C. 653, divided the government of Egypt between twenty petty rulers, of whom twelve were Egyptians (called by Herodotus the dodecarchy) and eight Assyrians.² And lastly, how Diodorus³ has, in two places, recorded that this period of dodecarchy, which immediately preceded the reign of Psammetichus, had lasted exactly fifteen years (πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη), when he set aside the other eleven kings.

Now from whence did Diodorus derive this precise figure of "fifteen years"? Assyrian tablets, such as we now put together in fragments, were no doubt complete and common in all the libraries of the Greeks in Asia and Egypt in the days of Diodorus, giving this exact reckoning of years; for we know that cuneiform writing continued to be used and understood as late as the reigns of Seleucus Philopater (B.C. 187) and Antiochus (B.C. 164), whose names are found written in these characters.⁴ It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that the "fifteen years" of Diodorus are derived from some Assyrian tablet in which the same number of years are mentioned; as for instance, in the following passage in the history of Assurbanipal,⁵ where the king, some time after the death of Teumman king of Elam, in

¹ Maspero denies the fulfilment of Ezekiel's prediction, and thinks that Nebuchadnezzar was repulsed. *Histoire Ancienne*, p. 504.

² Smith's History of Assurbanipal. Chronological Remarks by J. W. B. pp. 342, 343.

³ Diodorus, Rhodom, pp. 59, 60.

⁴ Lenormant's *Lettres Assyriologiques*, tom. i, p. 222.

⁵ Smith's Assurbanipal, p. 251.

B.C. 661, demanded of Umman-aldas his successor the return of the statue of the goddess Nana which had been carried off to Elam by Kudurnanhundi, the Elamite,

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 2 \text{ Ners} & = & 1,200 \text{ years.} \\
 7 \text{ Sosses} & = & 420 \text{ „} \\
 15 \text{ Years} & & 15 \text{ „} \\
 \hline
 & & 1,635 \text{ years}
 \end{array}$$

before the date of her return. But if these are the same fifteen years as the years of dodecarchy spoken of by Diodorus, then are we enabled, through the history of Assurbanipal, coupled with the date of the eclipse at the death of Hophra, to count up with accuracy even to the date of the Deluge in the time of Xisuthrus.

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 \text{Psammetichus} & \text{B.C.} & 653 \\
 \text{Dodecarchy} & \text{„} & 15 \\
 7 \text{ Sosses, 2 Ners} & \text{„} & 1,620 \\
 \hline
 & \text{„} & 2,288--2,287,
 \end{array}$$

and from thence to the time of the

$$\text{Deluge, 33,480 suns, or days} = \text{92 years.}$$

$$\text{B.C. } 2,379$$

Now B.C. 2,379 is also the date of the flood in the time of Noah, as related by Moses. (Trans. vol. iii, p. 19.)

And now let us pause a moment to consider how far we have advanced in the reconstruction of the calendar of sacred history, and how far it is true, as I have said, that the history so reconstructed falls in with the continuous series of Sabbatic and jubilaic cycles. "Darius the Mede," the earthly master of Daniel, was, as we have seen, the same as he who ruled in Persia in the days of Zerubbabel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra, and who could be no other than the son of Hystaspes; and all therefore which is written in the books of Daniel, Haggai, and Zechariah in connection with Darius has properly become incorporated with the history of that Persian king who married Atossa, daughter, or rather daughter-in-law, of Cyrus. A mighty stumbling block being thus removed from

the path of sacred history, we have been enabled to ascend by easy yet unerring steps, supported by records from time to time of celestial phenomena, till we have reached the days of Solomon; and stand as it were in vision with that king upon "the Mountain of Jehovah's House"; that mountain of which we read, that "It shall come to pass in the last days that the Mountain of the Lord's House shall be established on the top of the mountains, and *all nations* shall flow unto it" (Isa. ii, 2); that house concerning which it is more than once proclaimed, "Mine house shall be called a house of prayer *for all nations*"; and thus, from the time of laying the first stone of the building, if the principle of reckoning here adopted is correct, the history of this central house of prayer to be prepared for all the nations of the earth, should, we might expect, be found laid down in measured periods of septennial cycle.

Now if there is anything clearly fixed and certain in the Hebrew Calendar, it is that the first stone of this first house of prayer was laid, as we are told, "in the 480th year after the Children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, and in the fourth year of Solomon's reign (1 Kings, vi, 1), that is to say,

In the second month (May), B.C. 990,
and the consecration of this temple took place, we reckon, in the twelfth year of Solomon (1 Kings, vi, 38; viii, 2),

In the seventh month (September or October), B.C. 482.

So that the consecration of the temple, and the first establishment of the city of Jerusalem as "the Holy City"—"the city of the Great King"—fell in the 488th year after the coming out of Egypt, or, say, in the 490th year after the call of Moses by Jehovah on Mount Horeb.

And thus it appears that from the call of Moses to the consecration of the Holy City, was a period of

Seventy weeks of years, or 490 years.

And that from the year of the consecration of the Holy City, in the days of Solomon, to the reconstruction of "the Holy City" in the second year of the reign of Darius, B.C. 492-1, was also a period of

Seventy weeks of years, or 490 years.

And, as already seen, that from the laying of the foundation stone of the second temple, in December, B.C. 492, (Haggai ii, 18), to the Birth of Christ in Autumn, B.C. 3, was a period of

Seventy weeks of years, or 490 years, being three successive periods of ten jubilees of 49 years each, equal to 1,470 years, during which a continuous computation—I will not say observance—of the Sabbatical years had been kept up.

Again, we read that the seventy last years of the second period of 490 years were *years of rest or Sabbath to the land*, to be fulfilled during the seventy years' desolations of Jerusalem (2 Chron., xxxvi, 20, 21)—“until the land had enjoyed her Sabbaths; for as long as she lay desolate she kept Sabbath to fulfil three score and ten years.” And thus we gain a clue to the actual years of “*Sabbaths of the land.*”

And once more we read that in the last of these years, that is in the Sabbatical year B.C. 493-2, which was in the first year of Darius, son, or representative, of Ahasuerus, ———“Seventy Weeks are determined (that is are completed) upon Thy people, and Thy holy city, to make an end of sins,” &c. (Dan. ix, 24). So that the year B.C. 492-1 which followed the 490th year of the septennial cycle, ought to be found to represent a year of jubilee. Now it is to be remarked, that such is the record of a Jewish writer, much esteemed, of the first century A.D., living about the time of St. John, Rabbi Eliezer, in Pirke, c. 38, who affirms that the restoration of the temple was formerly impeded by the Samaritans, “*usque ad annum Jubilæum,*” in the days of Zerubbabel.

Thus by fixing the date of one single year of jubilee, in B.C. 492-1, we are enabled to compute the whole series of Sabbatical years and jubilees both upwards to Solomon, and downwards from that date to the birth of Christ, as they were commanded to have been observed.

The historical result is marvellous. Recorded eclipses, buried monuments, clay tablets from Assyria and Babylon, records of faithful historians hitherto laid aside as misunderstood, seem all to rise together to confirm one and the same

harmonious record of past events, foretold indeed by holy prophets, and all combine to form the fundamental Calendar of Sacred Time. While flowing naturally from that Calendar we seem to be enabled to unfold the meaning of the mysterious Covenant which regulates the tenure of the Holy Land as connected with the *Sabbaths of the land*, and Jubilaic Cycle;¹ the infraction of which covenant was to be, and has been twice punished by expulsion of the owners from the land; and by the observance of which the repossession may be claimed as “an everlasting promise” by the sons of Abraham.

No other system of Scripture reckoning comprehends throughout the Jubilaic Cycle of forty-nine years. Its recovery, I maintain, marks this Calendar with the stamp of truth. And as regards the matter now immediately in hand, we may look upon the following dates, on which so much depends in reconciling Assyrian discoveries with sacred Scripture, as finally determined by its reckoning.

Benhadad of Damascus was made prisoner by Ahab in B.C.	877
Ahab was slain at Ramoth Gilead in	874
Benhadad died in	862
Jehu and Hazael were anointed kings in	861

And now for a moment let us follow the footsteps of our youthful guide. Behold, as it were in vision, he communes with the guardians of the holy mount——“The watchmen set upon the walls of Jerusalem, who never hold their peace, day nor night,” but cry——“Ye that make mention of Jehovah, keep not silence, and give Him no rest till He establish, and till He make Jerusalem a praise in the earth (Isaiah lxii, 6). He seems, with reverence, to say, Sirs, I seek to view the title deed which gives possession of this most holy land. Though but a child, I can perceive that it is trodden down and polluted more than all other places on the earth: how then shall I understand that it shall become a praise? To whom in these troublous days shall it belong? Shall they who now occupy the places of the Sanctuary, destined to become the “house of prayer for all people,” continue in possession, heedless of the approach of the set term of alienation of this peculiar land—the year of Jubilee

¹ See Ewald's Antiquities of Israel, Eng. Trans. 1876, p. 381.

of Jubilees, when the trumpet of the Jubilee shall sound on the 10th of the 7th month, the Day of Reconciliation, or Atonement? (Levit. xxv, 9.) Or shall the wide-spread influence of Christendom embrace this land, and swallow up the false religions which now pervade the East? "How long shall the Sanctuary and the host be trodden under foot?"¹ My son, is the reply, thy thoughts are deep, and in the path of truth; but thou hast much to learn, and cannot bear it now. First make thyself certain of the past. Be sure that hitherto all has happened in order, as designed, and then shalt thou be prepared to read *that which is written* and which concerns the future. But, be assured of this—"The Sanctuary shall be cleansed."² There is but one people on the earth who can claim *of right* possession of this land. However devout and holy, however wide-spread the influence, however acceptable the great and pious work which it has performed, the claims of Christendom are no stronger than those of Brahminism to inheritance in this land.³ They who would possess it must keep the covenants written in the deed—the covenant made with Abraham, representing purity of thought, and heart, and body⁴—the covenant of the Sabbath of the seventh day, and the covenant of the Sabbaths of the land; except in performance to the letter of these covenants it cannot be retained. But, see my son, you carry in your hand the key by which you may unlock some of the hidden mysteries of bye-gone time. Have you examined well the legends graven on that master key? See, here on one side it is written:—

Given in the 14th year of Hezekiah as a sign, when
the shadow of the sun returned ten steps on the
steps of Ahaz.

And on the other side is written as a sign:—

"Ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself: and
the second year that which springeth of the

¹ Dan. viii, 13.

² Dan. viii, 14.

³ Pope Pius IX, addressing Christendom in 1875, erroneously assumed to offer to the world "those benefits which amongst the Jewish people were promised by the Law, *on the return of every fiftieth year*"; counting his Jubilee from 1825, on the principle of two jubilees to a century. Encyclical Letter, published in "The Times," 8th Jan., 1875.

⁴ Gen. xvii, 10, 13; Romans iii, 29-31.

same; and in the third year sow ye and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof." (Isaiah xxxvi, 30; compare Levit. xxv, 4, 5).

This is the long-lost key by which to set the series of the Sabbaths and the Jubilees. Three periods of seventy weeks of years, or 490 years each, have already thus been traced from the birth of Christ to the appearance of Jehovah in Mount Horeb: and again, another period of seventy weeks may be counted from the giving of the law on Sinai to the appearance of Jehovah in Ur of the Chaldees,¹ when the land was granted to Abraham "as a possession, and to his seed." And now, behold, the holy child, oppressed with thought, sinks down in sleep, and as in dream the watchers pass away, touching their harps they seem to sing—"The Redeemer shall come to Zion, and to them that turn from transgression in Jacob"—This is my covenant with them, saith Jehovah." While other voices, clear and sweet, proceeding from the opposite mount take up the strain, and sing—"His feet shall stand upon the Mount of Olives"—"And Jehovah my Elohim shall come, and all the just ones with Thee" (Zech. xiv, 4, 5). "Every eye shall see Him, and they which pierced Him." "They shall mourn for Him, as one mourneth for his only son."

Having thus laid down the outline of sacred chronology on principles which do not admit of alteration, either upwards or downwards, of a single year, and having thereby shown from the records of Scripture the exact period of time within which Shalmanezar II, king of Assyria, Benhadad and Hazael kings of Damascus, and Ahab and Jehu, kings of Samaria, must have lived and reigned, it now remains for me to show how Sir Henry Rawlinson's Assyrian Canon, or continuous list of annual eponymous archons, or prefects, at Nineveh, in connection with whose years of office the history of Assyria is related, when set according to its own internal marks of arrangement, coincides with the record of Scripture to a single year as regards the history of these several kings.

¹ Acts vii, 2.

I have frequently stated that the alteration of the dates required throughout the Hebrew monarchy is to the extent exactly of twenty-five years downwards.¹ And I may now briefly state that the cause of the anachronism which at present elevates the reigns to that extent, and which has so long passed current, originates in an unfortunate and fundamental error of Herodotus, who has mistaken Labynetos II, the son of the great queen Nitocris, in whose reign Nineveh was destroyed and the Scythians expelled, for Nabonidus, or Nabonadius, the last king of Babylon, who we know was merely a Babylonian noble with no claim whatever to the throne by royal descent; and who was overthrown by Cyrus son of Cambyses *just twenty-five years* after the death of the son of Nitocris (B.C. 538). The last words of the dying prince foretold the coming of "a Persian mule" who should destroy the Babylonian empire; and Xenophon has truly related that Cyrus "the mule," some nine years later, entered Babylon through the bed of the Euphrates. But Cambyses, he tells us, took the benefits of this conquest (in B.C. 529); and Cyrus his son did not become entitled to the empire till sixteen years afterwards, in B.C. 513, when he conquered Nabonidus.

I will now refer the reader to Mr. G. Smith's valuable work entitled "The Assyrian Eponym Canon," p. 189, a work with which every one who wishes to enter into these questions should be provided. Referring first to Ahab of Zirhala, called "Ahab the Israelite" by Dr. Oppert, but which should be more properly read Ahab of Jezreel, who together with Benhadad was conquered by Shalmanezar during the year of office of Dayan-assur, he observes, that "it would be possible that this was not the Ahab of Scripture"; because, "it does not seem likely that the Biblical Ahab, who was the foe of the King of Damascus, sent troops to his aid" (p. 190). The simple reply to this is, that Ahab had three years before his death made prisoner of Benhadad, and peace was made between them, on condition that Ahab should "make streets in Damascus," as the father of Benhadad had "made in Samaria" (1 Kings, xx, 34). The meaning of which passage is,

¹ Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., vol. iii, p. 1.

that Ahab should have a garrison in Damascus in recognition of his suzerainty over that kingdom, as Benhadad's father had garrisoned Samaria. So that in fact the conquest of these *two foes in confederacy* in B.C. 875, so far from being adverse to the idea that Ahab of Jezreel, conquered by Shalmanezer, was identical with the Ahab of Scripture who was slain at Ramoth-Gilead, is a direct proof that Dayan-assur, the Tartan of Shalmanezer, defeated that same Ahab at Ramoth-Gilead in the year B.C. 874, who, in that year, died at that city. Again, with regard to Jehu, who is styled in the Assyrian inscriptions "Jehu son of Omri," Mr. Smith observes, "I would urge that the identity of the Jehu of the Bible with the Jehu of the inscriptions is not proved, and that these notices are not enough to force us to alter all our Bible dates." On the other hand I would observe that, if the year of office of Dayan-assur is correctly placed in the year B.C. 874,¹ then must the payment of tribute by Jehu to Shalmanezer be placed in the year B.C. 861, about which time, according to the fixed dates of Scripture, Jehu and Hazael were anointed kings of Samaria and Damascus by order of Elisha the Prophet. Few, I think, will be inclined to fall into Mr. Smith's view of a duplicate Ahab, a duplicate Jehu, and probably a duplicate Benhadad, and a duplicate Hazael (p. 192).

Let us now proceed to adjust the dates of the Sacred Calendar with the dates of the Assyrian Canon, arranging the Canon according to its own internal division into Cycles, or Sosses, of sixty years, the periods of which are fixed by eclipses of the sun, recorded in connection with certain eponymous archons. Here Dr. Haigh has the honour of leading the way. There is not a question, in my own mind, that Dr. Haigh is correct, when he places the first year of Assurnazirpal, the father of Shalmanezer II of the Black Obelisk, in the year B.C. 903, in the year of the solar eclipse seen in Armenia on the 3rd July, during his first campaign. For in this king's annals² we read, "In the beginning of my reign, during my first campaign, when the Sun-God, ruler of the heavenly

¹ See the following chronological table.

² See Records of the Past, vol. iii, p. 43. Dr. Oppert, *Revue Archéologique*, Nov., 1868, p. 314.

regions, cast his propitious shadow upon me, and in power (or glory) I seated myself on the throne. A sceptre, the dread of man, I took in my hands." "At that time an image of my person I made; a history of my supremacy upon it I wrote; in the year of my taking the office of Limu, in the month Ab (July), on the 24th day." That is to say, Assurnazirpal set up his bas-relief as quickly as possible after the occurrence of the solar eclipse of 3rd July, B.C. 903, to which he points on the accompanying representation of the monument in the British Museum. But if Dr. Haigh is correct in placing the accession of Assurnazirpal in B.C. 903, he must also be right in placing the accession of his son Shalmanezar in B.C. 878.

It is true that there was also a solar eclipse partially visible at Nineveh on the 13th July, B.C. 885, when, as Mr. Hind calculates, 0·83 parts of the sun's disk were eclipsed, just one Saros of 18 years and 10 days later than the eclipse of the 3rd July, 903. And this eclipse nearly agrees with the dates of Mr. Smith's continuous and unbroken series of eponymous archons, as falling only two years before Assurnazirpal took that office according to his system. But I think we cannot refuse to fall in with the suggestion of Dr. Haigh and Dr. Oppert, that an interval, *during which no archons or governors were appointed*, following immediately after the 35th year of Shalmanezar, that is, in B.C. 843, must have occurred between that year and the accession of Shamas-Phul; so raising the dates of the reigns of Assurnazirpal and his son Shalmanezar to the extent of the interval within which Assurdannipal, or Sardanapalus, usurped the throne of his father in rebellion. This interval of usurpation, as generally agreed, lasted for 20 years.

The record of this revolt is given in the annals of Shamas-Phul, who put down the rebellion in the year B.C. 825, and after a siege of Nineveh for two more years began his reign, in B.C. 823, as no doubt correctly laid down by Mr. Smith. The following translation of the annals of Shamas-Phul, or Samsi-Vul, by Mr. Boscawen, of the British Museum, will, I think, sufficiently confirm the suggestion. The result of this arrangement of the Assyrian Canon, is—

I. That Shalmanezzer, in the year B.C. 875, defeated Ahab, in confederacy with Benhadad.

II. That Ahab was defeated and slain by Benhadad in B.C. 874.

III. That Jehu paid tribute, and Hazael was defeated, in B.C. 861.

EXTRACT FROM AN INSCRIPTION OF SHAMAS-PHUL.¹

Who conquered Sardanapalus in B.C. 825, and reigned in B.C. 823.

COLUMN I.

(Commencement of Historical Portion.)

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 26. D.P. Sam - si - vul | sar dan - nu | sar kis - sat |
| <i>Samsivul</i> | <i>powerful king</i> | <i>king of a multitude</i> |
| 27. la - mah - ri | ri - h - u | as - ra - a - ti |
| <i>not surpassed</i> | <i>shepherd</i> | <i>of holy places</i> |
| 28. es - ri - ti | mur - ti - du - u | ka - lis |
| <i>of shrines</i> | <i>the driver</i> | <i>of all lands</i> |
| 29. gim - ri | ru - u | sa |
| <i>of all</i> | <i>.....</i> | <i>who</i> |
| 30. Ili ib - bu | mat | ul - tu |
| <i>The gods</i> | <i>by name the restorer</i> | <i>from old time.</i> |
| 31. Bit - e - seri | la mas - ku - kit | mu - kil - tu |
| <i>of Bit Eser</i> | <i>.....</i> | <i>Bit - kur.</i> |
| 32. Sa ana | sib - ri | Bit Kar - sak Kurra |
| <i>Who for the beautifying of Bit</i> | <i>Karsak Kurra</i> | <i>Bit - Sadi</i> |
| | | <i>the Temple</i> |
| | mat - su | |
| | <i>of the mountains of his land</i> | |
| 33. [u] - kin | lib - ba - su | va |
| <i>fixed</i> | <i>his heart</i> | <i>and</i> |
| 34. ablu | Shal - man - eser | sar |
| <i>son</i> | <i>of Shalmaneser</i> | <i>king</i> |
| 35. sa - kali | mal - ki | sa |
| <i>of all</i> | <i>kings</i> | <i>the</i> |
| | sa - la - te | da - is |
| | <i>spoiler</i> | <i>trampler</i> |
| | matati | <i>of all lands</i> |

¹ Translated by Mr. Boscawen, who reads Samsi-Vul, where Sir Henry Rawlinson reads Shamas-Phul.

36. ablu - abli sa D.P. Assur - nazir - pal
 grandson of Assurnazirpal
37. ma - hir bi - lat
 receiver of tribute
38. va i - gi - si - i sa ka - lis kip - ra - a - ti.
 and riches of all races.

HISTORY OF THE REVOLT OF ASSUR-DANNI-PAL, OR SARDANAPALUS,

In B.C. 843, sixty-seven years before the first Olympiad.

39. E-nu-va D.P. Assur-dan-ni-pal ina-tar-zi D.P. Shal-man-eser
 When Assurdannipal rebellion (in the time of) Shalmaneser
40. abu - su e - pu - sa lim - ni - e - ti is - khup a - mat
 his father he made wickedly he overthrew counsel
- lim - nu - ti
 evil
41. u - sap - lis - va matu us - pal - kit - va ik - zu - ra
 he raised up and the land he caused to revolt and prepared
42. ta - ha - zu. nisi mat Assuri elis va spalis itti - su.
 battle. The men of Assyria upper and lower with him.
43. u-sis-kin va u-dan-ni ta-sib-tu alu-ni u-sam - va
 He gathered and he fortified the abodes (houses) of the cities he
44. ana - epis gablu va ta - ha - zi is - ku - na pa - ni - su.
 to make battle and fighting he set his face.
45. Alu Ni - sur - a D.P. A - di - a D.P. Si - ba - ni - ba D.P. Imgur Bel
 The cities Nisura Adia Sibaniba Imgur Bel
- D.P. Is - sap - ri.
 Issapri.
46. D.P. Bit Im-dira D.P. Si-mu D.P. Si-ib-ḥi-nis D.P. Par-nu-sur
 (The cities) Imdira Simu Sibhinis Prinusur
- D.P. Kip - su - na
 Kipsuna
47. D.P. Kur-ba-an D.P. Si-du D.P. Na-pu-lu D.P. Ka-pa D.P. Assur
 Kurban Sida Napula Kapa Assur
- D.P. U - ra - ka
 Uraaka

48. D.P. Rak-kur D.P. Hu-zi-ri-na D.P. Dur-balat D.P. Da-ri-ga D.P. Zaal
Rakkur Huzirina Dubalat Dariga Zub
49. D.P. Lū-ub-du D.P. Arpa-ḥa D.P. Arba-il adi D.P. A-mi-di
Lūbdu Arpaḥa Arbela as far as Amidia
 D.P. Tel - abni
 (and) *Telabni*
50. D.P. Ḥi - ni - da - nu kala XXVII ma - ḥa - ri adi hal - za - ni - su - na
Ḥindanu in all 27 towns with their towers
 sa istu
which from
51. Shal-man-eser sar kip-rat arba-ti abū - ya iḳ - ki - ru - ni
Shalmaneser king of the four races my father had separated themselves
52. istu Assur-dan-ni-pal is-sak-nu-ni ina ki-bit
 (and) *for Assurdannipal had placed themselves by command*
 ili ra - ba - ti bel ni - ya
of the great gods my lords
53. ana sepi - ya u - sak - nis. Ina - gar - ri - ya maḥ - ri - e
at my feet I made them bow. In my first expedition
 sa ana mat Na - h - ri, &c., &c.
 (in) *which to the land of Nahri.*

It is quite clear from the above extract that there was a period, between the reigns of Shalmaneser II and Shamas-Phul, during which the Assyrian empire was in a state of revolution, and during which Assurdannipal, or Sardanapalus, headed the revolt. And it is also clear that the name of this usurper, though found in the annals, and the names of any prefects which he may have appointed, are absent from the list of prefects in the Assyrian Canon during the period of revolution. Now, if the first year of Assurnazirpal is placed, in accordance with the eclipse which occurred, and to which he points on his monument, on the 3rd July, 903, as beginning in that year, then will the first year of his son, the king of the Black Obelisk, Shalmaneser II, have fallen in the year B.C. 878, and his last year, when unseated by Assurdannipal, have fallen in the year B.C. 843, or *sixty-seven years before the first Olympiad*. It is not possible that the eclipse of the 13th July, B.C. 885, as some suppose, should have marked

the first campaign of Assurnazirpal, if any interval of revolution had occurred, even to the extent of a single year.

Abydenus had before him the work of Berosus, giving history from the time of the creation, that is from Alorus to the time of Alexander, preserved, we may assume, on baked tiles (*"coctilibus laterculis"*), as spoken of by Pliny¹: and we cannot doubt that copies of the very tablet now under consideration were also before him, when he wrote thus:—

EXTRACT FROM THE ARMENIAN COPY OF EUSEBIUS,
AUCHER, p. 37.

"Abydenus concerning the kingdom of the Assyrians.

"The Chaldeans reckon in this manner the kings of their country, from Alorus down to Alexander: Concerning Ninus and Semiramis they relate nothing worth notice. Having made this observation he (Abydenus) deduces the beginning of history from thence. Ninus, he says, was (the son) of Arbelus, who was the son of Chaalus, who was the son of Arbelus, who was the son of Anebus, who was the son of Babius, who was the son of Belus king of the Assyrians."

"Then he recounts one by one the kings from Ninus and Semiramis down to Sardanapalus, who was the last of all; *from whom to the first Olympiad sixty-seven years were completed,*" that is to say, were counted from the year B.C. 843.

Eusebius goes on to say — "Abydenus thus, with much particularity, writes concerning the kingdom of the Assyrians. Castor also, in the first book of his Summary of Chronicles, relates the same things plainly, even to the letter, concerning the kingdom of the Assyrians." And Mr. Clinton, who refers to this passage of Abydenus, remarks (vol. i, p. 265), "the list of Assyrian kings in the *Excerpta Chronologica*, apud Scal. Euseb., p. 74. also reckons, with Castor, Ninus II as the last king, and places the termination sixty-seven years before Olymp. 1."

The figure 67 seems thus to be well attested,² and we may infer with safety that Sardanapalus began his usurpation

¹ Hist. Nat. vii, 57.

² I have to withdraw a suggestion formerly made that 67 should be read 167, and also to abandon the idea that Arbaces conquered Nineveh in B.C. 583, in the time of Saracus, as suggested by Niebuhr.

in the year B.C. 843. It is generally stated also that he reigned nineteen or twenty years, which thus leads to the year B.C. 823, as the year when he burnt himself in his palace, two years after his defeat by Belesys and Arbaces, as related by Ctesias (see p. 229).

Again, we have the testimony of Megasthenes, no doubt taken from the same tablets, that Belochus and Arbaces divided the kingdom of Sardanapalus between them 304 years before the time when Darius and Cyrus, having reunited the empire, held it between them, that is on the death, or rather, madness, of Cambyses in B.C. 521. (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., vol. i, p. 262.)

In conclusion.—The object of this first portion of the treatise has been limited, as regards Assyrian chronology, to the clearing away of one chief difficulty in the way of reconciling Assyrian and Hebrew records, that is by fixing the true position of the reign of Shalmanezer II, which necessarily falls between the years B.C. 878 and 843. This result is deduced from two solar eclipses—the first on 3rd July, 903 = 1st year of Assurnazirpal, the second on 15th June, 763, when Esdusarabe was archon, both which fall in with the testimony of Abydenus of his overthrow in B.C. 843, sixty-seven years before the 1st Olympiad.

Thus far all is clear and in harmony between the Assyrian and Hebrew annals, extinguishing the first difficulty.

If so, however, a second difficulty will be immediately raised in objection: Who, then, was Yahuhazi king of Judah, who, according to the annals of Tiglathpileser, paid tribute to that king in the year B.C. 731, and who is identified by Schrader, and Rawlinson, and Smith, with Jehoahaz, or Ahaz, to the great confusion of this portion of the history? It has already been shown (p. 256) that Jotham, not Ahaz, was in this year king of Judah, and how is Jotham to be identified with Yahuhazi? This question, which involves a difficulty, which is now of long standing, must of course be discussed more fully hereafter. Meanwhile, the solution I would suggest seems reasonable and simple, that the two names are not intended to be identical, but that the one is a translation of the other, from Hebrew into Assyrian.

Jotham, or *Ἰωθάμ*, we know signifies Jehovah is *θαμ*, or

as seen in Armenia the seat of the campaign

[illegible]

A38JRNATIEFAL

ASTRONOMICAL CALENDAR OF SACRED HISTORY

arranged in conformity with Eclipses and Sabbatical years,
from B.C. 997 to 818.

Compared with

RAWLINSON'S ASSYRIAN CANON

during the same period, reckoned in Sosses, or Cycles of 60 years,
in the Æra of Belus, B.C. 2287.

Computed upwards from the 1st year of Assurbanipal,
B.C. 668, at the close of a period of seven Cycles—

Close of a Seventh Cycle in	....	....	B.C.	668
„ „ Sixth	„	....	„	728
„ „ Fifth	„	....	„	788
„ „ Fourth	„	....	„	848
„ „ Third	„	....	„	908
„ „ Second	„	....	„	968
„ „ First	„	....	„	1028
Counted from the beginning of the First in	„	„	„	1087

With the view of showing that the Annals of Shalmanezzer II, recorded on the Black Obelisk in the British Museum, which speak of Benhadad, Ahab, Hazael and Jehu, coincide with the history of these kings contained in the Hebrew Scriptures.

ÆRA OF BELUS.

*Ἀσσυρίων πρῶτος ἐβασίλευσε Βῆλος—
τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος γσις.*

A.M. 3216 = B.C. 2287-6.—

Syncellus, vol. i, p. 181.

Durat ibi (apud Babylonem) Jovis Beli templum.

Inventor hic fuit sideralis scientiæ.—Plin. Nat. Hist. vi, 36.

ASTRONOMICAL CALENDAR OF SACRED HISTORY ARRANGED IN CON-
FORMITY WITH ECLIPSES AND SABBATICAL YEARS.

B.C.	ECLIPSES AND SABBATICAL YRS.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	TYRE.	REMARKS.
997		David ..	.. ..	5 Hirom	
996				6 ..	
995				7 ..	
994				8 ..	
993		1 Solomon	.. ..	9 ..	
992		2 .. ..	.. ..	10 ..	
991		3 .. ..	.. ..	11 ..	
990	Sabbatical yr.	4 .. ..	.. ..	12 ..	{ Foundation of the temple laid the 12th year of Hirom.
989		5 .. ..	.. ..	13 ..	
988		6 .. ..	.. ..	14 ..	
987		7 .. ..	.. ..	15 ..	
986		8 .. ..	.. ..	16 ..	
985		9 .. ..	.. ..	17 ..	
984		10 .. ..	.. ..	18 ..	
983	Sabbatical yr.	11 .. ..	.. ..	19 ..	{ Building of Solomon's temple co- pleted in the 11th year 8th mon
982	Jubilee year	12 .. ..	.. ..	20 ..	{ Consecration of Solomon's tem ^{pl} 12th year 7th month.
981		13 .. ..	.. ..	21 ..	
980		14 .. ..	.. ..	22 ..	
979		15 .. ..	.. ..	23 ..	
978		16 .. ..	.. ..	24 ..	
977		17 .. ..	.. ..	25 ..	{ "Solomon had at sea a navy Tharshish with the navy of Iliu bringing gold, and sil- ivory, apes, and peacock (1 Kings, x, 22.)
976	Sabbatical yr.	18 .. ..	.. ..	26 ..	
975		19 .. ..	.. ..	27 ..	
974		20 .. ..	.. ..	28 ..	
973		21 .. ..	.. ..	29 ..	
972		22 .. ..	.. ..	30 ..	
971		23 .. ..	.. ..	31 ..	
970		24 .. ..	.. ..	32 ..	
969	Sabbatical yr.	25 .. ..	.. ..	33 ..	
968		26 .. ..	.. ..	34 ..	

¹ Brought from the East, up the Euphrates, to Tirsah.

RAWLINSON'S ASSYRIAN CANON RECKONED IN SOSSES OR CYCLES
OF SIXTY YEARS.

2ND SOSS.	REMARKS.
31	
32	
33	EXTRACT FROM JOSEPHUS CONTRA APION I, 18.
34	"Menander wrote the acts that were done
35	by the Greeks and barbarians under
36	every one of the Tyrian kings, and had
37	taken much pains to learn the history out
38	of their own records. Now when he was
39	writing about these kings that had reigned
40	at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus
41	—Upon the death of Abibalus, his son
42	Hirom took the kingdom.
43	"Hirom lived 53 years, and reigned 34
44	Under this king there was a
45	younger son of Abdemon, who
46	mastered the problems which
47	Solomon, king of Jerusalem,
48	recommended to be solved.
49	"Now from this king to the
50	building of Carthage is thus
51	calculated:—
52	"Baleazarus lived 43 years reigned 17 ¹
53	Abdastartus " 29 " " 9
54	Astartus " 54 " " 12
55	Astarimus " 54 " " 9
56	Phelles " 50 " " 8m.
57	Ithobalus " 68 " " 32
58	Baalzarus " 45 " " 6
59	Matgenus " 32 " " 9
60	Pygmalion " 56 " " 27 ²
	"So that the whole time from the
	reign of Hirom to the building —
	of Carthage is 153 8m.
	"Since then the temple was built at Jerusa-
	lem in the 12th year of the reign of
	Hirom, there were from the building of
	the temple to the building of Carthage
	143 years and 8 months."
	Carthage was destroyed by Scipio—
	In B.C. 146 { Appian, Livy, Suidas, So-
	700 { linus and Orosius.
	After the foundation.
	—
	B.C. 846 Foundation of Carthage.
	143 8m.
	—
	B.C. 989 8 { Foundation of Solomon's
	{ Temple.

¹ Our copies of Josephus read 7, but Theophilus and Syncellus read 17.

² Our copies of Josephus read 47, clearly an error for 27.

ASTRONOMICAL CALENDAR OF SACRED HISTORY—continued.

B.C.	ECLIPSES AND SABBATICAL YRS.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	TYRE.	REMARKS.
967		27 Solomon	.. ..	1 Baalzarus	
966		28 ..	.. ..	2 ..	
965		29 ..	.. ..	3 ..	
964		30 ..	.. ..	4 ..	
963		31 ..	.. ..	5 ..	
962	Sabbatical yr.	32 ..	.. ..	6 ..	
961		33 ..	.. ..	7 ..	
960		34 ..	.. ..	8 ..	
959		35 ..	.. ..	9 ..	
958		36 ..	.. ..	10 ..	
957		37 ..	.. ..	11 ..	
956		38 ..	.. ..	12 ..	
955	Sabbatical yr.	39 ..	.. ..	13 ..	
954		40 ..	.. ..	14 ..	{ Ithobal, father of Jezebel, born (Josephus con. Apion I, 18.)
953		1 Rehoboam	1 Jeroboam	15 ..	Secession of the Ten Tribes. ¹
952		2 ..	2 ..	16 ..	
951		3 ..	3 ..	17 ..	
950		4 ..	4 ..	{ 1 Abdastar- tus	
949		5 ..	5 ..	2 ..	
948	Sabbatical yr.	6 ..	6 ..	3 ..	
947		7 ..	7 ..	4 ..	
946		8 ..	8 ..	5 ..	
945		9 ..	9 ..	6 ..	
944		10 ..	10 ..	7 ..	
943		11 ..	11 ..	8 ..	
942		12 ..	12 ..	9 ..	
941	Sabbatical yr.	13 ..	13 ..	1 Astartus	
940		14 ..	14 ..	2 ..	
939		15 ..	15 ..	3 ..	
938		16 ..	16 ..	4 ..	

¹ The date of Jeroboam's apostasy, B.C. 953, is immovable; 390 years before the fall of Jerusalem, B.C. 563, which was 14 generations, of 40 years each = 560 before the birth of Christ (Matt. i, 17), ending in B.C. 3.

RAWLINSON'S ASSYRIAN CANON—*continued*.

3RD SOSS.	EGYPT.	REMARKS.
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6	1 Sheshonk I	Or Shishak.
7	2 „	
8	3 „	
9	4 „	
10	5 „	
11	6 „	
12	7 „	Jeroboam fled to Shishak “until the death of Solomon,” (1 Kings xi, 40.)
13	8 „	
14	9 „	
15	10 „	
16	11 „	
17	12 „	
18	13 „	
19	14 „	{ “It came to pass that in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem.” (2 Chron. xii, 2.)
20	15 „	
21	16 „	
22	17 „	
23	18 „	
24	19 „	
25	20 „	
26	21 „	
27	1 Osorchon I	Or Zerah, king of Ethiopia.
28	2 „	
29	3 „	
30	4 „	

ASTRONOMICAL CALENDAR OF SACRED HISTORY—*continued.*

B.C.	ECLIPSES AND SABBATICAL YRS.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	TIRE.	REMARKS.
937		1 Abijah ..	17 Jeroboam	5 Astartus	{ Probable date of the birth of Ahab, son-in-law of Ithobal.
936		2 „ ..	18 „	6 „	
935		3 „ ..	19 „	7 „	
934	Sabbatical yr.	1 Asa ..	20 „	8 „	
933	Jubilee year	2 „ ..	21 Nadab ..	9 „	
932		3 „ ..	22 „ ..	10 „	
931		4 „ ..	1 Baasha ..	11 „	
930		5 „ ..	2 „ ..	12 „	
929		6 „ ..	3 „ ..	1 Astarimus	
928		7 „ ..	4 „ ..	2 „	
927	Sabbatical yr.	8 „ ..	5 „ ..	3 „	{ Probable birth of Jezebel, daughter of Ithobal, when he was 31 years old.
926		9 „ ..	6 „ ..	4 „	
925		10 „ ..	7 „ ..	5 „	
924		11 „ ..	8 „ ..	6 „	
923		12 „ ..	9 „ ..	7 „	
922		13 „ ..	10 „ ..	8 „	
921		14 „ ..	11 „ ..	9 „	
920	Sabbatical yr.	15 „ ..	12 „ ..	Phelles ..	Covenant renewed. (2 Chron. xv,
919		16 „ ..	13 „ ..	1 Ithobal ..	Father of Jezebel now 37 years old.
918		17 „ ..	14 „ ..	2 „ ..	
917		18 „ ..	15 „ ..	3 „ ..	
916		19 „ ..	16 „ ..	4 „ ..	
915		20 „ ..	17 „ ..	5 „ ..	
914		21 „ ..	18 „ ..	6 „ ..	
913	Sabbatical yr.	22 „ ..	19 „ ..	7 „ ..	
912		23 „ ..	20 „ ..	8 „ ..	
911		24 „ ..	21 „ ..	9 „ ..	
910		25 „ ..	22 „ ..	10 „ ..	
909		26 „ ..	23 „ ..	11 „ ..	
908		27 „ ..	1 Elah ..	12 „ ..	{ Ahab, say at the age of 25, married Jezebel, say at 17.

RAWLINSON'S ASSYRIAN CANON—*continued.*

3RD SOSS.	EPONYMOUS ARCHONS.		ASSYRIA.		EGYPT.	REMARKS.
31	..	..	..	..	5 Osorchon I	{ Zerah, the Ethiopian, came with an army against Asa king of Judah. (2 Chron. xiv, 9.)
32	..	..	..	..	6 ..	
33	..	..	..	..	7 ..	
34	..	..	..	..	8 ..	
35	..	..	..	..	9 ..	
36	..	..	..	..	10 ..	
37	..	..	..	..	11 ..	
38	..	..	..	..	12 ..	
39	 pa	..	..	..	13 ..	
40	 mur	..	..	..	14 ..	
41	 mu	..	..	..	15 ..	
42	 iden	..	..	..	{ 1 Sheshonk II	
43	 git	..	..	..	2 ..	
44	Muha ma	..	..	..	3 ..	
45	Assur-dain ..	..	..	..	4 ..	
46	Assurdini ..	..	..	..	5 ..	
47	Mas	..	..	..	6 ..	
48	Abu-ilya ..	..	..	..	7 ..	
49	Assur-taggil ..	..	..	..	8 ..	
50	Assur	..	..	..	9 ..	{ Asa king of Judah sends presents to Benhadad king of Syria. (1 Kings xv, 18.)
51	..	..	..	..	10 ..	
52	..	..	..	..	11 ..	
53	..	..	..	..	12 ..	
54	..	..	..	..	13 ..	
55	 sar	..	..	..	14 ..	
56	Ninip-zir-ipus	..	..	..	15 ..	
57	Dabukar ya	..	..	..	16 ..	
58	Assur-lakin-ili	..	..	..	17 ..	
59	Tugulti-ninip	..	1 Tugulti- ninip	..	18 ..	
60	Taggil-ana-beliya	..	2 ..	..	19 ..	

ASTRONOMICAL CALENDAR OF SACRED HISTORY—*continued.*

B.C.	ECLIPSES AND SABBATICAL YRS.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	TYRE.	REMARKS.
907	Sabbatical yr.	28 Asa ..	2 Elah ..	13 Ithobal ..	
906	.. ..	29 „ ..	1 Zimri ..	14 „ ..	
905	.. ..	30 „ ..	2 „ ..	15 „ ..	
904	.. ..	31 „ ..	3 „ ..	16 „ ..	
903	Eclipse of sun } 3rd July }	32 „ ..	1 Omri ..	17 „ ..	
902		33 „ ..	2 „ ..	18 „ ..	
901	.. ..	34 „ ..	3 „ ..	19 „ ..	
900	.. ..	35 „ ..	4 „ ..	20 „ ..	
899	Sabbatical yr.	36 „ ..	5 „ ..	21 „ ..	
898	.. ..	37 „ ..	6 „ ..	22 „ ..	
897	.. ..	38 „ ..	7 „ ..	23 „ ..	
896	.. ..	39 „ ..	1 Ahab ..	24 „ ..	
895	.. ..	40 „ ..	2 „ ..	25 „ ..	{ There was famine in the land toward the beginning of Ahab's reign (1 Kings xviii.
894	.. ..	41 „ ..	3 „ ..	26 „ ..	
893	.. ..	1 Jehosaphat	4 „ ..	27 „ ..	
892	Sabbatical yr.	2 „ ..	5 „ ..	28 „ ..	{ Menander records a drought in reign of Ithobal. (Joseph. Ant. viii, 13
891	.. ..	3 „ ..	6 „ ..	29 „ ..	
890	.. ..	4 „ ..	7 „ ..	30 „ ..	
889	.. ..	5 „ ..	8 „ ..	31 „ ..	
888	.. ..	6 „ ..	9 „ ..	32 „ ..	{ Ithobal, king of Tyre, father of Jezebel, dies at the age of 60 (Josephus con. Apion I, 13.)
887	.. ..	7 „ ..	10 „ ..	1 Baalzarus	
886	.. ..	8 „ ..	11 „ ..	2 „ ..	
885	Sabbatical yr.	9 „ ..	12 „ ..	3 „ ..	
884	Jubilee year	10 „ ..	13 „ ..	4 „ ..	
883	.. ..	11 „ ..	14 „ ..	5 „ ..	
882	.. ..	12 „ ..	15 „ ..	6 „ ..	
881	.. ..	13 „ ..	16 „ ..	1 Mytgenus	
880	.. ..	14 „ ..	17 „ ..	2 „ ..	
879	.. ..	15 „ ..	18 „ ..	3 „ ..	
878	Sabbatical yr.	16 „ ..	19 „ ..	4 „ ..	

NOTE.—It may be observed that the total solar eclipse of B.C. 885 occurred in year of office of Shamshur-uzur, =The sun-supports-the lord, or king. It was partial at Nineveh, and of the same character as that of B.C. 108, pronounced to be *propitious* to the king.

RAWLINSON'S ASSYRIAN CANON—*continued.*

4TH SOSS.	EPONYMOUS ARCHONS.	ASSYRIA.	EGYPT.	REMARKS.
1	Abu-ili-ya	{ 3 Tugulti- ninip }	20 Sheshonk II	{ Total solar eclipse third July, partially visible in Armenia, in the first year of Assur- nazirpal.
2	Ilu-milki	4 " ..	21 "	
3	Yari	5 " ..	22 "	
4	Assur-sezib-aaï ..	6 " ..	23 "	
5	Assur-nazir-pal ..	1 " ..	24 "	
6	Assur-idin	2 " ..	25 "	
7	Simutti-aku	3 " ..	1 Osorchon II	An interval of one Chaldean period, or Saros of 223 mean lunations [18 years, 10 days, $\frac{7}{4}$ hours] between these eclipses.
8	 anma-damga ..	4 " ..	2 "	
9	Dagan-bel-nazir ..	5 " ..	3 "	
10	Ninippiya-usur ..	6 " ..	4 "	
11	Ninip-bel-uzur ..	7 " ..	5 "	
12	Sangu-assur-lilbur ..	8 " ..	6 "	
13	Samas-ubla	9 " ..	7 "	
14	Nibat-bel-kumua ..	10 " ..	8 "	
15	Qurdi-assur	11 " ..	9 "	
16	Assur-liha	12 " ..	10 "	
17	Assur-natgil	13 " ..	11 "	
18	Bel-sum-damig ..	14 " ..	12 "	
19	Dayan-ninip	15 " ..	13 "	
20	Istar-iddan	16 " ..	14 "	
21	Samas-nuri	17 " ..	15 "	
22	Mannu-daan-ana-ili ..	18 " ..	16 "	
23	Samas-bel-uzur ..	19 " ..	17 "	
24	Ninip-ilai	20 " ..	1 Takellothis	
25	Ninip-edur-anni ..	21 " ..	2 "	
26	Assur-ilai	22 " ..	3 "	
27	Nibat-iska-dain ..	23 " ..	4 "	
28	Dabu-bel	24 " ..	5 "	
29	Sar-maher-nisi ..	25 " ..	6 "	
30	Saliman-uzur II ..	1 " ..	7 "	

his total eclipse of the 13th July, B.C. 885, occurred 18 years and 11 days before the total eclipse of B.C. 867 on 7th July. And the eclipse of 867 is again connected with the total eclipse of B.C. 15th August 310, in the time of theolus, by another cycle of 6,890 mean lunations, or 557 years 22 days. All these eclipses thus well defined bearing in correction of the lunar theory.

ASTRONOMICAL CALENDAR OF SACRED HISTORY—*continued.*

B.C.	ECLIPSES AND SABBATICAL YRS.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	TYRE.	REMARKS.
877		17 Jehosaphat	20 Ahab ..	5 Mytgenus	{ Ahab takes Benhadad prisoner, then makes a treaty with h (1 Kings, xx, 34.) Three years of peace. (1 Kir xxii, 1.)
876		18 ..	21	6 ..	
875		19 ..	22	7 ..	
874		20 ..	1 Ahaziah	8 ..	{ Death of Ahab, at Ramoth Gile at the age, say, of 59, in B.C. 874
873		21 ..	1 Joram ..	9 ..	
872		22 ..	2	1 Pygnalion	{ Jehosaphat and Joram attack Mo king of Moab. (2 Kings iii, 4
871	Sabbatical yr.	23 ..	3	2 ..	
870		24 ..	4	3 ..	
869		25 ..	5	4 ..	{ Death of Jezebel, at the age of Hazael anointed king of Syria. Jehu anointed king of Is (2 Kings, ix, 6.)
868		1 Jehoram	6	5 ..	
867		2 ..	7	6 ..	
866		3 ..	8	7 ..	
865		4 ..	9	8 ..	
864	Sabbatical yr.	5 ..	10	9 ..	
863		6	11	10 ..	
862		1 Ahaziah..	12	11 ..	
861	{ Annular Eclipse }	1 Athaliah	1 Jehu ..	12 ..	
860		2 ..	2	13 ..	
859		3 ..	3	14 ..	
858		4 ..	4	15 ..	
857	Sabbatical yr.	5 ..	5	16 ..	
856		6 ..	6	17 ..	
855		1 Jehoash..	7	18 ..	
854		2	8	19 ..	
853		3	9	20 ..	
852		4	10	21 ..	
851		5	11	22 ..	
850	Sabbatical yr.	6	12	23 ..	
849		7	13	24 ..	
848		8	14	25 ..	

¹ After the year B.C. 874, nothing more is said concerning Ahab in the Assyrian records. This must have been the year of his death, because Hazael and Jehu are mentioned in those records thirteen years after, in B.C. 861.

RAWLINSON'S ASSYRIAN CANON—continued.

4TH Soss.	EPONYMOUS ARCHONS.	ASSYRIA.	EGYPT.	REMARKS.
31	Assur-bel-kani ..	{ 2 Shalman-ezer }	8 Takellothis	{ Shalmanezer conquers Benhadad, in confederacy with <i>Ahab</i> , who furnished 10,000 men towards the army, in B.C. 875.
32	Assur-bani-uzur ¹ ..	3 ..	9 ..	
33	Abu-ina-ekal-lilbur .	4 ..	10 ..	
34	Dayan-assur. . .	5 ..	11 ..	
35	Samas-abua ..	6 ..	12 ..	Shalmanezer again defeats Benhadad.
36	Samas-bel-uzur ..	7 ..	13 ..	{ Eclipse of the moon on 24th Mesori, in 15th year of Takellothis = 17th March, B.C. 870.
37	Bel-banai ..	8 ..	14 ..	
38	Hade-libusu ..	9 ..	15 ..	Defeat of Benhadad in B.C. 869.
39	Nibat-alik-pani ..	10 ..	16 ..	{ "In my eleventh year, Benhadad of Damascus, and twelve kings of the Hittites, strengthened themselves."
40	Esdu-raman ..	11 ..	17 ..	
41	Ninip-mukin-nisi ..	12 ..	18 ..	{ Eclipse of sun, invisible at Nineveh, 557 years before the eclipse of Agathocles, B.C. 310.
42	Ninip-nadin-sun ..	13 ..	{ 1 Sheshonk III }	
43	Assur-banai ..	14 ..	2 ..	Death of Benhadad.
44	Dabu-ninip ..	15 ..	3 ..	
45	Taggil-ana-sari ..	16 ..	4 ..	
46	Phul-utul-anni ..	17 ..	5 ..	
47	Bel-abua ..	18 ..	6 ..	{ "In my 18th year (B.C. 861), for the sixth time, the Euphrates I crossed. Hazael of Damascus to battle came." Jehu pays tribute.
48	Salubel-lamur ..	19 ..	7 ..	
49	Ninip-kipsi-uzur ..	20 ..	8 ..	{ "In my twenty-first campaign, to the cities of Hazael of Damascus I went: tribute of the Tyrians, the Zidonians, and Gebalites, I received."
50	Ninip-ilai ..	21 ..	9 ..	
51	Qurdi-assur ..	22 ..	10 ..	
52	Niri-sar ..	23 ..	11 ..	
53	Nibat-sum-damiq ..	24 ..	12 ..	Interval of one Saros from the Total Eclipse of B.C. 867.
54	Yahalu ..	25 ..	13 ..	
55	Illulai ..	26 ..	14 ..	
56	Sarpati-bel ..	27 ..	15 ..	
57	Nergal-ilai ..	28 ..	16 ..	{ Total eclipse, fifth August, morning, five o'clock.
58	Hubai ..	29 ..	17 ..	
59	Ilukin-uzur ..	30 ..	18 ..	{ "In my thirty-first year, the second time the Cyclical Feast." ²
60	Saliman-uzur II ..	31 ..	19 ..	

Assurbanizur, chief of the palace(?), say at the age of 26, in the year B.C. 876. Reappointed in the year 17, by Shamas-Phul, say at the age of 84, shortly before his death, on the restoration of the monarchy. rely chamberlain of the palace, there is nothing improbable in this.

The verb used in this passage is *akrur*, from כָּרַר, "to move in a circle." Rawlinson, *Athenæum*, Sept. 7th, Sayce's Assyrian Grammar, p. 21.

ASTRONOMICAL CALENDAR OF SACRED HISTORY—*continued.*

B.C.	ECLIPSES AND SABBATICAL YRS.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	TYRE.	REMARKS.
847		9 Jehoash..	15 Jehu ..	26 Pygmalion	{ Carthage colonized by the sister Pygmalion. ¹
846		10	16	27 ..	
845		11	17	28 ..	
844		12	18	29 ..	
843	Sabbatical yr.	13	19	30 ..	
842		14	20	31 ..	
841		15	21	32 ..	
840		16	22	33 ..	
839		17	23	34 ..	
838		18	24	35 ..	
837		19	25		
836	Sabbatical yr.	20	26		
835	Jubilee year	21	27		
834		22	28 ..		
833		23	1 Jehoahaz		
832		24	2 ..		
831		25	3 ..		
830		26	4 ..		
829	Sabbatical yr.	27	5 ..		
828		28	6 ..		
827		29	7 ..		
826		30	8 ..		
825		31	9 ..		
824		32	10 ..		
823		33	11 ..		
822	Sabbatical yr.	34	12 ..		
821		35	13 ..		
820		36	14 ..		
819		37	15 ..		
818		38	16 ..		

¹ The colony of Carthage was founded by the sister of Pygmalion in the twenty-seventh year of his (Josephus con. Apion I, 18), 700 years before it was destroyed by Scipio in B.C. 146, and 144 years after Solomon the foundation of the temple of Jerusalem.

RAWLINSON'S ASSYRIAN CANON—continued.

5TH SOSS.	EPONYMOUS ARCHONS.		ASSYRIA.	EGYPT.	REMARKS.
1	Dayan-assur. .	{	32 Shalman-ezer	20 Sheshonk III	
2	Assur-bani-uzur ..		33 „	21 „	
3	Yahalu		34 „	22 „	
4	Bel-banai		35 „	23 „	
5	Appointment of Eponymous Archons suspended from the Revolt of Sardanapalus, to the time of the reign of Shamas-Phul.	{	Revolt of Assur-danni-pal, or Sardanapalus ("A quo usque ad primum Olympiadem efficiuntur anni 67."— Abydenus, Arm. Euseb. Auch., p. 39.) = B.C. 843.		
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19			Phul and Arbaces, or Belochus and Arbaces conspire against, and conquer Sardanapalus. The Medes then reigned 304 years, till the time of Darius B.C. 521		
20			= B.C. 825		
21			—Megasthenes (Trans., vol. i, p. 262.)		
22			Annular eclipse, 6th October, B.C. 825, partially visible, when Shamas-Phul defeated Sardanapalus at Nineveh.		
23					
24					
25	Shamas-Phul ¹ ..	{	1 Shamas-Phul	44 Sheshonk III	
26	Yahalu	2	„	45 „	
27	Bel-daan	3	„	46 „	
28	Ninip-ubla	4	„	47 „	
29	Shamas-ilai	5	„	48 „	
30	Nibat-ilai	6	„	49 „	

¹ The original name of Shamas-Phul, may have been Bel-uzur, that is Belesys, or Belochus. After repeated wars, his confederate Arbaces desired to make peace. Belesys then consulted the stars, and being favoured propitiously by a propitious eclipse of the sun, in October B.C. 825, took the title Shamas-Phul when he came to the throne.

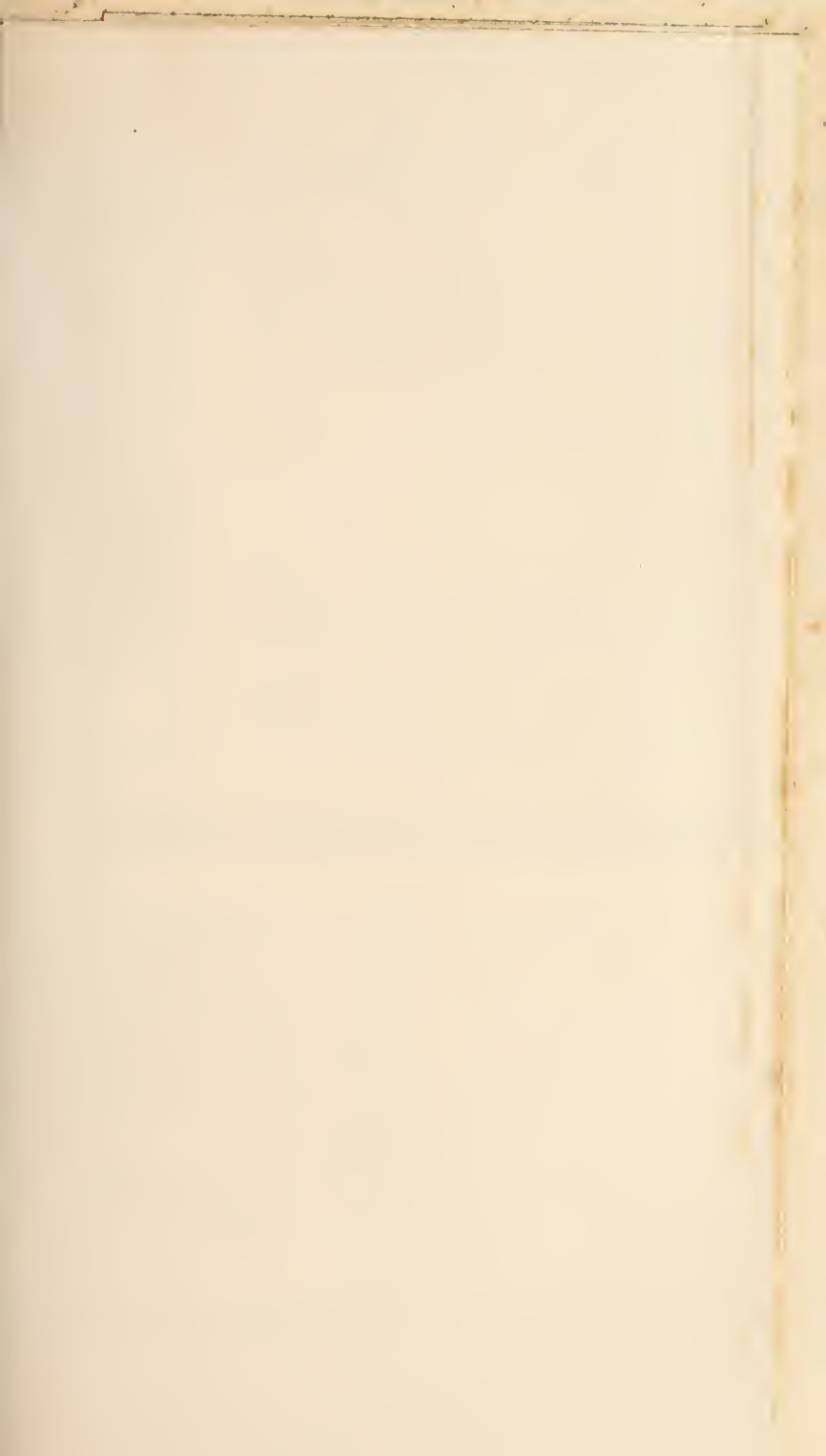
Judging from the very frequent use of the word Shamas (Sun-God) in the compound names of public officers during the period we have been examining, it may be inferred that the worship of the sun was peculiarly prevalent at this period of the Assyrian empire. Assurnazirpal points to the "Sun-God" as casting his propitious shadow upon him, Shalmanezer II styles himself "Sun-God" (Records of the Past, vol. iii, p. 83), and his son Shamas-Phul styles himself ruler of the "Southern Sun," whose seat is at Calah (vol. i, p. 12). It will also be observed that, according to the foregoing arrangement of dates, after insertion of the years of revolt under Sardanapalus, kings take their thrones, and eponymous prefects take their titles in years of total or annular eclipse of the sun, thus:—

Total solar eclipse 3rd July, 903, partially visible at Nineveh.	Assurnazirpal takes the throne.
Small solar eclipse 4th July, 895.	Shamas-ubla prefect.
Total solar eclipse 9th Feb., 887.	Shamas-nuri „
Total solar eclipse 13th July, 885, partially visible at Nineveh.	Shamas-bel-uzur „
Total solar eclipse 1st March, 878, large at Nineveh (?).	Shalmanezer takes the throne.
Annular eclipse 22nd April, 872.	Shamas-bel-uzur prefect.
Total solar eclipse 4th August, 849.	Shalmanezer on the throne, inaugu- rates a Second Cycle, 848.
Annular eclipse 26th Sept., 843.	Sardanapalus revolts.
Annular eclipse 6th Oct., 825.	Shamas-Phul consults the stars, and restores the monarchy.
Total solar eclipse 8th Jan., 819.	Shamas-ilai prefect.

All these eclipses apparently should be found by computation to have been visible at Nineveh. Astronomers, perhaps, may think them worthy of their consideration in the reconstruction of the lunar theory.







INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS AT THE TEMPLE OF EL-KHARGEH.

By S. BIRCH, LL.D.

Read 4th January, 1876.

AMONGST the valuable collection of drawings, notes, memoranda, and copies of inscriptions made by the late Mr. Robert Hay, of Linplum, during his journey and stay in Egypt about the years 1828-1832, are some copies that he made of the inscriptions at the temple of Ammon at El-Khargeh, the ancient oasis of Ammon, lying to the west of Egypt, in the Libyan desert, in the 26° N. Lat. This site had been repeatedly visited by travellers in the present century, amongst them M. Cailliaud,¹ who published an account of his journey and some of the cartouches or royal names found on the walls; subsequently by Minutoli,² both of which travellers gave some of the principal representations and some details of the sculptures on the walls. The journey of Sir Archibald Edmonston to the oasis, published at the same time as Cailliaud's,³ gave only plans, views, and a map of the site and principal temples of the locality. Lately a scientific expedition by M.M. Rohlfs and Remelé has penetrated again to the oasis, and brought back valuable copies of inscriptions on that site, amongst others of some proving the existence of the names of two monarchs of the Persian dynasty called Darius.⁴

As the present inscription has no prenomen of Darius, but the name only, it is not possible to determine to which of the Persian dynasties it is to be referred, but possibly to the elder Darius or Hystaspes, who treated the Egyptian

¹ Voyage à l'oasis de Thebes. Paris, 1822.

² Reise zum Temple d. Jupiter Ammon in der libyschen Wüste. Berlin, 1834.

³ A Journey to two of the Oases. London, 1822.

⁴ Prof. Lepsius, Zeitschrift für. ägypt. Spr., 1874, s. 73.

deities with honour, and endeavoured to attach the Egyptians to his sway by the reverence he showed for the principal deities of the Pantheon. That the Persians did not altogether abhor the Egyptian religion, may be instanced by their removal of statues to Persepolis and elsewhere, and the derivative introduction of Egyptian deities and other emblems into their art. Nor was the Egyptian religion altogether dissimilar, for it exhibited as the Persian the antagonistic powers of nature, the solar light contending with the shades of darkness, and the contest of good and evil. Egyptian mythology, too, had become more eclectic, or less reticent of its esoterism, and the present hymn, one of the most remarkable yet found, addressed to the god at Thebes, the deity of the oasis, identifies Amen with nature itself and all the principal gods of the Egyptian Pantheon. It is the most pantheistic of those yet found, and the nearest approach to the idea of the monotheism of one deity manifested by different types in the chief cities of Egypt, the ultimate or leading first manifestations being that of the god Amen. It is therefore no wonder that the Persians accepted his worship and honoured his fane, the more so as the attempt to reach the oasis by their armies had signally failed under Cambyses. After Alexander the Great had subdued the East, the East conquered him; and fascinated with the splendour of Persian courts and Egyptian myths, he visited the Oasis, and adopted the title of the son of Amen, that used by the ancient Pharaohs to indicate their direct descent from the god of Thebes, subsequently converted into the mystic narrative of the serpent and Olympias, and the magical legend of the descent of the heroic monarch from Nectanebo. It is probable that an allusion to the fountain occurs in this inscription in line 6, where "the young *Han*," or celestial waters, and "the old *mau*," or liquid element, are mentioned, as they are again at line 30. It will be remembered that Khnum, or Chnumis, was the deity of the water, the ram-headed and demiurgic type of Amen, and as such president over the element of water, represented in the lists of the four elements by *Han* or *Nut*, for some recent discoveries identify the two words as the same in the name of the god of the celestial

water or ether. The old and young waters may consequently refer to the different temperatures of the celebrated fountain, alluding to the mineral waters discovered on the spot. The oracle at the spot was said to have been often consulted, but finally lost its reputation subsequent to Alexander the Great, although it must have flourished at the time of Darius, who invokes the protection of the god against his enemies. The oracular powers of Amen Ra occasionally are mentioned, and the inscriptions testify to his according power, victory, dominion, long life, and other advantages to his votaries and the monarchs who consulted him.

The inscription, which is inedited, was copied from the south-western wall of the second chamber of the temple. The representations which occur after the first line are those of the four elements divided into the male and female principle, and described by M. Lepsius in a paper written by him for the Berlin Academy.¹ They are represented snake-headed and frog-headed, holding their hands up in adoration. They are as follows:—

Lines 2—4

Nu	.. water, <i>male</i> .
Nu t	.. water, <i>female</i> .
Hehu	.. fire, <i>male</i> .
Hehu t	.. fire, <i>female</i> .
Kakiu	.. earth, <i>male</i> .
Kakiu t	.. earth, <i>female</i> .
Karh	.. air, <i>male</i> .
Karh t	.. air, <i>female</i> .

In this series they follow the accustomed order, and have their usual names, the only exception being that of instead of the word  *nau*, for 'air,' the inscription of El-Khargeh gives   *karh*. This word has no philological analogy with any of the Egyptian expressive of air. It has been supposed to mean 'care';² the word nearest to

¹ Ueber die Götter d. vier Elementen, in the *Abhandlungen. d. K. Akad. d. Wissensch. Berlin.* 4to, 1856.

² Pleyte, *Études Égyptiennes*, p. 113.

it in sound is *karh*, 'the night.' The inscription consists of forty-six lines, and contains the address of the Elements to the god Amen Ra. It has been numbered in the copy inversely, the 46th being the first line. It is of the nature of some of the hymns already published and relating to that god. It is as follows:—

1. Said by the adorers in praying to their father Amen Ra, lord of Hab,¹ great god, powerful with the scimitar,
5. in his type of Ra² to self-produced,³ his bones of silver, his skin of gold, his head of real lapis, his joints of turquoise, a perfect god, making his body, giving birth to
6. it. He has not come out of a womb, he has come out of cycles; he has given light to the world [and] the circle of the gods is adoring before him; they proclaim him to the height of heaven, [they] adore the one giving birth to his birth. He has passed
7. the secret places, they rejoice at him under their divine types, they are careful to make their adorations to the bull. We pray to him in [our abodes], we worship his words in their [places]. We adore him
8. in the form of hands. They acknowledge his majesty as their lord, for the greatness of his type is the greatest of all of them. He has had a title of [heaven] earth and waters Amen the firm in all things, that noble
9. god, the earth came from his devices, regulating each for the gods, old age and youth, procession, age, mystical were the causes,⁴ acute the extended his favours, his limbs in the air of heaven upon his youthful head, the water under his
10. head, a child the water under his feet,⁵ the plumes of a hawk on his head, he confines the winds under the boat of Manu⁶ when he goes to the unknown region of the morning. The apes of Thoth⁷ adore, saying oh

¹ The Oasis.² The Sun.³ Grebaut, *Hymne à Ammon*, p. xiii, "self-transformed."⁴ Heads.⁵ Uncertain phrase.⁶ Ocean.⁷ Sesenu.

11. the god in the disk concealing himself in his body,
the soul gleaming from his two symbolic mortal eyes,
the type of types, the honoured, not falling to his
enemies, giving light to his transformation, he supports
them by the light of his two mystical eyes, unknown is
12. his Hail to thee in the bosom of the heaven,
ordering thy divine births, the god Truth is united to
thy mystical throne. Honoured has been thy image by
thy lovers, thou hast shone, distributing the light
13. in the morning, thou hast circled the two lands in thy
gleaming. Thou hast touched at the hill of the land of
Akar,¹ the types in it adore, the light of the body
producing thy beams, has been illumined² the bosom of
the jackals hauling thy boat in the hidden gap
14. of the land of Sesen,³ and the Spirits of the West, adoring
thee, they tremble at thee at the light of thy disk.
The spirits of the land of Pu⁴ salute thee at the
appearance of thy light. Thou shinest in their faces,
thou traversesest
15. thy two heavens; annihilated are thy opponents. They
open the house of thy majesty; tame are the crocodiles,
quiet are the herons in waters the of thy boat; thou
hast the fish. Horus has pierced Set, his
arrow is in him. He has conquered heaven and earth
16. in his destruction, and his pursuit. Prevailing by over-
throwing his opponent, he a sword
. Akar saves him, he makes his companion
hidden he him; his eye
17. gives them light from him, it feeds off flame of fire.
Thou hast passed the turns of the river, thou navigatest
with a fair wind the city of Mer at rest
. the which
18. they . . . [lacuna] . . . the . . . [lacuna] . . . those never
at rest and incorruptible constellations, thou peram-
bulatest the earth justified. Thou joinest to a new
skin, thy mother has been embraced

¹ A region of Hades.

² Or received.

³ Hermopolis.

⁴ Buto or the North.

19. thy reception adored by all beings. Thou art at rest in the abode Tuant¹ during the hours of darkness, thou awakest Osiris by thy beams, thou shinest over the heads of those who are in their cells, thou hast traversed
20. their hidden buildings on purpose. Thou hast been typified by thought, thou hast made to be illumined thy own disk, thou hast set up the in their places. Thou hast gone against the chambers
21. in the darkness, thy left eye is in the disk at night, thou shinest in the morning out of the east of the heaven, thou hast been woven in thy disk in Ansatp.² Thy right eye is in the essence, thou hast made the passage, thy secret
22. is the depths of thy secret waters and unknown. Thou hast come on the road, thou hast given light in the path, thou hast prevailed over difficulties like the mysterious forms, thy type than every god
23. exalted and magnified by the divine circles. Each god has assumed thy skin, without shape is their type compared to thy form. Thou art the majesty which is, thou hast ruled, lord; heaven and earth, under thy plumes, the gods
24. under thy hands, men under thy legs; where is a god like thee. Thou art the Sun over the gods, crowned sweet and delightful, oh soul strong in by terrors
25. of the disk, thy uræi are tall, thy horns are pointed, twisted are the horns, lamps are the light of the two symbolic eyes, gold and crystal are the decorations, turquoise the face,
26. gilded are the limbs. Thou hast placed thy throne wherever thou delightest to multiply thy name, places and districts carrying thy beauty. Corn has never failed to be tall under thy form. Thy place is arranged, in the time of a division
27. of an hour thou traversest the earth from the Manu.³ Thou risest from the waters as the hidden egg, the

¹ Morning.² Or Anep, Mendes.³ Ocean.

female Amen is in thy company. Thou hast rested in the cow, thou seizest the horns, thou hast been immersed in

28. the cow Mehur. No germ grows, rising from its entirety to earth from the ether, sound in the roots. Thou perambulatest the earth to the district of Sutenkhen.¹ Thou hast gone there to its confines.
29. Thy likeness is there as the one of terrible face. Thy great soul is in the nome of Lycopolis at rest among the ten thousands and thousands of gods which come out of it. Thy fluid is Su,² thy drop is Tefnut.³ Thou hast made to grow
30. the nine gods at the first of typification. Thou art the lion of the double lions, thou hast tied the bellies of the circle of the gods, thou hast extended the earth under their power. They make festivals to thee in their temples. Thy soul⁴ is in
31. Tattu⁵ altogether, the four gods in Ansatp engendering, lord of the gods, bull of his mother, rejoicing in the cow, her husband, engendering with his beautiful generation. Thou passest to the place thou choosest to thy
32. hall of the Saite nome. Thy form is at rest in the temple of Lower Egypt, in the nest of the lord⁶ of Sais. Thy mother Neith has been pleased by her son tenderly beloved, binding him all the limbs in the region of the South and North, thy
33. on the arms of the crocodiles. Thou hast opened the nest, thou retest on the lower country. Thy heart rests in the roads of Hai,⁷ making Buto to rejoice in a moment, and Mehenu⁸
34. to follow thee. Thou hast come in the heart of Nausaas. Thy soul is at rest in Hetep.⁹ Thou art

¹ Herakleopolis.

² Solar deity, one of the constellations, Gemini.

³ Solar deity, sister of Su, and the other person of the constellation Gemini.

⁴ Or Bull.

⁵ Busiris or Abusir.

⁶ Or Lady "Neith."

⁷ Or the papyrus, the Lower Country.

⁸ The uræus on the diadem of the Sun.

⁹ Place of pools in Elysium.

the youthful water and the old water hidden amongst those of the temple in the great house of An.¹ Thou goest in [peace]

35. the uræns on thy head ; in a moment thou hast united the two countries under the sides of thy throne. Thou art the place of Sebennytus, thy place is pure in the town of the abode of the Sycamore.² Thy abode is in Khent-ta-net, thy dominions in Memphis, gods and goddesses
36. above in the rays of An¹ to spie thy form in Menkat.³ Thou hast presented the peace of the hidden places. Thy births have gone round the gods who are demiurges
37. the cycle of them thou hawk of the nome of Heliopolis, thy temple sacred is in the city of Kar,⁴ thy first birth is established in the face of the darkness.
38. Thy second birth thou hast appointed there after thee to overthrow thy enemies at their rising. Thou hast gone opposite to the court-yard to the South, a demiurge to elevate the youthful waters⁵
39. in his bed. Thou hast made the two countries in the town of the White Wall⁶ as Ptah, chief essence to Thou hast placed thy throne in the life of the two countries as Amen Ra. Thy soul is the ark and four pillars of the two heavens.
40. Thy form emanated at first while thou shinest as Amen Ra and Ptah. Thy heart is at rest in thy city of Uas.⁷ Thy two uræi, thy eyes, thy sceptre, thy whip open the doors of the heaven in
41. Thebes, Shu, Tefnu, Mut and Khons are thy form dwelling in thy shrine under the types of the god Khem, raising his tall plumes, king of the gods, lifting the hand, lord of the crown,
42. powerful by it, all fear emanates from the fear of him the Kamutf who resides in his fields, horned in all his beauty, engendering the depths. Black and crystal

¹ Heliopolis.² Arsinoe.³ Unknown site.⁴ Babylon.⁵ *han sér.*⁶ Memphis.⁷ Thebes.

the faces of those attached to him, the two mystical eyes, the decorations of

43. Hor-ti¹ dwelling in the nome Pe² over his strong house. Tum the great lord of created beings He is the hawk³ created at first, Mentu Ra in Uas.⁴ The powerful bull, he is the arm striking
44. the cowards of Nahi, Ptah in Uas,⁴ the luminous body ever golden for an age and ever. Thou art Sekar, thy transformations are in to the Nile, the person greater than the other gods. Thou art youthful water and old water.⁵
45. They repose in the merits of thee. Thou givest life to the earth by thy stream. Thou art heaven, thou art earth, thou art fire, thou art water, thou art air in the midst of them. Thou hast hailed at things to be done of him who is indefatigable, the orderer of the visible and invisible.⁶
46. Thou givest life to them as thou increasest them, thy soul prepares them under thy type of Amen Ra, lord of all existences, thy heart is strong, thy body makes festive, thou increasest thy son who is on thy throne, thou makest young his limbs up-
47. on earth. Thou honourest him, thou crownest him with thy title, thy gracious form thou makest to shine as the Sun, thy son, the beautiful face⁷ doing all thy wish, thou findest for him victory to his hands, the king of the Upper and Lower Country, the Son of the Sun.
48. Ntariush⁸ the ever living, born of the Sun, the support of those who are in Uas,⁴ the Son of the Sun Ntariush⁸ the assistant, his attached fourfold of Amen Ra, lord of the thrones of the world, resident in Thebes, powerful with the scimetar
49. Son of the Sun Ntariush,⁸ Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, beloved of Amen, save thou the Son of the Sun Ntariush⁸

¹ The Coptites nome.

² Buto.

³ *χεpr*, same as the "scarabæus."

⁴ Thebaid.

⁵ Or the Hannu or Ether.

⁶ Existent and non-existent.

⁷ Title also of Ptah.

⁸ Darius.

the ever living, from every sword, every arrow; may the terror of him, the fear of him, the victorious power of him, be in the hearts of all men and every land, like thy victory thy fears and thy terrors in the hearts of gods and men.

[The notes and commentary on this text will appear in the next part.]



THE LEGEND OF THE TOWER OF BABEL.

BY W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

Read 4th January, 1876.

THIS tablet, of which I now give a translation, was first discovered by Mr. George Smith, and was translated by him in his work, "Chaldean Account of Genesis," pages 160-163.

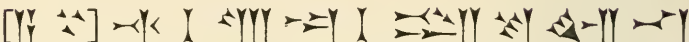
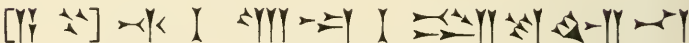
It appears to relate to the building of one of those great temple-towers or "*ziggurati*," which formed the principal feature of most of the cities and palaces in Western Asia. The Accadians or early Babylonians were a people of mountain origin, coming down from the Kurdean ranges to dwell in the plains of Babylonia. They brought with them the tradition that the gods only visited the high places of the earth, and so when they built their cities in Babylonia they always raised the temple-towers high above the plain as places to be visited by the gods. Such was the great tower at Borsippa, the temples at Erech, Ur, and Cutha.

In this paper I have attempted no comparison with the Biblical legend of Babel, as the tablet is in so imperfect a condition that it would not be of use to build any theory on it.

The legend appears to record the building of one of the great towers by order of the king, and the work appears to have offended the gods, who first demonstrated their anger by throwing down "in the night all that was built in the day." The builders appear to have continued their work in spite of these interruptions, and at last they were punished by being scattered abroad and their speech confounded. The tower itself appears to have been destroyed by a storm.

K, 3657.

COLUMN 1.

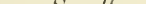
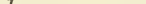
1. 
 su - nu abu
 them the father
2. 
 [a-mat-] ti -su lib - ba -su il - te - im - na
 his thoughts of his heart were evil
3. 
 a - bi ka - la ili
 the father of all the gods
- 
 i - zi - ru
 he turned from
4. 
 [a-mat-] ti -su lib - ba -su il - te - im - na
 his thoughts of his heart were evil
5. 
 Babilu ha - mi - it
 Babylon corruptly
- 
 a - na il - ki - im
 to sin went and

6.
 [za - ha - ru - u] va ra - bu - u
small *and* *great*

u - ba - al - lu tul - la
he mingled (on) the mound

7.  balilu ḥa - me - it a - na
Babylon corruptly to sin

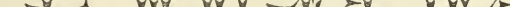
il - ki - im
went and

8.   
[za - ha - ru - u] va ra - bu - u
Small *and* *great*

u - ba - al - lu tul - la
he mingled on the mound.

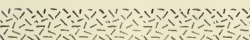
COLUMN II.

1. sar - tul - eli
The king of the noble mound

2.  Ina ma- ah - ri is - su A- nuv
In front did lift up Anu

10.  - na ta az zi - im - ti si - na
to their strong hold

 - na ma- ai - li
in the night

11.  u - ul u - su - ta
entirely an end

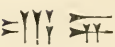
 - it - ta
he made.

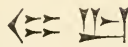
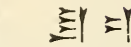
12.  - na ug - ga - ti su-va ni - mi- ga - av
In his anger also the secret counsel

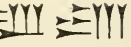
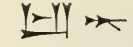
 - sa - pa - ah
he poured out

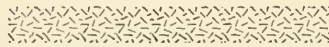
13.  ba - al - lu ta - mas - li - e
his to scatter

 - ni - su is - ku - un
his face he set

14.    
 dan - ni de - na ut - tak - ki - ra
 he gave a command he made strange

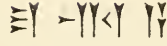
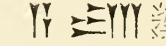
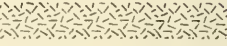
 
 me - lik su - un
their speech

15.    
 ra a - lak - ta ip - qut - sa
 the progress he impeded

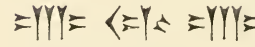
16.  
 zab - ta pa - ra - ak
 make an altar

COLUMN III.

[All upper portion lost.]

9.   
 ma - ri - a a - ta
my son thou (art)

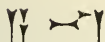
10.  
 mi - in - su
its number

11.  
 u - ul - u
entirely

12.  

u - da - ab

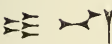
he makes good

13. 

a - na

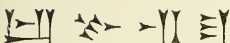
to

COLUMN IV.

1.  

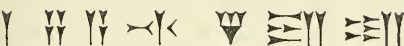
I - na

In

2. 

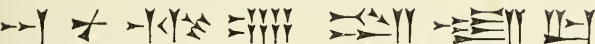
ip - pu - uh va

he blew

3. 

ana za - a - ti sa - da - zi

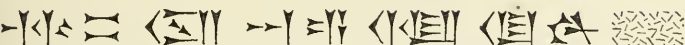
For future time

4. 

D.P. Nu - nam - nir il - li - ik

Nu-nam-mir¹

went

5. 

ig - bi kima same va ir-zituv

He spake like heaven and earth

¹ The god of lawlessness, or no government.

6.
his ways they went

7.
violently they fronted against him

8.
he saw them (to) the earth

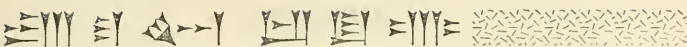
9.
when a stop he did not make.

10.
Of the gods

11.
against the gods they revolted

12.
violence

13.
violently they wept for Babylon

14. 
 ta - ma - ah ib - ku - u
 very much they grieved

15. 
 lib - us - su - nu - va
 in their midst also

NOTES.

COLUMN I.

5. *hamit* may be compared with Heb. חמה, join together and rendered as "in consort," or perhaps with המה poison; hence corruptly.
il kim, went, compare Heb.
6. *uballu*, mingled. Heb. בלל, confound, mix. This is the verb used in Genesis xi, 7 for the confusion of speech.
Tulla, mound. Heb. תל, a hill, root תלל.

COLUMN II.

2. *issu*. Compare Heb. שש.
5. *nasi*, carried, a word of very frequent occurrence. Compare Heb. נשא.
Dema, a decree. Compare Chald. מעם, Ezra vi, 14.
7. *ittul-su*, "he lifted up." Compare Heb. תלל and נטל, a word cognate with *tulla*, of line 6, col. I.
10. *tazzimti*, stronghold. Compare Heb. roots אצם, עצם, and also Heb. עצמות bulwarks.
12. *išapah*, he poured forth. Compare Heb. ספח.
14. *uttak-ki-ra*, he made strange, an iphtael form of *naciru*, to be strange.
Melik, speech, counsel. Compare Chald. מלכה "counsel," and also proper name, Milcah.

COLUMN IV.

2. *ip puh*, he blew. Compare Heb. **נפח**, to blow.
4. *Nu-nam-nir*. This god is the god of lawlessness, the name being composed of the negative NU, the particle NAM, which forms abstracts, and NIR, which is explained by *saru*, a king, the whole being no cross-ruling or mis-rule.
6. *illik, likki, illikū*, may all be compared with Heb. **הלך**.
7. *idhu*, they fronted or arrayed. Heb. **דרח**.



WHY IS FORTY-THREE A BASAL BIBLICAL NUMBER?

By S. M. DRACH.

Read 1st February, 1876.

I BEG to remark that we find 430 years (Ex. xii, 40, Gen. xi, 17); 65, or $\frac{3}{2}$ of 43 (Gen. v, 15, 21); also 215 is 5 times 43; 129 is thrice 43; 7×43 is 301 (*tohu-bohu*, Gen. i, 2, is 430). The number 427 is $\frac{1}{7}$ of 299 very nearly.

Now 43 times $365^d 5^h 49^m 12^s$ gives $15,705^d 10^h 15^m 36^s$, and 532 times $29^d 12^h 44^m 2^s \cdot 88$ gives $15,710^d 6^h 33^m 32^s$, exceeding by $4^d 20^h 17^m 56^s$, whilst one-sixth of a month is $4^d 22^h 7^m 20^s$. Now 532 is 19 times 28, still used to harmonise the epacts and dominical letter in solar years. Perhaps this will lead to the astronomical reason for choosing 43 solar years or $44\frac{1}{3}$ lunar ones. This number of days is nearly that of π to the diameter 5000.

The period 427 is still closer, solar	$155958^d 13^h 8\frac{1}{2}^m$
$5281\frac{1}{4}$ lunations.. ..	$155958^d 10^h 8\frac{1}{2}^m$
	$3 \quad 0$

which 180 minutes gives $2\frac{1}{2}$ seconds per lunation to augment the period (Laplace's secular equation $11''$; or Adam's $5\frac{1}{2}''$). We thus see 61 solar years equal $62\frac{7}{8}$ lunar; or $1708 = 21125$ months, *i.e.*, 3416 solar years = $10 \times 65 \times 65$ months to a day. Clinton's "Fasti Hellen," p. 304, makes:—

235 lunat.	$\left| \begin{array}{cccc} d & h & m & s \\ 29 & 12 & 44 & 2 \cdot 88 \end{array} \right|$	$\left| \begin{array}{cccc} d & h & m & s \\ 6939 & 16 & 31 & 17 \end{array} \right|$	$\left| \begin{array}{cc} m & s \\ \text{Loss } 121 & 14 \end{array} \right|$
19 sol.yrs.	$\left| \begin{array}{cccc} d & h & m & s \\ 365 & 5 & 48 & 57 \cdot 00 \end{array} \right|$	$\left| \begin{array}{cccc} d & h & m & s \\ 6939 & 14 & 30 & 3 \end{array} \right|$	

But even with 15^s added for solar year, it brings the lunar

excess to 116^m 29^s; and an *excess* is *irreconcilable* with the lunar theory. Perhaps the Hebrew-patriarchal contemporaneities of this table may be useful.

A Son born to	At Age.	After Deluge.	After Life.	Total Life.	Died after Deluge.	Cotemporary Age.		
						Abraham.	Isaac.	Jacob
Noah	600	0	350	950	350	58	..	..
Shem	100	2	500	600	502	..	110	50
Arphaxad	35	37	403	438	440	148	48	..
Salach	30	67	403	433	470	..	78	18
Heber	34	101	430	464	531	..	139	79
Peleg	30	131	209	236	340	48	..	..
Rě-n	32	163	207	239	370	78	..	..
S'rug	30	193	200	230	393	101	1	..
Nachor I.	29	222	219	248	441	149	49	..
Terach	70	292	135	205	427	135	35	..
Abram's call	75	(367)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Abram (Ismael)	86	(378)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Abraham (Isaac).. ..	100	392	78	175	467	..	75	15
Isaac (Jacob)	60	452	120	180	572	..	..	120
Jacob (Joseph)?	90	542	57	147	599	Joseph was		57
Joseph, Vizier	(30)	572	80	110	652			..
Jacob, Egypt	130	582	17	147	599			..

Remark Isaac's dying in Joseph's vizier-year; Jacob's death at end of a 600 year. (Query: Was Terach's fatherless age increased by 40 years for this?) That Shem died 40 years before Joseph's birth. The prevalence of the unit 8 in the last columns. As Noah took his sons into the ark before his wife and daughters-in-law, the Rabbis state this indicates the separation of the sexes (human and brute) in the ark, so that no increase was to be apprehended; and hence Arphaxad was only born after his parents were

comfortably settled in their post-diluvian tents. I think that the tipsy Noah stumbled into the harem, אֶהְלֶה, not אֶהְלֶה for אֶהְלֶה (the Masoretic violent change of affix) which would explain the impropriety.

I beg to suggest a possible priestly idea in those archaic languages which, like the Hebrew Scriptures, offered no connection between the letters of one word, or separative marks between adjoining words (except the five final forms); namely: Did the priesthood publicly read their sacred books as emanating from false gods, yet secretly to the initiated, *by another combination of the syllables*, proclaimed the Monotheism they themselves had arrived at? It being the glorious mission and inspiration of Moses, that he made the initiated or Monotheistic reading the popular one as the only true exponent of the sacred writings. What I mean is this: the first verse of Genesis *may* be dissected thus philologically—

אָרֶץ	וְאֵת הַ	הַשָּׁמַיִם	אֵת	הַיָּם	אֵל	בְּרָא	שֵׁית	בְּרָא
the Earth	{ and (accu- sative the) }	the heavens	{ accu- sative the }	the Sea, the Youm	El (God)	Creator created	Seth or (God)	Creator
Earth	and thou art	the heavens	thou art אֶתָּה					
Earth (runner)	and there came	heavens	there came אָתָּה					

It is known that Brahma's creative word is *Oum*—thence the fire-water (אֵשׁ-מַיִם). I therefore ask if in Egyptology such priest-popular polytheistic reading occurred whilst the true Monotheistic one, which all now are faithful to, is that בְּרָאשִׁית בְּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ; why is then הַ required if אֵת precedes it?

The “without form and void,” as before remarked, numerically equals 430; and Elohim to 86, or twice 43.

Further, if God called the night-time Lail, why is the Youm (day) made up of עֶרֶב (the evening) and בֹּקֶר (the

morning?) I think this really means the dark *chaotic mixture* previous to the existence of light, and the *search-time* which was luminous. It is curious that whilst ים a sea, and יום a day, are distinct, as also the dual יומים two days, that we have ימים to express many seas and many days, and not יומים used for the latter. I make these remarks not in any spirit of scepticism, but knowing the great similarity between the Pharaonic and Mosaic liturgies *externally*, it occurred to me whether this was not one of the refined modes of blinding the common people to their true spiritual dependence on *One* God? The super-pointed וישקרו (Gen xxxiii, 4) equals 427. The eleven (Deut. xix 29), to (2)310, the death-year of Moses (Rabb). The division of earth temp. Peleg might simply mean an earthquake. Chap. xi says mankind found a cleft or defile in the land of Shinyr; and does not the (verba singula) of the first verse point to a monosyllabic primitive language, rendered unintelligible by the introduction of affixes, particles, etc., at the Confusion.

Though Drs. Jost and Zunz were brought up in the great modern Jewish Grammar School of Seesen, the predecessor of their tutor Ehrenberg so inoculated these youths with the mystic notion that thousands of angels, good and bad, floating about, caught up any sound emitted in their prayers, that it made Jost extremely sensitive, and afraid (even in his old age) of being alone in the dark. Was this a Rabbinical heritage of Assyrian Demonology? Ehrentheil's biography (Pesth, 1867), and Zunz's of Ehrenberg, are extremely interesting; both German 8vo. vols. are in the British Museum Collection.

P.S.—I found since that thrice $43 + 427$ or 556 years are $203074^d 19^h 55^m 12^s$, and $6876\frac{3}{4}$ lunat. $203074^d 11^h 27^m 5^s$, a solar excess of $8^m 28^s$ in $573\frac{1}{16}$ lunar years. Hek Bey Egypt. Chr. xxxiii) found that 4004×365 less 7×70 days), or 1460970 days, are 4000 times $365^d 5^h 49^m 12^s$. M. Rydberg's deduction of 195-6 solar or 201 to 202 lunar years (2424 months) acts as 300 years on his 8 patriarchs + 24. His 6408 is $8 \times 9 \times 89$; his 4800: 4947 is 1600; 1649, or $40sq.$ + 7sq. The Hebrew after-lives to Lamech, 6569 (or $\frac{4}{3}$ of

4927), and Noah, 7019 ($\frac{1}{7}$ of 4913); total lives to Lamech 7625 (61 times 125, or 5 cubed) and Noah 8575 (25 times 343, or 7 cubed), may likewise furnish deductions. The Samaritan makes Lamech's birth (654) bisect the deluge year (1307) wherein he and Methuselah expire; Cainan's birth-year (325) again nearly bisects 653. The patristic 105, 90, 70, 63, 53 years are nearly in a harmonic ratio of 1, $\frac{6}{7}$, $\frac{4}{6}$, $\frac{3}{5}$, $\frac{2}{4}$.





Assyrian Sheep.



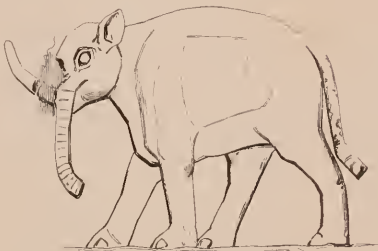
Wild Dog (?).



Gazelle.



Hare (Kouyunjik).



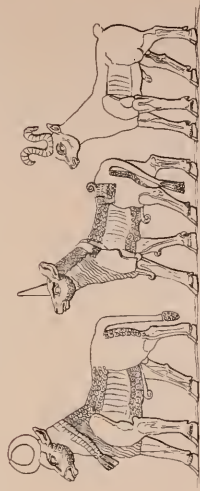
Indian Elephant (Black Obelisk).



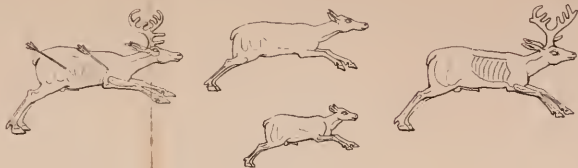
*Bear standing upright
(Bronze Bowl, Nimrud).*



Horseman, and Lion about to spring; Marble Slab (Konyunjik).



Bull, Rhinoceros, and lyrate-horned Antelope; (Black Obelisk).



Fallow Deer ; male (adult and young) and female.



Gazelles , male, hornless females and young.

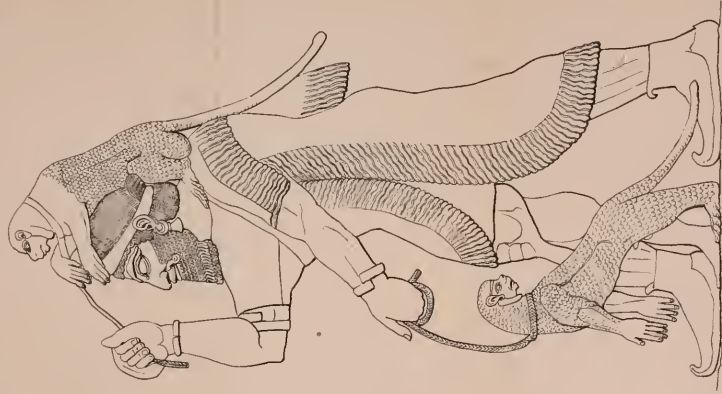


Horseman attacking a Lion Marble Slab (Konyunjik)



Lions and Lionesses, Marble Slabs (Konyunjik).

Plate I



Man with Monkeys, tribute of the Eastern Muzra (Black Obelisk, Nimrud).

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PART 2.

ON THE MAMMALIA OF THE ASSYRIAN
SCULPTURES.

By REV. WILLIAM HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S.

Read 2nd January, 1877.

PART II.—WILD ANIMALS.

IN treating of the wild animals of the Assyrian monuments, whether represented in sculpture, or merely mentioned by name, we find as a rule much more difficulty in determining the species than in the case of the domesticated animals. This arises partly from the fact that the sculptural representations of some of the wild animals are badly executed, but chiefly from the absence in the records of any clue to identification beyond that afforded by the name itself. I proceed, without further preface, to notice the various animals, whether figured on the sculptures or mentioned in the records. I will begin with the order

Quadrumanæ. On the black obelisk of Shalmaneser three figures of monkeys occur, together with that of the Indian elephant. A man is leading a large kind of monkey; another

man follows leading a similar species, while he has also a smaller monkey on his shoulders. One of the figures is represented without a tail, which has led Mr. Layard to believe that the ouran outan is intended. But none of the anthropoid monkeys, as the oranges, gorillas, chimpanzees, except the long-armed gibbons (*Hylobates*), occur in India, the country from which the monkeys on the obelisk no doubt came; the native habitat of the orang (*Simia satyrus*) is Borneo and Sumatra, while the other members of this section are confined to West Africa. The omission of the tail, therefore, must be regarded as accidental, or the tail supposed to be hidden from view by the animal's left leg. These monkeys, an epigraph informs us, were part of the tribute of Muzri of Armenia, a country which would be beyond the northern limit of any of the Quadrumana, whose geographical range begins as a rule about 23° N. latitude. The people of Muzri,¹ therefore, must have procured these monkeys from India, whence also they received the elephant. These figures are ridiculously human—the face is that of a man with a fringe of whiskers around it—so are the feet and hands. On another monument, however, this same monkey is far better drawn; the sculptor has been so far successful as to lead us to the identification of this species of monkey, which is most probably the *Presbyter entellus* or Hoonuman of India, or at any rate one of its allied forms. The Hoonuman is a large monkey with a long tail; it is, and probably long has been held in religious veneration in India, becomes quite tame, frequenting the houses and shops of fruit-sellers, &c. The monkey sitting on the man's shoulders (black obelisk) I take to be merely a smaller individual of the same species. This will explain the placid and contented look of the monkey on the man's shoulders, which was evidently a domesticated individual. Another species of monkey is figured on the obelisk from Nimrûd. The head and shoulders are covered with long waving hair. It is probable that this species is the Wanderoo (*Macacus silenus*), which is now pretty common in some parts of India, as in the Malabar provinces, but not in

¹ It is possible, as Gutschmid suggests, that there was another Muzri, besides the Armenian one, in Bactria. [A. H. S.]

probably either some definite allusion to the royal animal in the historical and hunting records, or its form represented in bas-relief on the sculptures. Moreover, the presence of a considerable number of *lions* in Assyria, Babylonia, &c., in the time of the Assyrian kings just mentioned, is in itself evidence against the supposition that tigers were also numerous. According to the general law of nature, two large species of the same family are seldom found to co-exist in the same area. I think, therefore, that the tiger was only occasionally seen and killed in hunting expeditions. In the inscription of the broken obelisk of Tiglath-Pileser I, which mentions the different animals killed by the Assyrian king in the land of the Hittites and other places, certain wild carnivora are enumerated; these are *nimri* "leopards," *mi-di-ni* () "tigers" (?) *a-si* (?) and two strong "bears." There is no doubt that the first word *nimri* means "leopards"; the following word *midini* occurring just afterwards would appear to denote some fierce carnivore of an allied species. In the Izdubar legends, Heabani declares that he will come to Erech, bringing a *midannu* with him in order to make trial of the strength of Izdubar, and to see if he could destroy it.

1. "I will bring to the midst of Erech a tiger,
 2. And if he is able he will destroy it.
 3. In the desert it is begotten, it has great strength."
- (Chald. Acc. Gen., Smith, p. 205.)

"The *midannu*," says Mr. George Smith, "is mentioned in the Assyrian texts as a fierce carnivorous animal allied to the lion and leopard; it is called, *midannu*, *mindinu* and *mandinu*" (p. 206). On the whole, therefore, it is quite probable that the tiger was known to, and occasionally mentioned by the ancient Assyrians under one or other of the above names.¹

The Lion. As regards this animal everything is perfectly clear. His form is drawn with great accuracy and spirit. Now he is represented as being on the point of springing at

¹ Since the above was written, Mr. Boscawen tells me that a figure of some *striped* feline occurs on one of the Assyrian gems.

a horseman ; now with spread out feet and exerted claws he holds in his mouth a portion of the body of a horse ; now he is shrinking cautiously out of a wooden box or cage in which he had been placed ; or he is in the agonies of death, pierced by many arrows, vomiting his life-blood, or vainly endeavouring to extract with his fore paws a shaft that has pierced his eye-ball ; now he appears erect on his hind legs, turning his body round, with out-spread paws and fierce aspect, as if indignantly remonstrating with king Assurbanipal, who has seized the royal beast by the tail !

Lions are still found in the Euphrates and Tigris valleys. Mr. Ainsworth, who accompanied Colonel Chesney in the Euphrates Expedition as surgeon and geologist, and who published his *Researches in Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldaea* in 1838, speaks of the lion as being met with in the lower part of the Euphrates and Tigris. Footprints were observed at the Khabour ; but the lion has been met with as far north as Bális. A more recent traveller, Mr. Layard, says that lions are sometimes found near Kalah Sherghat, and frequently on the banks of the Tigris below Baghdad, rarely above. “On the Euphrates,” he adds, “it has been seen, I believe, almost as high as Bir, where the steamers of the first Euphrates expedition, under Colonel Chesney, were launched. In the Sinjar, and on the banks of the Khabour, they are frequently caught by the Arabs. They abound in Khuzistan, the ancient Susiana. I have frequently seen three or four together, and have hunted them with the chiefs of the tribes inhabiting that province.” (*Nineveh and its Remains*, II, p. 48.) Lions abound in the jungles near the rivers in Babylonia. Mr. Layard frequently saw traces of them while excavating at Niffer. The Maidan Arabs kill the lion in the following manner :—“A man having bound his right arm with strips of tamarisk, and holding in his hand a strong piece of the same wood about a foot or more in length, hardened in the fire and sharpened at both ends, will advance boldly into the animal’s lair. When the lion springs upon him he forces the wood into the animal’s extended jaws, which will then be held open whilst he can despatch the astonished beast at his leisure with the pistol that he holds in his left hand.” (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 567.)

It was a common thing for the old Assyrian kings to attack a lion single-handed, as may be seen on the monuments. Thus Assurbanipal says of himself, "I, Assurbanipal, king of multitudes, king of Assyria, by my might, on my two feet, a fierce lion, which I seized behind by the ears, in the service of Assur and Istar goddess of war, by spears of my two hands I pierced his body." Another epigraph states that the same king seized a lion "by his tail" (*ina zumbi* — — — — —), and threw ropes round him. Lions were hunted by the kings in chariots or mounted on horses; they were shot with arrows or pierced with strong spears. At the end of the day's sport the king ordered his attendants to place the bodies of the lions killed in the chase side by side. A wooden altar was set up before them, and then the king poured out of a bowl a libation of wine on the faces of the slain animals in honour of Assur, Nergal, Istar, or other deities, by whose aid he had been successful. If the Assyrian kings drew only the actual long bow, and not the metaphorical one, the number of lions slain by them must have been enormous. "Under the auspices of my guardian deity Adar, two *soos* of lions, *i.e.*, 120 (II EI <I- U- -EII I<<), I slew," says Tiglath-Pileser. In the same paragraph (W.A.I., Vol. I, pl. xiv, line 80) the king tells us that these 120 lions were slain by him (and, I suppose, his attendants) on foot, and that 800 more fell to his weapons as he and his men rode in their chariots. Allowing for much exaggeration, the numbers slain must have, no doubt, been great, and under the later Assyrian monarchs, in whom the love of the chase and bold adventure were equally strong, the introduction of trapped lions took place, and these animals were sought out in remote jungles, caught in snares of some kind, and conveyed near home in order to afford sport to the "great king." The weapons employed in the capture of the lion were a bow and arrows, a strong straight sword for hand encounter, daggers and spears. When the king hunted in his chariot he was attended by his charioteer, equipped as for war, some horsemen, of course armed, and sometimes by a groom leading a spare horse. In the bas-relief representing Assurbanipal lion-hunting in his chariot—a photograph of

which lies before me as I write—two quivers full of arrows, each with a small hand axe, are seen suspended transversely across the right side of the chariot. A shield with very thick pointed teeth protected the hinder part of the chariot in case of an attack upon the chariot in the rear. The king is represented in the act of drawing the bow to its fullest extent, a sword in its sheath hangs from his left side, while a long and strong spear projects in an upward direction from the back. Sometimes the king, with a number of attendants would get into a ship, while beaters would start the game from the coverts on the other side of the river. Should the lion take to the water and try to escape, he was attacked and destroyed; his fore and hind legs were corded together, and the beast was suspended from the hinder part of the boat. It is probable that the large mastiff of the Assyrian monuments was used in the chase of the lion, but it is somewhat curious to note that no such actual engagement between dog and lion is found on the sculptures.

The lion is generally represented on the monuments with great spirit and life-like truthfulness. The figure of a lion in an attitude about to spring upon a horseman, who appears to be armed only with a whip, may even be compared with the best efforts of Landseer himself. The same almost may be said of the lion represented as being turned out of his cage.

Mr. Layard has drawn attention to the fact that the claw or spine-like body at the end of the lion's tail has not escaped the notice of the sculptor. It certainly is represented in a few instances, though the size of the claw is much exaggerated. Some of the ancient classical writers describe the lion as lashing himself with his tail when angry, and it has been supposed that the claw at the end was the instrument which goaded him to rage; the classical writers, however, mention no such claw. Didymus Alexandrinus, a commentator on the Iliad, I believe, was the first to notice this little claw, and drew the conclusion that it was a stimulating organ. Blumenbach corroborated the Homeric commentator's assertion as to the presence of the claw, but rejected at once his conclusion. At one of the meetings of the Zoological Society, held in 1832, a specimen was exhibited of a claw obtained

from the tip of a young lion's tail from Barbary. It was noticed first by Mr. G. Bennett, and while handling the tail the claw came off. According to Mr. Woods, who gave much attention to the subject, the claw "was formed of corneous matter like an ordinary nail," sharp at the point, flattened throughout its length, which did not amount to more than $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch. It appears that this claw is only occasionally present in individuals. The idea of its serving to lash the lion to fury is quite out of the question. As the occurrence is only exceptional, it cannot be supposed that the little claw in question has any functional character. Still it is curious to find that the Assyrian sculptor took notice of the organ, and represented it on the monuments.¹ The Assyrian name of the lion was *nesu*, but in the inscriptions the Accadian name *lik-makh* () "great beast or dog," is nearly always used. The lion is represented on the monuments as fighting with a wild bull. The lion of the sculptures is the Asiatic animal, which differs in no essential points from its African relative. Three varieties of the Asiatic lion are mentioned, the Bengal, the Persian or Arabian, and the maneless lion of Guzerat. The Persian or Arabian variety is generally distinguishable by the pale isabella colour of its fur; but Ainsworth tells us that a lion from the banks of the Tigris in the possession of Colonel Taylor of Baghdad, was as brown as the Bombay lion.

The Leopard.—This feline is mentioned in the inscriptions, but never represented in bas-relief on the monuments. A very badly executed figure of a leopard attacking the hind quarters of a wild bull, on a clay tablet, was found by Mr. Layard at Nimrûd, and figured by him. The leopard was seen by Ainsworth near Mar'ash, and Colonel Chesney enumerates it as being found in the Amanus (Khamanu in Assyrian) and Taurus. It is called *nimer* by the inhabitants, and this is its Assyrian name *ni-im-ru* () Heb. נמר, as occurring on the monuments. The leopard (*Felis leopardus*), has a wide geographical range, inhabiting Southern Asia, North, South, and West Africa. Tiglath-Pileser I especially

¹ This organ is occasionally found in other *Felidæ*, as in the Leopard.

called. A species of otter (*Lutra vulgaris*?), was seen on the Euphrates, Tigris, Karun, &c.

Canide. The striped hyena (*H. striata*) is very common, (a white variety having been observed by Ainsworth) "in all kinds of countries, sheltering itself behind a wall or a shrub." The wolf is most frequent in Taurus. This is the common *Canis lupus*, Lin., the black variety of which was seen on the banks of the Sajar. The jackal (*Canis aureus*, Lin.) is frequent. According to Ainsworth, "it appears to present some differences in Syria, in Euphrates, and in Persia, which have not yet been all determined." Foxes are common; near the Euphrates the species was always *Vulpes corsac*, but in Taurus it was our common *Vulpes vulgaris*.

The hyena is not represented on the sculptures, though it is mentioned in the records. In the Chaldean story of the deluge, Hea said to the warrior Elu (Bel), "instead of thee making a deluge, may lions (𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *nesu*) increase, and men be reduced; instead of thee making a deluge, may *lig-bar-ra* (𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) increase and men be reduced." Mr. George Smith renders *lig-bar-ra* by "leopards"; but Mr. Sayce has pointed out that in the astrological tables lions and *lig-bar-ri* are again associated, and that this latter Accadian word, *lig-bar-ra*, is represented in the bilingual lists by the Assyrian word *a-khu* (𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵). Now we may, with the greatest probability, refer this Assyrian *a-khu* to a similar word which occurs in the Hebrew Bible, in the plural number, viz., *okhîm* (Isaiah xiii, 21). These *okhîm* are associated with jackals by the Hebrew prophet, and are represented as inhabiting desolate Babylon. The authorised version renders the word "doleful creatures." The Hebrew word is to be referred to a root meaning to "howl" (חָנַן חָנַן, "to cry out ah"), and nothing could answer better to the dismally howling hyena. The Accadian name *lig-bar-ra* may mean "beast (dog) striped," i.e., "the striped hyena." Thus we have an interesting instance of how the Assyrian, the Hebrew, and the Accadian words reciprocally throw light on each other. The wolf is called *numma* (𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵), i.e., "the animal from the high lands," i.e., Elam, in Accadian, and

(𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶) *zî-bu* (Heb. זִיב) or *a-ci-luv*, 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 in Assyrian. I am not aware of the existence of any definite Assyrian word for “the fox” and “the jackal.” Probably the same word would express both these kindred animals, as amongst the Hebrews by the word (שׁוּאֵל) *shûal*; I hazard the suggestion that foxes and jackals are denoted by the Assyrian word (𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶) *a-sî*. These *a-sî* are mentioned amongst wild animals that the Assyrian kings hunted, and which they occasionally brought to Nineveh or Calah. With dogs and *asî* it was a practice to chain up conquered enemies. Etymologically I would refer the word to the Hebrew *âśah* (אָשָׂה), an unused root, meaning to “hurt,” to “injure” (cf. the noun חֲסוֹן, “mischief,” “injury”). The name “hurtful” or “injurious animals,” as applied to jackals and foxes—especially to the former—has reference to the damage these creatures cause to the vines. With this we may compare the similar idea expressed in the Bible, as in Canticles ii, 15, “Take for us the *shuālîm*, the little *shuālîm*, which spoil the vines.” The fondness of foxes and jackals for grapes is well known, and as they were doubtless common in Assyria, they would often injure the vines, and thus merit the name of the injurious animals.

Ursidae.—The ordinary Assyrian bear is the *Ursus Syriacus*, the representative of the common brown bear of Europe (*Ursus arctos*); but farther north, as in the highlands of Armenia, the Syrian variety would be replaced by the common brown bear. According to Ainsworth bears are not uncommon in Taurus and in the Persian Apennines. There are many varieties of *Ursus arctos*; Nilsson describes six as being found in Sweden, varying from black and red-brown to the albino or variegated bear. Several varieties were probably known to the Assyrians; bears of different colours are mentioned on the bilingual tablet, plate vi. No bear appears in bas-relief on the monuments, but a very correct delineation of this animal may be seen on a bronze dish from Nimrûd, now in the British Museum. The bear is standing erect, feeding on the fruit of some tree. It is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions, and was hunted by the Assyrian monarchs;

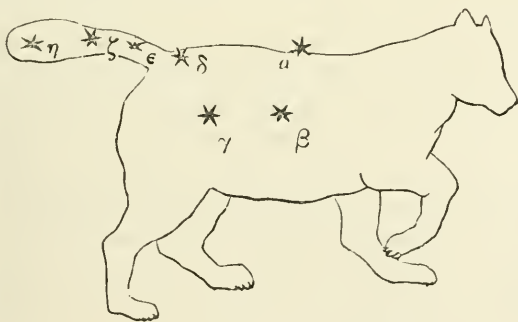
bilingual list by *sakh maganna kuru* (Accadian), for which the Assyrian column has *ma-ak-ka-nu-u damku*, i.e., the bear of "good omen" or "blessed" bear. This most likely refers not to any definite animal, but to the constellation or "star of the bear" (            ) *cacabu dabi*, which, according to its position in the heavens, or its position relative to other constellations, might have been regarded as an omen of good or of misfortune. I can form no conjecture as to the definite meaning of the *sakh khus-a* (            ) Accad. the *khu-us-su-u* (            ) and the *ru-us-su-u* (            ) of the Assyrian columns, but agree with Lenormant that some bear-like animal is signified. The words *khussu* and *russu* may mean "beaten out" or "greyish-blue." With the latter signification some variety of the bear may be meant. Dr. Delitzsch referring the names to the Arabic, supposes that a gazelle is the animal denoted; but the determinative prefix of *sakh* is altogether opposed to such an interpretation. For the *sakh sik-a*¹ (            ) of the Accadian column, with which *ba-nu-u* (            ) stands in the Assyrian, Lenormant, interpreting the words to mean "the builder" or "constructor," doubtfully suggests "the beaver." Delitzsch thinks an old or adult male gazelle is intended, from *banu* "to beget." The mention of the beaver leads me to say a few words on the existence of that animal in Mesopotamia. "The order of Rodentia" writes Ainsworth (Assyria, p. 39), "presents us with the common beaver (*Castor Fiber*), found by the expedition (Colonel Chesney's) in Euphrates and Khabour." But of the Khabour beavers Mr. Layard thus speaks:—

"The Jebours killed four beavers, and brought three of their young to us alive. They had been driven from their holes by the swollen stream. Mohammed Emin eagerly accepted the musk bags, which are much valued as *majouns* by the Turks, and consequently fetch a large price in the towns. The Arabs eat the flesh, and it was cooked for us, but proved coarse and tough. The young we kept for

¹ Lenormant has given *duba* (         ) instead of *sik-a*.

are interpreted by Lenormant to denote the wild boar; *ap-pa-ru* being supposed to be the same as the Arabic ^{سفر} *سفر*.

Dr. Delitzsch refers the Assyrian word to the Hebrew *opher* (עֶפֶר), "a fawn" or "gazelle." The objection to M. Lenormant's and Schrader's suggestion is that the Arabic word is not truly pure Arabic, but a loan or borrowed Latin word ("*aper*") in an Arabic dress, like the German *eber*. The presence of the same determinative prefix *sakh*, precludes altogether the idea of a fawn or gazelle being intended. My own opinion is that these three words, *apparru* (Assyrian), *sakh-si-khar-ra*, and *sakh-mas-luv* (Accadian), have reference not to a living animal, but to the constellation of the Great Bear. The scribe who wrote this bilingual tablet was not attempting any zoological system properly so called, he only cared for corresponding words or sentences in the Accadian and Assyrian languages. Now, one of the Accadian words, *sakh-mas-luv* reminds one of the star *Entenamaslur*, i.e., the star of "the tip of the tail," and is explained by the Assyrian *sir etsen-tsiiri* (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵), *membrum caudæ summe*, "tip of the tail." (See Sayce's *Astron. and Astrol.*, Bib. Arch. Trans., Vol. III, p. 170.) The other Accadian word, *sakh-si-kharra*, means "bear," + "horn," + "heaven," clearly having reference to the constellation of the Great Bear, and not to any living bear-like animal.



The *sakh-mas-luv* and the *sakh-si-khar-ra* both denote the star η in *Ursa Major*, the projecting tail being appropriately enough called "horn of heaven," though I am unable to give any ex-

is the hare, of which two species are known to occur in Assyrian lands, "the Turkoman hare," which haunts the plains, and the hare of the desert, this latter probably being the *Lepus Sinaiticus*. The Assyrian name of the hare is *an-na-bu* (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) the *arnebeth* (אַרְנֶבֶת) of the Hebrew Scriptures, the *arneb* (أرنب) of the modern Arabs. Its Accadian name is expressive of its abode, *ca-zin-na* (𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶), i.e., "face of the desert." In the bilingual tablet the hare is mentioned after the gazelle, appropriately enough, as another swift animal of the desert. Other species of hare may probably occur in Assyria; the rabbits, which Ainsworth says are rare, must be a modern introduction, for the original home of these animals is Spain and the Balearic islands, and they were not known at all to the ancient Greeks as indigenous animals, nor to the Romans before the time of Varro, who brought specimens from Spain into Italy, where they were seen by Atheneus, A.D. 230, on his journey from Puteoli to Naples. The rabbit, therefore was not known to the ancient inhabitants of Assyria; where it does now occur in Western Asia, it must have been imported. Of the order

Ungulata.—Amongst the *Bovide* or ox family we have the wild bull, figured on the monuments, and very frequently mentioned in the historical and hunting records. This animal was known to the Assyrians by the name of *rîmu* (𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶), and to the Accadians by that of *am-si* (𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶), i.e., "the horned bull," in allusion to the size of the horns of the animal. The *rîmu* is one of the most interesting of the creatures represented on the monuments, and it helps to establish, beyond a shadow of doubt, the opinion of those who maintain that the so-called "unicorn" of the Bible is a two-horned bovine animal of great size and ferocity. The Hebrew name of this wild bull, so unfortunately translated "unicorn" by the authorised version, is *rêm* (רֵמ), which is identical with the Assyrian *rîmu*. The unicorn of our English Bible owes its origin to the Septuagint and Vulgate versions (μονόκερως and unicornis). In Deut. xxxiii, 17, which contains a portion of Joseph's blessing, it is

said, "his horns are like the horns of a *reem*." Our translators seeing the contradiction involved in the expression "horns of the *unicorn*," have rendered the Hebrew singular noun as if it were a plural-form in the text, though they give the correct translation in the margin. The two horns of the *reem* are the ten thousand of Ephraim and the thousands of Manasseh, and represent the two tribes which sprang from one (viz., Joseph), just as two horns spring from one head. The *rém*, then, was two-horned; it is almost always mentioned with bovine animals; it is said to push with its horns. No wild ox at present exists in Palestine, but there is no reason why, in biblical times, some great wild species, perhaps allied to the *Urus* which Cæsar saw in the Hercynian forest, should not have existed in Palestine. It is quite possible that future investigations in that country may result in the discovery of the remains of *Bos primigenius*, *Bison priscus*, or some other formidable wild ox. Words to this effect I wrote about fifteen years ago. Not long after this Dr. Tristram visited Palestine and discovered in bone breccia of the Lebanon five teeth, four of which were declared by Boyd Dawkins to belong to *Bos primigenius*, the other tooth probably to a *Bison*.

The description of the untameable *rém* in the Book of Job, "Will the *rém* (unicorn) be willing to serve thee," &c., should be compared with Cæsar's account of the fierce *urus*, which I believe to be the very animal depicted on the sculptures, and which he saw in the Hercynian forest: "These *uri* are scarcely less than elephants in size, but in their nature, colour, and form, are bulls. Great is their strength and great their speed, nor do they spare man or beast when once they have caught sight of him. The hunters are most careful to kill those which they take in pitfalls, while the young men exercise themselves by this sort of hunting, and grow hardened by the toil. Those of them who kill most receive great praise when they exhibit in public the horns as trophies of their success. These *uri*, however, even when they are young, cannot be habituated to man and made tractable. The size and shape of their horns are very different from those of our own oxen." (Cæsar, Bell. Gall. vi, 28.)

The Assyrian *rîmu*, which is generally represented by the Accadian *am-sî* ( ), has been variously rendered by Assyriologists as "elephant," "wild boar," "buffalo," "rhinoceros"; the first is Dr. Hincks' translation, the second Dr. Oppert's, and the third, which, though not strictly correct, is a close approximation, is that of our own eminent Sir Henry Rawlinson. Mr. Norris also generally translates the word by "buffalo," though from the expression, "horned bull," in one place, he doubtfully suggests "a rhinoceros." Other Cuneiform scholars, as Mr. Fox Talbot, Mr. G. Smith, uniformly render the word by a "buffalo." Mr. Sayce, correctly, "a wild bull," though in his translation of the inscription on the black obelisk, by an oversight, he renders "tusks" of wild bulls instead of "horns."

It is very interesting to find the Assyrian records confirming the accuracy of palæontologists. Four of the teeth found by Dr. Tristram in bone breccia of Lebanon were, as I have said, identified by Boyd Dawkins as belonging to some gigantic wild ox, most probably the *Bos primigenius*. Now of the king of the broken obelisk, it is expressly mentioned that he hunted these *rîmi* in the very district where their teeth have been found.

"Wild *rîmi* which opposite the land of the Hittites, and at the foot of *Lebanon* he killed."

In the time of Tiglath-Pileser I, who was probably king of the broken obelisk, these wild bulls must have been somewhat numerous in certain districts; for not only were they often slain in hunting expeditions, but their calves were captured alive and brought to the Royal abode at Calah or Nineveh. In the time of the later Assyrian monarchs these animals became scarce, for no representation of wild bull hunting occurs on the monuments of Assur-bani-pal. The king hunted the wild bull in his chariot, attended by horsemen. Occasionally the wounded animal, with arrows fixed in the body, would make a rush at the chariot, when the monarch would seize him by the horn, and with a short, strong sword pierce the marrow of the cervical vertebræ, which would—as in modern Spanish bull fights—instantly bring him to the ground. The wild bull would sometimes fight

with the lion, as may be seen on a sculpture from Nimrûd. The long, strong horns were valued; frequent mention is made of them in the records, as "horns without number I received." We learn from Cæsar and Pliny that the large horns of the urus were anxiously sought after for making into cups to be used at splendid entertainments, or for ornaments, the tips being bound with silver. Some such use the Assyrians also no doubt made of them. Their skins also were much prized, frequent mention being made of them. Whether the large and powerful mastiff was used in wild bull hunting does not appear from the monuments, which give no representation of the use of dogs in this chase.

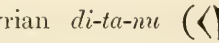
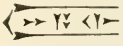
The species of wild cattle hunted by the ancient Assyrian kings is one evidently closely allied to *Bos primigenius*, the gigantic *urus* which the Roman armies saw when they penetrated the forests of Belgium and Germany. The wild bull of the sculptures is not a *bison* but a *bos*, a genus differs from the genus *bison* in certain characters, especially in the form and size of the horns; in the *bos*, the forehead, too, is flat, in the *bison* it is convex. The horns of the *bison* are short, those of the Assyrian bull are long and curved. Remains of the *Bos primigenius* have been found in the alluvial beds of rivers and the newer tertiary deposits of this country; in marl-pits of Scotland, in which country Professor Owen thinks it maintained its ground longest. If the form and size of the horns of *Bos primigenius* in the British Museum be compared with the sculptured representations of those of the wild bull of the monuments, this similarity will be apparent. The Assyrian wild *rimu* then is not a *bison*, neither is it a buffalo. In this latter animal the forehead is even more convex than in the *bison*, while the horns are very different; so, whether we look at the long-horned (*Macrocerus*) variety of the wild buffalo (*Arne*), or the curved-horned (*Spirocerus*) variety, in neither case does this animal resemble the bull of the monuments. Again, the *rimu* was hunted in forests and amongst the hills; the wild buffalo is a swamp-loving animal, and, like its domestic relation, loves to wallow in marshes, in which it sometimes lies buried up to the head. The original home of the Indian buffalo appears to have been India, in the

swampy jungles of which country it found a congenial home. I do not think it occurred west of the Indus in the time of the Assyrians. According to Cuvier, the buffalo, now so much used as a beast of burden in the East and West, was not introduced into Europe before the Middle Ages, though its introduction into Western Asia was probably anterior to that date. No buffalo was known to the ancient Greeks and Romans. The *βούβαλος* or *bubalis* of classical authors is clearly some species of antelope, the *Alcephalus bubalis* of modern zoologists. Considering the weight of evidence, whether pictorial, historical, palæontological, or etymological, I think there is not the slightest doubt that the *rîmu* (𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) of the Assyrian language, the *am-si* (𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) of the Accadian, is the *rém* (רֶמ) of the Hebrew Bible, and that the particular species of wild cattle indicated is the *Bos primigenius* of Boyanus and Cuvier. This animal is figured on the sculptures with much spirit; the strong and thick, long curved horns are well drawn; it is generally, if not always, represented with a hump on the back, reminding one in this respect of the Indian zebu, but there are no osteological differences between the zebu and the common *Bos taurus*, with its numerous varieties; and even steps of transition, from the complete absence of the shoulder hump to the well-developed hump in the Indian zebu may be seen in some other breeds, as, for instance, in the thickened shoulder of the Italian breed, which also, in point of colour, somewhat resembles the zebu. I have already mentioned (in Part I, p. 42) that the long-horned variety of the domestic cattle of the Assyrians, both in possessing the hump more or less developed, and in the form of their horns, resemble the wild ox or *rîmu*. Was the *Bos primigenius* in any way the origin of the Assyrian domestic breed? I think it very probable.

The gigantic living wild ox of the primitive forests of India, the *Bos gaur*, is a magnificent animal, worthy of being compared with the *Bos primigenius*, now extinct. I think it could hardly have been known to the Assyrians, as it probably did not occur west of the Indus.

Passing from the *Bovidae* to the *Capridæ*, or goat family,

we know that the wild goat (*Capra ægagrus*, Gm.) is common through Asia Minor and Persia, extending eastward as far as Scinde. It must have been a very well known species, and frequently hunted by the Assyrian kings. I am not aware, however, of any representation of this wild goat on the monuments. The species occasionally figured is doubtless the Asiatic ibex, viz., the *Capra Sinaitica*, Ehrenb., which has a wide geographical range, being found in North Africa Arabia Petræa, Palestine. Ainsworth mentions the steinbock (*Capra ibex*, Lin.) as occurring in the Taurus. But this species is not found out of Europe. The *C. Caucasica*, or *Bouquetin du Caucase*, Cuv., though perhaps for the most part confined to the Caucasus, was probably not unknown to the Assyrians. The species, however, best known would be the *C. ægagrus* and the *C. Sinaitica*. There are several Assyrian words which evidently denote goats or wild goats; these are <|> >||<|> |> *arme*, in the plural number, *a-tu-du*, *tsap-pa-ru*, and *ya-e-li*. As some of these words have been considered in the first part of my subject, I will merely refer back, and say that I think the *arme* refers to *herds* of the *Capra ægagrus*, that *a-tu-du* I take to be the ordinary word for the domestic he-goat; the *tsap-pa-ru*, which in the Accadian is called "the strong horn-raiser," may be the wild he-goat, *C. ægagrus*, individually, and the *ya-eli* herds of the Western Asiatic Ibex, *C. Sinaitica*. It was Dr. Hincks who first suggested that *arme* meant "wild goats," the Assyrian word being referred to the Syriac *arno*, "*Capra Rupicola*," "*Hircus Sylvestris*," "a wild goat." The Assyrian *ya-e-li* (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) clearly must be referred to the Hebrew יָאֵל (*yáél*), properly translated "wild goats" in our version. The Hebrew animal-name is from the root יָעַל, "to ascend," i.e., "the climbing animal." The Vulgate renders the Hebrew word by "ibexes," and probably this is the exact meaning of the word. Chamois are rock-climbers, and go in herds like the ibex. But though they are found in the Caucasus in very large numbers, as a recent traveller has told us, these caprine antelopes are not found elsewhere in Western Asia. Dr. F. Delitzsch doubtfully suggests "the chamois" to be

denoted by the Assyrian *di-ta-nu* (, or  ideographically in the Accadian column. He compares a somewhat similar Arabic word as the name of some kind of chamois. Perhaps the chamois was known to the ancient Assyrians, though it is not possible to say by what name.

The best known wild sheep in Assyria is the *Caprovis orientalis*, Armenian sheep. The true *Ovis ammon* (Lin.) of the Altai has its representative in the *O. Arkal* of Blasius from the east of the Caspian; it is, however, a much smaller animal. The rass or roosh, *Ovis polii*, a gigantic species of wild sheep with enormous horns, circularly twisted, which inhabits the plains of Pamer, east of Bokhara, 16,000 feet above the sea level, is called by Blythe the *Ovis sculptorum*, as though the *O. polii* were a domesticated variety of *O. aries*. The rass, however, is a wild sheep; it is mentioned by Marco Polo. Recently another gigantic wild sheep, *Thien Shan Ovis*, has been obtained by Colonel Gordon's party, which may be distinct from *O. polii*. If this species was ever known to the Accadians, one would expect a name describing its wonderful horns.

We now leave the goats and sheep and come to the deer family, or *Cervide*. Two species of deer are represented on the monuments: a spotted deer, apparently with horns more or less palmated, and a species which resembles the common stag of Europe (*Cervus elaphus*, Lin.). Ainsworth says that the fallow deer (*Cervus dama*) is common in some parts of Taurus, and states a report that the stag (*C. elaphus*) occurs in the same districts; he also says that the roe-buck (*Cervus capreolus*) is not uncommon. The spotted deer of the monuments is generally considered to be the fallow deer, which is known to occur in the south of Asia Minor, but it is a question whether the spotted deer of the sculptures may not also include the *Cervus Mesopotamicus* recently described by Sir Victor Brooke. The figure of a spotted deer without horns amidst reeds appears to represent a young individual, in which case it would be impossible to identify the species, because the young of all deer are spotted, with the exception of the typical Rusine deer, reindeer and elk. There is

another spotted adult deer, namely, the *Cervus axis*, with non-palmate horns, but this species does not occur west of Hindostan, and would not have been known to the Assyrians. The figures on the monuments are not drawn with sufficient accuracy for us to determine the exact species of spotted deer. In Sir Victor Brooke's *Cervus Mesopotamicus* the horns are palmated not far from the base; from the posterior corner of this palm "a strong cylindrical beam" rises, terminating in three well-developed tines. In *Cervus dama*, the fallow deer, the horns are at first (*i.e.*, near the bur) cylindrical, the upper portion being broadly flattened and palmated. This new deer described by Sir Victor Brooke is closely allied to the *Cervus dama*, but is clearly a distinct type. A figure of a spotted deer on a Babylonian cylinder, showing horns palmated at the top, would seem to represent the fallow deer rather than the *Cervus Mesopotamicus*. There is also a bas-relief representing a deity holding a spotted deer in his hands. The horns in this case too are palmated at the top; but the large, oval, regularly arranged spots would rather suggest the *Cervus Mesopotamicus*. Probably both types or species were known to the Assyrians. The *C. Mesopotamicus* is found in Khuzistan and Luristan, countries at the north of the Persian gulf.¹

The other non-spotted deer of the monuments is no doubt a species closely allied to the *Cervus elaphus* of Europe, which is known to occur in Asia Minor. Generally speaking, the sculptures show animals with very large horns; a stag on a *terra-cotta* fragment has the horns enormously developed. A stag, which may be a variety of the *Cervus*

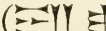
¹ "This new species of deer," Sir Victor Brooke remarks, "presents a type of horn which stands unique amongst existing *Cervidæ*." He adds—"Notwithstanding the fact that the minor groups into which the existing *Cervidæ* naturally fall, is in a certain measure indicated by certain peculiarities in the external configuration of the horns of the various species, the strong resemblance between the skulls and general appearance of the new species to common fallow deer, leaves no room for doubt as to their close affinity, whilst in the form of the horns they differ widely. If this view be correct, it follows that, although of great general utility to the zoologist, the external configuration of the horns *alone* cannot be considered as a crucial test amongst the *Cervidæ*." (Proceedings Zool. Soc. for 1875, p. 265.)

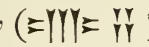
elaphus, was seen by Lord Arthur Hay in the mountains of Assyria, the horns of which are described as being larger than those of the wapiti. Then, again, there is the *Cervus Wallichii*, Cuv., the *máral*, or Persian deer, an allied species, which has also very large horns. Of the Rusine section the *Cervus Caspicus* (Brooke, Proc. Zool. Soc., 1874, p. 42), from Talisch, south-west of the Caspian, occurs, whose horns resemble those of *Cervus axis*. These may all have been known to the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia; the deer figured on the monuments would probably be the *Cervus elaphus* (Vera), or the *C. Wallichii*, the general characters of which resemble the common stag of Europe.

By what names were these two species of deer known to the Assyrians and Accadians? In the bilingual tablet we find in the Accadian column the sign *dara* (𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠), which in the Assyrian column is represented by *tu-ra-khu* (𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶). I consider both these words to represent "deer" in a general sense, perhaps even including antelopes. The Assyrian word Dr. F. Delitzsch refers to the Arabic *érákh*, ^سارح, or *arkhon*, ^{سرح}ارح, which Freytag gives *Bos Mas*, *juvencus*, *antelope*, the letter *t* in *turakhu* being the formative of the noun. Next follow *dara-bar* (𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎶) and *ai-lu* (𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) in the respective columns. Now *bar* (𐎶), amongst a number of meanings, has that of "striped," "spotted," or "mottled"; hence *dara-bar* in Accadian is literally translated "the spotted deer," and when we see how plainly the Assyrian sculptor represented the spots on the deer he figured, and how conspicuous these spots are on the animals themselves, whether the species be the fallow deer or Sir V. Brooke's new Mesopotamian species, we see how appropriate is the Accadian name. The Assyrian *ailu* is clearly the Hebrew *ayyál* (אֵיל), a "stag," or "hart." The *dara-bar-kak* (𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶), with which the Assyrian *na-ai-lu* (𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶), another form of *ailu*, is equated, is "the male spotted deer." Next in the tablet follows, in the Accadian place, *dara-khal-khal-la* (𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶),

and 𐎶, or "ditto" (*nailu*), in the Assyrian. Now *khal-khal-la* denotes "impetuosity," "violence," "fury-making." The name *khal-khal* (𐎶 𐎶), in Assyrian *gararu sa me*, "violent rushing of waters," is one of the names of the Tigris; so here in *dara-khal-khal-la* we have a large and dangerous deer, such as *Cervus elaphus*, or the *mâral*, the males of which, especially at one period of the year, are often savage, and when wounded are formidable opponents. The idea embodied in the Accadian word has often been most admirably represented by the late Sir E. Landseer in well-known pictures. The Assyrian monuments represent the capture of these large deer; men surrounded portions of a forest with large and strong nets, into which the animals were driven, or they were shot with bow and arrow. The dog used in chasing the wild deer was the large mastiff used in hunting the wild asses. In the chase of the *dara-khal-khal-la*, whether of the large horned variety of the *Cervus elaphus* or the Persian *Mâral* stag, a powerful dog was necessary, for a stag at bay is a formidable antagonist to any kind of dog. The habit of the stag's taking to water when hard pressed has been noticed by the Assyrian sculptor, and has been depicted on a slab from Koyunjik. The nets used in deer-hunting were of course of strong material, the meshes were large. A portion of forest was enclosed by a net, which was secured by poles and pegs, and men outside the net attended to any poles and pegs that might have been loosened by the rush of a terror-stricken stag; beaters inside, probably forming a line as in modern cover shooting, would drive the animals into the nets, where they would be killed by arrows or spears.

The *Antelopeæ* or antelope-group is represented in Assyria and neighbouring lands by several species; there is the white antelope (*Oryx leucoryx*) of North Africa and Egypt, in the capture of which the ancient Egyptians used a particular breed of dog named *mahut*, which, with the determinative affix of an antelope, means "dog of the white antelope." (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. IV, p. 172.) The *Alcephalus bubalis*, *Addax nasomaculatus*, *Saiga Tartarica*, *Gazella dorcas*, *G. subgutturosa*, *G. muscatensis*, *Oryx beatrix*, also occur in Western Asia. The only sculptural representation that we

find on the Assyrian monuments is the gazelle, whose lyrate horns proclaim the species, to be either *Gazella dorcas* (Vera), or *G. subgutturosa*. The former species occur in the deserts north of the Persian Gulf; the *G. subgutturosa* is found in the same localities, and is said to be commoner. The hunted gazelles of the sculptures, though drawn with a good deal of spirit, are too robust and goat-like, the horns are too massive and too long. The animals no doubt are intended for gazelles, though the goat-like form has misled some writers to regard them as ibexes. Although the gazelle is generally considered as an animal of the deserts, it will also frequent rocks. Tristram noticed gazelles on the rocks of Engedi amongst wild goats, and probably the Assyrians would also find the gazelle in similar situations. The favourite mode of hunting the gazelle in the East is by hawk and greyhound. Layard speaks of "the pursuit of the gazelle with the falcon and hound over the boundless plains of Assyria and Babylonia as one of the most exhilarating and graceful of sports, displaying equally the qualities of the horse, the dog, and the bird." (Nin. and Bab., p. 482.) Such a combined method was probably unknown to the ancient inhabitants, who very likely set huntsmen to wait in ambush, and others to drive them within shot. Perhaps also the greyhound was employed in the chase of the gazelle. The bilingual list furnishes us with the Accadian word, or rather ideogram, for a gazelle, which was  (*bar*). This character is known to possess several meanings, and I do not know what particular one we ought to attach to the gazelle, but the fact that it is the representative of the Assyrian *tsabi* () which is identical with the Hebrew *tsebî* (צִבִּי), seems to place beyond doubt that  (*bar*) is the Accadian for "the gazelle." In the following column we have *BAR-KAK* ( ), which we are told to read () *ni-ta*, i.e., "male"; it is represented in the Assyrian column by the word *da-as-su* () with which may be compared the Hebrew *dishôn* (דִּישׁוֹן), a species of bounding gazelle or other antelope. Another Accadian word for an antelope

is  , *amar* (?) *nita*; it is compared with the Assyrian *u-za-luv* (, which is identical with the Arabic غزال, *gazâl*, our own English word "gazelle." Though perhaps some of the larger antelopes mentioned above were known to the Assyrians in their hunting expeditions, or seen by them in their war marches, the small gazelles alone seem to be mentioned in the bilingual list, and were perhaps the species most familiar to the people. The large antelope-like beast represented on the black obelisk in company with the one-horned rhinoceros, which it equals, or even surpasses, in height and strong build, resembles no existing antelope. Its decidedly lyrate horns remind one of the antelope (*Procapra gutturosa*, Gray) of Thibet and Mongolia. Probably this animal, and the rhinoceros and the bull with crescent horns, were all drawn from memory.

The *Equidæ* or horse-family are represented on the sculptures by the wild asses alone. The zebras and the quagga are not met with out of the continent of Africa. Three species at least of wild ass have been described. The *Equus* (*Asinus*) *Hemionus* (the kiang, the wild ass of Thibet) is found in herds in the high table-lands of that country at an altitude of 15,000 feet or more above the sea level. The kiang now in the Regent's Park Zoological Gardens has been there since June, 1859, having been brought there by Major Hay (see Proc. Zoolog. Soc., 1859, p. 353). The kiang neighs like a horse. These asses "herd in droves, fly at a trot, stop, and look back" (H. Smith, *Equidæ*, p. 286). Confining themselves to the high plateau of Thibet, these wild asses would not come within the cognizance of the Assyrian people. I pass then to the *Equus* (*Asinus*) *hemippus*, the wild ass of Assyria, which is perhaps not really specifically distinct from the *Equus* (*Asinus*) *onager*, also an inhabitant of the Asiatic deserts. The wild ass of the sculptures has, as I have before observed, p. 49, a more horse-like appearance than the natural wild animal really possesses. The large mastiff was used in the chase of these animals, which were hunted by men on horseback armed with bows and arrows. Stratagem was no doubt employed, for neither the Assyrian horses nor

dogs would have much chance in the open plain of overtaking an animal so excessively swift. The sculptures represent young ass-foals together with their dams; it is not improbable that they were hunted at this time for the sake of the flesh of the young animals, which the huntsman would find no difficulty in capturing, whilst parental fondness would render the poor mothers a comparatively easy prey. Mr. Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*, I, p. 324, note) thus speaks of these wild asses:—

“The reader will remember that Xenophon mentions these beautiful animals, which he must have seen during his march in these very plains. He faithfully describes the country and the animals and birds which inhabit it, as they are to this day, except that the ostrich is not now to be found so far north. ‘The country,’ says he, ‘was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood; if any other kinds of shrubs or trees grew there, they had all an aromatic smell, but no trees appeared. Of wild creatures, the most numerous were wild asses, and not a few ostriches besides bustards and roe-deer (gazelles), which our horsemen sometimes chased. The asses, when they were pursued, having gained ground of the horses, stood still (for they exceeded them much in speed), and when these came up with them, they did the same thing again, so that our horsemen could take them by no other means but by dividing themselves into relays, and succeeding one another in the chase. The flesh of those that were taken was like that of red deer, but more tender.’ (*Anab.* i, c. 5.) In fleetness they equal the gazelle, but to overtake them is a feat which only one or two of the most celebrated mares have been able to accomplish. The Arabs sometimes catch the foals during the spring and bring them up with milk in their tents. I endeavoured in vain to obtain a pair. They are of rich fawn-colour, almost pink. The Arabs still eat their flesh.”

The *Elephantiadae*. A figure of the Indian elephant (*Elephas Indicus*) (fairly enough executed, with the exception of the erect horse-like ears) is found on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser. The animal forms part of the tribute of the

marshy places, from $\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$, possibly the hippopotamus." (Assyr. Dict. i, p 79.) I think there is much reason to believe that elephants are intended, for the animal itself is figured on the monument, and so strange a creature would surely be mentioned by name. If we refer the Assyrian word to the Hebrew בָּזָז (*bázaz*), "to take as spoil," "to seize," the idea of "the seizing animal" may well be applied to an elephant, with its *prehensile* trunk and its finger-like appendage, by means of which it can pick or take hold of the smallest substance.

The *Rhinoceros* is most probably alluded to by the expression "ox of the river 'Saceya," *alap nahr 'Sa-ci-e-ya*, ($\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$). The figure of the one-horned animal, with its bull-like form, as depicted on the obelisk, and its one thick horn standing erect from its forehead, can be intended for nothing else than a rhinoceros. Where the river 'Sacieya may be I know not. The geographical range of existing Asiatic rhinoceroses corresponds nearly with that of the Indian elephant; and the country from which the latter came would probably be that from which the rhinoceros came, viz., India. It was not an uncommon thing for the ancients to call a large animal "an ox." When the Romans first saw the elephant in the army of Pyrrhus in Lucania, they gave it the name of *Bos Luca*, "the Lucanian ox," as Lucretius says:—

"Inde boves Lucas turrato corpore tetros
Anguimanos, belli docuerunt vulnera Pœni
Sufferre, et magnas Marti turbare catervas."—

(De Rer. Nat. V. 1301).

"Next the Pœni taught the horrible Lucanian oxen, with towered body and snake-like hand, to endure the wounds of war and to throw into confusion the mighty ranks of Mars." With the expression "snake-like *hand*" I will ask you to compare the idea implied in the Hebrew word קָבַץ , "to seize," or "take hold of."

Suidæ.—Of this family the common wild boar (*Sus scrofa*) is the only known inhabitant of Assyrian lands, where it is

numerous. It is rarely represented on the sculptures, and nowhere as an animal of the chase. On a slab in the British Museum, which contains a deer and two hinds in a thicket, may also be seen, amongst similar tall reeds, a wild sow accompanied by eight or nine little ones, one of which is drawn in the act of sucking. All the figures are executed with spirit and truth. Whether the ancient Assyrian monarchs ever engaged in the exhilarating sport of pig-sticking, as practised in modern India, one cannot say, but no such reference or representation occurs on the monuments, so far as I believe is known at present. The boar of Asia Minor, of which there is a skull in the British Museum, and which Dr. Gray says is "very distinct from the skulls of the wild boars of Germany, is named by Gray, *Sus Libycus* (Proc. Zoolog. Soc., 1868, p. 31); he also thinks that the wild boar of Palestine may be referred to this species. Perhaps they are both varieties of the common *Sus scrofa*, which has a very wide geographical range. It is well known that the number of the vertebræ in the hog is subject to variation; similarly the form of the skull may vary in different individuals.

The Hebrew name of the wild boar is (חֲזִיר) *khazir*, and *khanzir* in Arabic. No Assyrian word, I believe, is known as yet; one would expect such a word as *kha-zi-ru* (𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎵).

Of the order *Cete*, containing the whales and porpoises (the *Balenidæ* *Catodontidæ* and *Delphinidæ*), as known to the old Assyrians, there is very little to say. No figure of a cetaceous mammal occurs on the sculptures, but I think Mr. Fox Talbot is correct in rendering the Assyrian word 𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎵 (*na-khi-ru*) by "dolphin." The late Mr. Norris conjecturally translates "*a narwhal*" (*Monodon monosceros*), an animal of the Polar Seas, which, though it has been rarely found as far south as the north of Scotland, would be quite out of its element in the Mediterranean Sea.

The king of the broken obelisk is said to have sailed in ships of Arvad, and to have "killed a *nakhiru* in the Great (or Mediterranean) Sea." The same king received, amongst other tribute from the conquered lands of Tyre, Sidon,

Phoenicia, and Arvad, "teeth of nakhiri, the produce of the sea." (W.A.I., I, pl. xxv, line 88.)

Seni	na	- khi -	ri	bi	- nu -	ut	tehamti
<i>Teeth of</i>		<i>nakhiri</i>		<i>the produce of the sea,</i>			

ma	- da -	ta	-su-nu	am	- khar
<i>their</i>	<i>tribute</i>			<i>I</i>	<i>received.</i>

Some marine creature which possessed teeth large enough to have been valued, either for the ivory or for ornaments, as necklaces, perhaps, is clearly denoted. M. Oppert thought that seal-skins are meant. Seals, though occurring in some parts of the Mediterranean and in the Caspian Seas, would hardly be found near the coast of Phoenicia. The Assyrian word is referred by Mr. Fox Talbot to a Syriac word for "a nostril," and as this organ, or the blow-hole of cetaceans occupies a prominent situation on the upper part of the head, the name would be appropriate enough; the *nakhir tehamti* means the "nostril animal of the sea." The porpoises and the dolphins generally have small teeth, but in some species they are large enough to have been of value. In early times some species of sperm whale, as the *Physeter macrocephalus*, might have been found in the Mediterranean. The teeth of the *Catodontidae* are large and powerful, and of commercial value. These whales and the dolphins are closely allied, and I do not think that the Assyrian name can be better rendered than by "dolphin" or "grampus," leaving the species, whether amongst the *Delphinidae* or *Catodontidae* undecided.

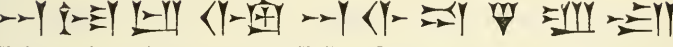
RECORD OF A HUNTING EXPEDITION OF TIGLATH-PILESER I.

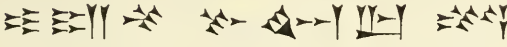
CIRC. B.C. 1120 TO 1100.

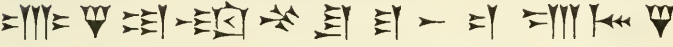
From a Broken Obelisk in the British Museum.

(W.A.I. I, PLATE 28.)

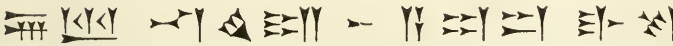
LINE

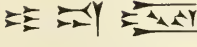
1. 
D.P. Nin - ip va D.P. Si - du sa idluta
Ninip and Nergal, who bravery


i - ra - mu bu - h - ir tseri
love the beasts of the field

2. 
u - sa - at - li - mu - su - va ina D.P. elappi sa
have entrusted to him, and in ships of


D.P. 'Ar - va - da - a - ya
Arrad

3. 
ir - cab na - khi - ra ina tehamti rab - te
he rode; a dolphin in the great sea


i - du - uc
he slew.

4.         
 rimi abati su - tu - ru - te ina
Wild bulls destructive (and) fine in

    
 D.P. A - ra - zi - ki
the city of Araziki

5.            
 sa pa - an D.P. kha - at - te va ina nir
which (is) opposite the land of the Hittites and at the foot of

       
 D.P. Lib - na - a - ni i - duc
Lebanon he slew.

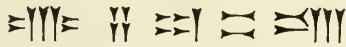
6.          
 mu - ri pal - dhu - te sa rimi
The young alive of the wild bulls

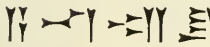
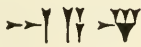
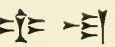
    
 u - tsa - ab - bi - ta
he took ;

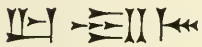
7.            
 šu - gul - la - a - te - su - nu ik - zur
the property of them he collected ;

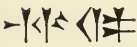
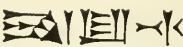
      
 rimi (am - ší) ina D.P. mitpani su
the wild bulls with his bow

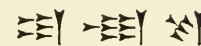
8.   
u - sam - kit rimi pal - dhu - te
he killed; the wild bulls (which) alive

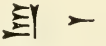
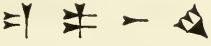

u - tsa - ab - bi - ta
he captured

9.    
a - na ala su A-sur ub - la sanie su - si
to his city of Asur he brought; two soss(120)

 
nesi ina lib - bi su
of lions with his heart

10.    
ic - di ina ki - it - ru - ub mi - id - lu - ti
strong, in the attack of his bravery,

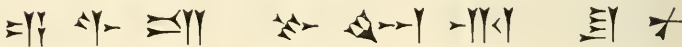
  
su ina ruqubi su pa - at - tu - te
in his chariot open,

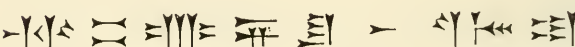
11.    
ina niri su ina D.P. pa - ruv - khi i - duc
on his feet, with a club he slew :

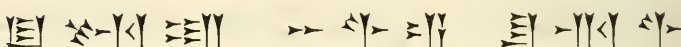

nesi
lions

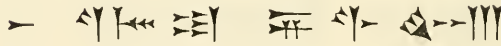
12. 
 ina D.P. nir - h - am - te u - sam - kit
with a spear he killed.


 khar - sa - a - nu sa - qu - u - tu
Forests thick

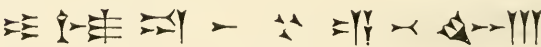
13. 
 e - pi - is bu - h - ri su - nu
to make (hunt) their game


 ie - bi - u - ni - su ina yumat
had called him. On days

14. 
 cu - uts - tsi khal- pi - e su - ri - pi
of storms varying (and) of heat ;


 ina yumat ni - pi - ikh
in the days of the rising

15. 
 cacabi kak- ši - di sa ci - ma eru
of the star Cacsidi which is like bronze


 i - tsu - du ina D.P. E - be - ikh
he had hunted in the country of Ebikh

16.          
 mat U - ra - se mat A - za - mi - ri mat
the country of Urase, Azamiri

       
 An - kur - na mat Pi - zi - it - ta
Ancurna Pizitta

17.        
 mat Pi iz mat Ca - si - ya - ri
the country of Pi iz, in the country of Casiyari

        
 matani sa mat A-sur mat Kha-a-na
provinces of the land of Assyria and Khana,

18.          
 sid - di mat Lu - lu - mi - e va matani
the borders of the land of Lulume, and the provinces

    
 sa matati Na - i - ri
of the lands of Nairi;

19.          
 ar - me tu - ra - a - khi
wild goats deer

   
 na - a - li
spotted stags

20.
 ya - e - li ina ša - di - ra - a - te
ibexes in herds

u - te - im - mi - ikh
he took ;

21.
 šu - gul - la - a - te su - nu ik - zur
the property of them he collected

u - sa - lid mar - si - šu - nu
he brought forth ; their young ones

22.
 ci - ma mar - si - it D.P. tsi - e - ni
like the young of sheep

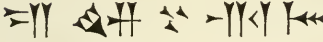
im - nu nim - ri
he counted ; leopards

23.
 mi - di - ni a - si sanie dabi
tigers jackals two bears

iz - zi
strong

24.      (tseri)
MAL - ZIR - KHUI i - duc imiri zin - na (tseri)
he slew, wild asses

25.            
va tsabî
and gazelles, hyenas

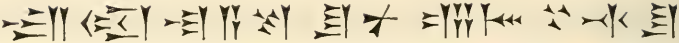

ši - im - kur - ri

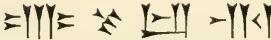
26.            
u - sam - kit bur - khi - is par - ra - te
he killed; antelopes wild cattle

           
te - se - ni D.P. dam - gari
the huntsmen

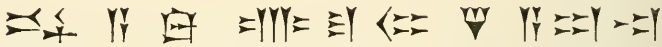
27.            
is - pur il - qu - u - ni par - ra - a - te
(whom) he sent they had taken; the wild cattle

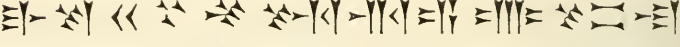
           
ik - zur u - sa - lid
he collected, he brought together

28. 
 su - gul - la - a - te su - nu nisi mati su
the property of them ; the men of his country

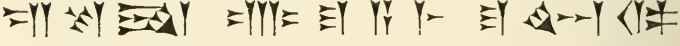

 u - se - ib - ri
he caused to feed ;

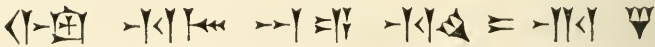
29. 
 pa - khum - ta rab - ta nam - su - kha
a black great crocodile

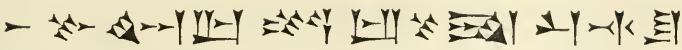

 karan nahri u - ma - mi sa tihamti
scaly (beast) of the river ; (and) animals of the sea

30. 
 rab - te sar - mat Mu - uz - ri - e u - se - bi - la
great, the king of Egypt caused to be brought ;


 nisi mati su u - se - ib - ri
the men of his country he caused to feed ;

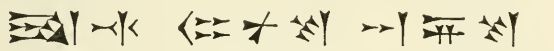
31. 
 si - te - it u - ma - a - me ma - h - di
(as to) the rest of the animals numerous,

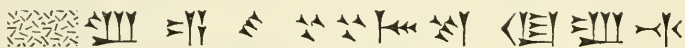

 va itsturi same mut - tab - ri sa
and birds of the heaven winged which

32. 
 ina bu - h - ur tseri ip - se - it qa - ti su
among the beasts of the field (were) the work of his hands,

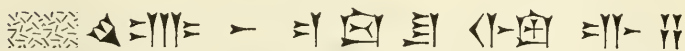

 sumi su - nu it - ti u - ma - me
their names with the animals

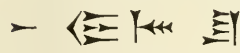
33. 
 [matima - da] - a la sadh - ru mi - nu su - nu
of the country for multitude were not written ; their number


 it - ti mi - nu - te an - ni - te
with those (former) numbers

34. 
 [la sadh] - ru e - zib matati ci - sit - ti
were not written ; he left the countries the acquisition


 qa - ti - su kharrani naciri
of his hand ; roads strange

35. 
 dhaba ina ruqubi su va mar - tsa
..... the good (places) in his chariot and the difficult


 ina niri su
on his feet

36.        
 [at] tal - la - cu va tab - da - su - nu
he had marched and their destruction

  
 is - cu - nu
he had effected

37.         
 su an - na - a - te la sa - khi - ir
 *these* *not penetrating*

   
 matatu
countries

38.        
 is - tu alu Duban sa
 *from* *the city Duban* *of*

   
 (Ac) ca - di - i
Accad

39.       
 mat A - khar - ri
 *country of the West (Palestine)*

NOTES.

LINE

1. *Sidu*, Accadian, "he who marches in front"; a name of Nergal associated with Ninip in hunting expeditions.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (mis-su), Accadian "strength" + "to increase" = *idluta*, "heroism," "bravery": *i-ra-mu*, from רָחַם, "to love."

Buhur, cf. Heb. בְּעִיר, "beasts."

2. *U-sa-at-li-mu-su*, 3rd plur. shaphel, from *talamu*, to "entrust," "confer," with pronom. suffix; *elappi* (Accad. *ma-mes*), "ships"; cf. Chald. אֶלְפָּא, "a ship."

3. *ircab*, 3rd sing. aorist kal from *ra-ca-bu*, "to ride"; cf. Heb. רָכַב, to ride, רָכַב, and the Assyrian *ruqubu*, "a chariot."

Nakhira, "a grampus," "a whale," or "dolphin," or other allied cetacean. Mr. Fox Talbot thus rightly, I think, translates the word, referring it to the Syriac נַסְחִירָא, *nakhira*, "a nostril," in reference to the animal's "blow-hole."

A-ab-ba, Accad. = Assyrian *tehamtu*, "the sea"; cf. Heb. תְּהוֹם.

Rabti, cf. Heb. רַב, great, large.

Idúc, "he slew," 3rd sing. aorist fr. *dacu*, "to smite," "to kill." Heb. דָּבַח and דָּבַח.

4. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *rimi*, "wild bulls," plur. of 𐎶𐎶𐎶, in Accad. *am*, "a bull," often with the syll. *ši* 𐎶𐎶𐎶, "a horn," in allusion to the great size and strength of the animal's horns. Cf. Heb. רֵאֵם *rēm*, and רֵאִים *rēim*, from רָאָם, "to be high."

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 mon. = *abatu*, "to destroy." See Sayce, Assy. Gram., No. 375. Cf. Heb. אָבַד, "to destroy."

Suturute. Compare Heb. יָתַר, “to abound,” “to be superior.”

6. *Mu-ri* = *maru* = 𐎠𐎵 “a son.” *Palhluti*, cf. Heb. פָּלַט, “to slip away,” “to escape.” Hence in war “one who has escaped *alive*.”

U-tsa-ab-bi-ta, “he took,” 3rd sing. pael from *tsa-ba-tu* (𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶) “to take,” “seize,” with *a*, the augment of motion.

7. 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 *śu-gul-la-a-te*, “property,” “possessions”; cf. Heb. סְגָלָה (*segullah*), from סָגַל, “to acquire.”

Ik-zur, “he collected,” from *ka-tsa-ru*; cf. Heb. קָצַר “to reap,” “gather.”

8. *U-sam-kit*, “he caused to kill,” 3rd sing. aorist shaphel from *ma-ka-tu* (𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶), “to destroy.”

10. 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 *ub-la*, “he brought,” 3rd sing. aorist kal from 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 *abalu*, “to bring,” with augment of motion.

Ic-di, “strong,” perhaps borrowed from Accadian.

Ci-it-rub, from *kirib*, “the inside,” “middle”; cf. Heb. קִרְב, and the verb 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 *ca-ra-bu*, and קָרַב, “to approach” (an *ithpeal* derivative), “to be near.”

Mi-id-lu-ti, a form of *idlutu*, as in line 1, with *m* formative.

Pât-tu-te, “open”; cf. פָּתַח, “to open.”

11. 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 *Pa-ru(v)-khi*, or 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 *bu-ru-khi*, “a club”; cf. Heb. בָּרִיחַ.

12. *Nir-h-am-te*, perhaps allied to the Heb. רִמָּה, “a javelin.”

Kharsânû, Heb. חֵרֶשׁ, “a forest.”

Sa-qû-tu, Accadian *saku*, “high,” “deep.”

13. *Epîs*, construct of *e-pi-su* “to make.”

Ik-bi-u-ni-su, 3rd plur. from *kabu*, with conditional suffix *ni*.

14. *Cu-uts-tsi*, gen. sing. of *cu-uts-tsu* (𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶), “a storm,” “thunder”; cf. Arab. كَاصِيص *kasîs*.

Khalpe, cf. Heb. חָלַף “to pass through,” “to change.”

Suripi, "heat," from 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 sa-ra-pu, "to burn."

Heb. שֶׁרֶף; Mr. Sayce, however, connects this word with *urpāti*, "rain," "mist."

Nipikh 𐎶𐎶𐎵, "to dawn," "to rise."

15. 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, Accadian *mul* = Assyrian *cacabu*, Heb. כּוֹכָב, "a star."

Kak-sidi, i.e., "making prosperity"; see Sayce's *Astron. and Astrol.*, Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. III, p. 170.

𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 *cima*, "like" = Heb. כְּמוֹ. The copy reads 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *cu-ma*; the expression "like bronze" applied to hot weather answers to our "glaring day." This inclines me to translate *suripi* (above) by "heat."

I-tsu-du, 3rd sing. aorist kal from 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *tsidu*, "to hunt"; cf. Heb. צִיד, "game," from צוּר, "to take" or "capture game."

17. *Matani*, plural of *matu* (*mattu* = *madatu*) "country"; borrowed from Accadian *ma* + *da*; cf. Aram. מַתָּא, *locus, urbs*.

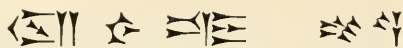
18. *Sid-di*, "territories," "borders"; Heb. שָׂדֵה, "a field," "open country," from שָׁדַד, "to spread out."

20. *Ina šadivâte*, "in herds"; Chald. ܣܕܪ, "to place in rows." *Utemmikh*, 3rd sing. pael from *ta-ma-khu*, "to take"; Heb. תָּמַךְ "to take hold of."

21. *Usalid*, 3rd sing. shaphel from *a-li-du* 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 = 𐎶𐎶𐎵, "to bring forth."

24. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵, *bit-zir-khui*. Some unknown animal, mentioned again in Layard's *Inscriptions*, 44, 18, in company with "lions." Norris suggests some animal that cries out in the neighbourhood of houses. בֵּית, "a house," and צָרַח, "to cry out." Jackals (?), but the word may be Accadian.

Imiri zinna (*tseri*), "asses of the desert," "wild asses."



cima sal imiri tseri
like a she-ass of the desert.

25. *si-im-kur-ri.*

26. *bur-khi-is*, "antelopes," from , "to flee away," in allusion to their swiftness. Compare the Arabic expression *ibn barihin*, "son of swiftness," "a gazelle." Some large and handsome antelope is probably intended, for the same king ordered stone figures of these *burkhis* to be made. See Broken Obelisk, W.A.I., II, 18, col. 2.

or , "a huntsman,"
D.P. dam - gar D.P. dam - ca - ru.

The ideogram which represents this word is ; the outside character , perhaps denotes "a mouth," "an enclosure," "field," &c.; the inside sign , *cip, cib*, is obscure. The Accadian word is , *i-bi-ra*. The Assyrian *damgar* or *dam-ca-ru* is probably also of Accadian origin. (See W.A.I., II, 7, 34, 35, reverse col. C.D.; v. Sayce's Assy. Gram., Syll. No. 50.)

27. *Is-pur*, "he sent," 3rd sing. aorist kal from , *sa-pa-ru*, "to send."

Il-qu-ni, "they had taken," 3rd plur. pluperfect from *la-qu* (), "to take."

28. *Usibri*, "caused to feed," 3rd sing. shaphel from *ba-ra-hu*, , "to feed." Heb. , "to cut for food," "to eat."

29. *Pa-khum-ta*, "black," Heb. .

Nam-su-kha, "a crocodile" undoubtedly, as shown some years ago by Mr. Fox Talbot. Herodotus (ii, 69) tells us that the Egyptian name for crocodile was *χαμψαι*. The Egyptian word *msah* or *emsuh*, "a crocodile," appears in the Assyrian *nam-su-kha*, and the Arabic *temsah*.

Umami, “animals,” “creatures.” Dr. Delitzsch suggests *ur-av* as the reading; cf. Heb. חֲיָה. Lenormant refers to the Arabic *umamu*, *umam*, subs. masc., “bête sauvage, grand animal”; cf. Arab. هَامَّة, which Freytag renders “reptile terræ noxium, bestia.”

31. *Mut-tab-ri*, “winged.” Cf. Heb. אָפֶר, “a wing,” from אָפַר, “to mount upwards,” “to soar.”

33. *Sadhru*, “written,” from *sa-dha-ru*, “to write.” Heb. שָׁטַר, 3rd plur. permansive kal.

34. *E-zib* (𐎶𐎵 𐎶), 3rd sing. aorist kal from *e-zi-bu*, “to forsake.” Heb. עִזַּב.

Ci-sit-ti, “possession,” “acquisition.” *Ca-sa-du*, “to obtain.” Arab. كَسَدَ.

Kharrani, plur. from *khar-rân* or *khar-ra-nu*, “a road,” ideographically written 𐎲𐎠𐎫; equated in the syllabaries with *ur-khu*, “path,” *da-ra-gu*, “a road,” *me-te-qu*, “a passage.”

Na-ci-ri, “strange,” “hostile”; Heb. נָכַר, “strange,” “foreign.” 𐎶𐎠𐎫 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *na-ca-ru*, “to be strange”; Heb. נָכַר, “to be strange.”

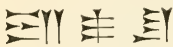
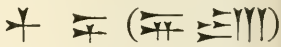
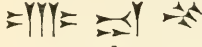
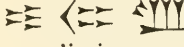
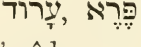
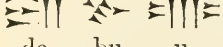
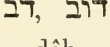
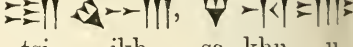
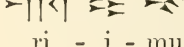
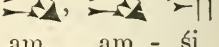
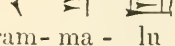
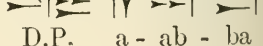
35. *Dhaba* (Accad. *khi-ga*), “good.” Heb. טוֹב, “to be good.” *Mar-tsu*, “difficult.” Heb. מָרַץ.

36. [*It*-]*tal-la-cu-ra*], “he had marched,” 3rd sing. ittaphal from *halacu*, “to go.”

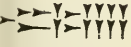
Is-cu-nu, “he had accomplished,” 3rd sing. pluper. aorist from 𐎶𐎠𐎫 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *sa-ca-nu*. “to establish.”

A LIST OF ASSYRIAN AND ACCADIAN

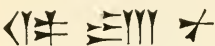
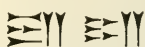
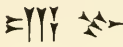
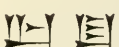
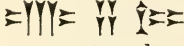
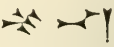
WITH THEIR SEMITIC EQUIVALENTS

ASSYRIAN NAME WITH TRANSLITERATION.	HEBREW OR OTHER SEMITIC EQUIVALENT WITH TRANSLITERATION.	ACCADIAN NAME WITH TRANSLITERATION.
 da - as - su	 dishôn	 BAR KAK (ni - ta)
 bur - khi - is	 bâriakh	.. ..
 u - du - mu	 âdâm	.. ..
 'imiru	 khamôr	.. ..
 'imiru tseri	 'arôd, pere	.. ..
 da - bu - u	 dôb	 tsi - ikh, sa - khu - u
 al - ap	 eleph	 gut, khar
 ri - i - mu	 re'em	 am, am - sí
 gam - ma - lu	 gâmâl	 D.P. a - ab - ba

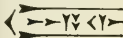
ES OF DOMESTIC AND WILD ANIMALS,
 GRAPHS, AND TRANSLITERATIONS.

IDEOGRAPH.	ANIMAL DENOTED.	ZOOLOGICAL SPECIES, GENUS, OR FAMILY.
	Antelope	Some springing antelope
.. ..	Antelope	<i>Oryx leucoryx</i> , or other large and swift species
.. ..	Ape	<i>Presbyter entellus</i> and <i>Macacus silenus</i>
	Ass (domestic)	<i>Asinus vulgaris</i>
	Ass (wild)	<i>A. hemippus</i>
	Bear	<i>Ursus Syriacus</i> , or carnivorous animal generally
.. ..	Bull or domestic cattle	<i>Bos taurus</i>
	Bull (wild)	<i>Bos primigenius</i>
. .	Camel	<i>Camelus Arabicus</i> and <i>C. Bactrianus</i>

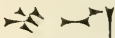
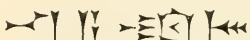
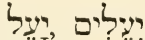
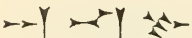
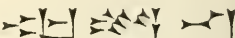
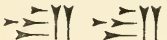
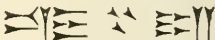
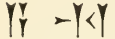
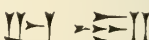
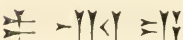
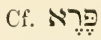
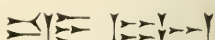
A LIST OF ASSYRIAN AND ACCADIAN NAMES

ASSYRIAN NAME WITH TRANSLITERATION.	HEBREW OR OTHER SEMITIC EQUIVALENT WITH TRANSLITERATION.	ACCADIAN NAME WITH TRANSLITERATION.
 di - ta - nu	.. ..	.. .. ..
 tu - ra - khu	Arab. ^س ا ^ر خ, ^س ا ^ر خ arkhon, irakh	 da - ra
 na - khi- ru	Syr. ^{ܢܚܝܪܐ} nakhira	.. .. ..
 cal - bu	^{ܥܠܒ} celeb	 lik - cu
 ba - tsi - a - ti (pl.)	No Semitic equivalent, but possibly it may be referred to ^{ܒܐܙܐܝܐ} , bâzaz, <i>to seize</i>.	.. .. ..
 ai - lu	^{ܐܝܠ} ayyâl	 dara BAR
 na - ai - lu	^{ܐܝܠ} ayyâl	 dara BAR-KAK
 u - tsa- luv	^{ܐܙܐܠ} 'azâl	.. .. ..
 tsa- bi - i	^{ܬܨܒܝ} tsebi	 BAR, BAR-KAK
 a - tu - du	^{ܐܬܘܕ} atûd	 mu - na

ESTIC AND WILD ANIMALS, &c.—continued.

IDEOGRAPH.	ANIMAL DENOTED.	ZOOLOGICAL SPECIES, GENUS, OR FAMILY.
	Chamois (?)	<i>Rupicapra tragus</i>
	Deer	<i>Cervidæ</i> , the deer tribe
.. ..	Dolphin	<i>Delphinus</i> or <i>Catodon</i>
.. ..	Dog	<i>Canis familiaris</i>
.. ..	Elephant	<i>Elephas Indicus</i>
	Fallow-deer	<i>Cervus dama</i> , or <i>C. Mesopotamicus</i>
	Fallow-deer (male)	.. ..
.. ..	Gazelle	<i>Gazella dorcas</i>
.. ..	Gazelle	<i>Gazella subgutturosa</i>
	Goat (he)	<i>Capra hircus</i> (domestic)

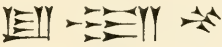
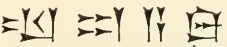
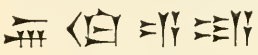
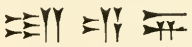
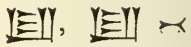
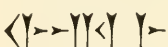
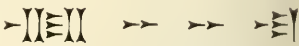
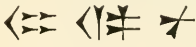
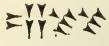
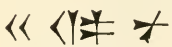
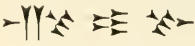
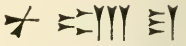
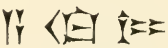
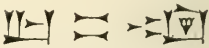
A LIST OF ASSYRIAN AND ACCADIAN NAMES

ASSYRIAN NAME WITH TRANSLITERATION.	HEBREW OR OTHER SEMITIC EQUIVALENT WITH TRANSLITERATION.	ACCADIAN NAME WITH TRANSLITERATION.
 tsap - pa - ru	 tsâphîr	 mu - na
 na - a - li	 yâel, yeêlim	.. .. ..
 an - na - bu	 arnebheth	 ca - zin - na
 sú - sú	 sūs	 D.P. kur - ra
 a - khu	 ôach	 lik - bar - ra
 a - sí	root  (?) áśâh, to injure	.. .. ..
 ni - im - ru	 nâmêr	.. .. ..
 ne - es - su	No Semitic equivalent, but the meaning is certain	 lik - makh
 du - ma - mu	Arab.  dimmat	.. .. ..
 pa - ri - e	Cf.  pere, a wild ass	

TIC AND WILD ANIMALS, &c.—continued.

IDEOGRAPH.	ANIMAL DENOTED.	ZOOLOGICAL SPECIES, GENUS, OR FAMILY.
𐎠 𐎡 𐎢	Goat (he)	<i>C. ægagrus</i> (the paseng.)
. ..	Goat (Ibex)	<i>Capra Sinaitica</i> (Ehrenb.)
. ..	Hare	<i>Lepus Sinaticus</i> , <i>L. caspius</i> , or other occurring species.
. ..	Horse	<i>Equus caballus</i>
. ..	Hyena	<i>Hycena striata</i>
. ..	Jackal, or Fox	<i>Canis aureus</i> , or <i>Vulpes</i>
. ..	Leopard	<i>Leopardus varius</i>
. ..	Lion	<i>Felis leo</i>
. ..	Lynx, Tiger, or other feline carnivore	<i>Felis borealis</i> and <i>F. caracal</i> , <i>F. tigris</i>
. ..	Mule	.. ..

A LIST OF ASSYRIAN AND ACCADIAN NAMES

ASSYRIAN NAME WITH TRANSLITERATION.	HEBREW OR OTHER SEMITIC EQUIVALENT WITH TRANSLITERATION.	ACCADIAN NAME WITH TRANSLITERATION.
 lu - li - mu	.. ..	lu - lim
 ai - luv	 ayil	.. ..
 al - ap nahr	.. ..	.. ..
 Saceya	.. ..	.. ..
 tsi - e - ni	 tsôn	 lu, lu - bat
 ar - me	Syr.  arno	.. ..
 na - ai - lu	 ayyâl	 dara - khal - khal - la
 mi - di - nu	.. ..	gug
 man - di - nu	.. ..	.. ..
 zi - i - bu	 zeêb	 nu - um - ma
 a - ci - luv	root  âcal, to devour	 lik - bi - cu

ESTIC AND WILD ANIMALS, &c.—continued.

IDEOGRAPH.	ANIMAL DENOTED.	ZOOLOGICAL SPECIES, GENUS, OR FAMILY.
.. ..	Ram	<i>Ovis aries</i>
.. ..		
.. ..	Rhinoceros	<i>Rhinoceros unicornis</i>
𐎶𐎵, 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵	Sheep	<i>Ovis aries</i> , collectively a flock of sheep
.. ..	Sheep (wild), or wild Goats	<i>Caprovis Orientalis</i> , or <i>Capra ægagrus</i>
.. ..	Stag	<i>Cervus elaphus</i> , or kindred species
.. ..	Tiger	<i>Felis tigris</i> , or other prowling feline animal
.. ..	Wolf	<i>Canis lupus</i>

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

SINCE my paper on the Wild Mammalia of the Assyrian Monuments has been at press, the two handsome volumes on "Eastern Persia" (with an introduction by Sir Frederick J. Goldsmid, C.B.: Macmillan and Co., 1876) have appeared. The second volume contains the zoology and geology of the country by Mr. W. T. Blanford, F.R.S. The fauna of Persia, bordering as that country does on Assyria and the great Euphrates Valley, may be expected more or less to resemble the fauna of these lands. I will, therefore, add a few remarks by way of supplement to my paper, selecting such points as appear to me to be of interest, as throwing light on the general subject.

It appears that lions are still "very numerous in the reedy swamps bordering the Tigris and Euphrates"; they are found also in the mountains of Fárs, which are clothed, from the altitude of 4,000 feet to 8,000 feet with considerable forests of a kind of oak (*Quercus aegilopifolia*) with very large acorns, which feed a number of wild pigs, whose presence tempts the lion into these oak-clad mountains. The mountebanks of Persia, Major St. John tells us, are often accompanied by a captive lion, trained to eat a joint of mutton off the chest of a boy, who throws himself down on his back. "It is not a pleasant exhibition, the child being generally much alarmed. I once asked a Shiráz lúti which took the most threshing to learn his part, the lion or the boy, but a grin was the only answer he vouchsafed" (ii, p. 33). The ancient Egyptians trained the lion to capture prey in the chase; there is no record of a similar employment by the Assyrians, who, however, caught these animals alive and caged them ready for turning out to be hunted.

The tiger is found abundantly in the Caspian provinces of Persia, and in the Caucasus as far as the mouth of the Araxes. These provinces are covered with dense forests, and in them "the tiger ranges up to an elevation of at

least 5,000 or 6,000 feet. To the westward it extends as far as the Caucasus and Mount Ararat, being found not far from Tiflis." Leopards are common everywhere in the mountains of Persia, and the ounce (*F. uncia*, Shreb.) is said to occur; the wild cat of Europe (*F. catus*) is believed by Major St. John to be found near Shiráz; the chetah is certainly found in Persia, but there are no particulars as to its distribution; it is said to inhabit the Caspian forests; it is not used for sporting purposes in Persia. The chaus is common, and is probably found throughout the country; it is the same animal which is known to inhabit Mesopotamia; the caracal is found in Persia and Mesopotamia, the lynx in the Caucasus; jackals and wolves are common in parts of Persia. The wolf of Persia is of a large size, and perhaps is a variety of the *Canis lupus*. These animals are not common at low elevations, but abound in the highlands; rightly, therefore, did the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia call the wolf by the Accadian name *nûmma*. "the animal from the highlands."

There seems to be some doubt as to the species of foxes (*Vulpes*) occurring in Persia. The *V. Persicus* sp. nov. occurs near Shiráz, Isfahán, etc. Mr. Blanford says, "we know very little of the Persian foxes," and he is not satisfied that the *V. corsac*, included in the list of Mesopotamian species by Schmarda, really occurs there. The ichneumon of Persia is identical with the small animal of Mesopotamia (*Herpestes Persicus*, Gray); civets and genets perhaps inhabit the wooded hills of South-Western Persia. The otter (*Lutra vulgaris*) is found in Ghilan and Majandaran, also in a few rivers on the Persian plateau; it is also found in Mesopotamia, according to Schmarda. The Persian name *Sag-i-ab* means "water-dog"; this reminds one of the *calab mee* of the Bilingual Tablet (see Part I, Domestic Mammalia, p. 54), which, however, I take to be a true dog or *canis*. Several of the *mustelidæ* are said to occur in the Caucasus, the *M. sarmatica* having a wide range throughout Central Asia.

A new species of badger (*Meles canescens*) is pretty common on the plateau, being generally "found in walled gardens, and has the reputation, as the Persian name

(Gur-kan) denotes, of digging up and devouring corpses." The Syrian bear is pretty common near Shiráz, and in the hills bordering on Mesopotamia; it is a great devastator of the vineyards, and will consume incredible quantities of unripe grapes.

Seals—one species, which appears to be identical with the *Phoca vitulina*, L., the common seal of Northern Europe—are found in large numbers throughout the Caspian; they were probably known to the ancient Assyrians, but we are unable to say by what name. The word *nakhiru*, "nostril animal," which I have identified with a "grampus" or a "dolphin," would certainly suit a seal, whose nostrils open wide for air as the animal emerges from the water, and shut closely again on its sinking; but the evidence is decidedly more in favour of some dolphin. M. Oppert, without hesitation, renders *kai nakhiri* by "peaux de veaux marins" (Annals of Sardanapalus, W.A.I. I. pl. xxv); whilst in his "Les Fastes de Sargon" (line 182), he renders *ka am-si* by "pelles marinas," and *zu am-si* by "bdellium (ambre)," though these words mean, beyond a doubt, "horns of wild bulls" and "hides of wild bulls," respectively. So also in his recent translation of the same Annals (Records of the Past, vii, p. 52), we have "bdellium" and "skins of sea-calves." If the Accadian  *kai* denote "skins" as well as "horns and teeth," let us have the authority for this meaning. Of the *Cetacea*, whales and porpoises abound on the Makran coast; porpoises are equally common in the Persian Gulf, but whales are much more rare.

The beaver (*Castor fiber*, L.), according to Eichwald, is common in the Araxes; it is included by Schmarda in his Mesopotamian list, but Mr. Blanford doubtfully inserts it in the Persian fauna. The common porcupine (*Hystrix cristata*) is found throughout Persia, especially in the Caspian provinces. Schmarda does not include it amongst the Mesopotamian fauna, but Dr. Helfer observed the hystrix at Bir, and says it is most common in shady rocky places, as at Seleucia Pieria (Chesney's Expedit., vol. i, Appendix, p. 725). The porcupine, therefore, was probably known to the ancient inhabitants of the Mesopotamian lands. It would be curious

and interesting to ascertain the name by which so remarkable an animal was known to the Accadians and Assyrians.

There is some uncertainty about the species of hares of Mesopotamia and Persia. Mr. Blanford figures and describes what he considers a new species (*Lepus craspedotis*) found in Baluchistan; it resembles *L. Mediterraneus*, but is less rufous, and has much larger ears; it comes nearer to some specimens brought by Canon Tristram from Palestine, which were named by the late Dr. Gray, *Eulagos Judeæ*, in which the ears are "precisely the same as in *L. craspedotis*." The hare of the monuments has not large ears; it is perhaps a variety of the common hare (*L. timidus*) of this country. *Lepus Caspius* (from the Caucasus), which in general character resembles *L. timidus*, has smaller ears and longer legs comparatively: and this will quite suite the sculptured hare of the monuments. Mr. Blanford tells us that hares are generally diffused throughout Persia, but very irregularly. "The cultivated country about Tehran and Isfahan would swarm with them were they not kept down by coursing at all seasons." That hares abounded also in the time of the Assyrian monarchs, is evident from the fact that a district was sometimes called after them, thus there is "mat Arnabu" or "Aranabanu," "the hare country" (W.A.I., II, 65, 24). Whatever may be the species, there is a difference apparently in their habits: there is the hare of the south, which seems to avoid cultivation, while that of the north has habits more like those of our own. Hares "are not rare in the hilly desert country to the north." The desert locality is distinctly implied in the Accadian word *ca-zin-na*, "face of the desert." The Persian name (*khar-gúsh*) of a hare signifies "ass's ears."

The question as to the various species or varieties of wild ass is a difficult one. The wild animal of Mesopotamia is the *E. hemippus*, that of northern Persia the *E. onager*. "It is impossible to say, with any degree of certainty," writes Major St. John, "whether there are one or two wild asses in the Persian highlands; or if there are two, whether they have distinct habits." All the specimens seen by Major St. John from Western Persia "were undoubtedly *E. onager*." The

wild asses are so swift that, as the Persians say, "they cannot be caught by a single horseman when approached in the open; but if the sportsman can manage to conceal himself and his horse in the vicinity of a spring, and wait till the wild asses have quenched their thirst, they can readily be come up with when full of water, by a short spurt on a fast horse. At other times they are caught by relays of horsemen and greyhounds. The flesh is said in books on Persia to be prized above all other venison, but Persians have told me that it should only be eaten under absolute necessity, being equally disagreeable to the conscience of a good Mussulman and to the palate of a gourmand" (p. 86). The inhabitants of Persia about 250 years ago were of another opinion, if we are to believe Olearius, who travelled in Persia in 1637, and who states that he saw no less than thirty-two wild asses killed in one day, by order of the Shah, for the use of the royal kitchens at Ispahan. The Romans, it is well known, held the flesh in estimation, especially that of the young foal. I have already alluded to the habit of stopping short and looking back, which travellers have observed in the hunted wild ass. It is interesting to note that this has not escaped the attention of the Assyrian sculptor (see Plate I, Part I, p. 33).

The wild hog of Persia and Mesopotamia appears to be the *Sus scrofa* of Europe. It abounds in suitable localities throughout Persia; "in the oak forests of Fârs and the reedy swamps of Khûzistan it furnishes food for the lion, and in the Caspian provinces for the tiger." The monuments depict a wild sow, with a litter of young pigs, in one of these reedy swamps. "Shooting pigs from horseback is a favourite diversion with Persians, and though the city people let the game lie where it falls, the Ilyâts are by no means so particular, and do not always permit the precepts of the Korân to prevent their indulgence in a rasher. Young pigs are often kept in the stables of great men, under the idea that their presence will divert glances of the evil eye" (pp. 86-87).

The wild sheep of Persia belong to two species, the *Ovis cycloceros*, Hutton (*O. vignei*, Blyth), which is found in the warm regions of the south, and the *O. Gmelini*, Blyth

(*O. orientalis*, Gmelin), the Armenian sheep, or *caprovis*, which is found in Northern Persia. Both kinds, it is probable, were known to, and hunted by, the ancient Assyrians.

The wild goat of Persia is the *Capra ægagrus* of Pallas, "the Pá-sang," or "rock-footed"; it is called "an ibex" by Mr. Blanford and Major St. John. In my use of the term "ibex" I have restricted it to the steinbock of Egypt and Arabia, viz., the *Capra Sinaitica* of Ehrenberg, the *beden* of the Arabs. This species is not included in the Persian fauna by Blanford, nor in the Mesopotamian list of Schmarda, but having a wide geographical range it probably does occur in these lands. The *Capra Caucasica*, Güld., of the Caucasus, and the chamois (*Rupicapra tragus*), abundant in the same locality, have not hitherto been noticed in the Persian mountains.

The gazelle of the Persian highlands, found in almost all valleys and plains from about 3,000 to about 7,000 feet above the sea, is the *Gazella subgutturosa*, Güldenst. According to Blanford, this species is unknown in the plains of Mesopotamia, and in the lower ground along the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. The species of gazelles come very close to each other. The *G. dorcas* and *G. subgutturosa* would probably be the species met with by the ancient Assyrians in their hunting expeditions. The species actually figured on the monuments I should take to be the *G. subgutturosa*, because the males are depicted with lyrate horns, and the females without any horns at all, which is true of this species; the Assyrians would meet with it in Northern Persia and Armenia, &c. Of the *Cervidae*, the marál is the only true elaphine deer found in Persia. It is peculiar to the Persian provinces. The *Cervus Caspius*, Brookes, an axine deer allied to the *C. axis* of India, is found near the Caspian, in the Talish mountains.

Of the range of the fallow deer (*C. dama*) in Persia there is not much ascertained. The species must have been known to the Assyrians, as the spotted deer of the monuments has palmate horns. The roe (*Capreolus capræa*, Gray) is common in the Caucasus, and occurs in Northern Persia generally; it is said to be found in Mesopotamia. "The

red deer (*C. elaphus*) is said to be found in the Caucasian and Transcaucasian provinces, and the elk, *Aeles machlis*, inhabits the forests of the Caucasus, but neither is known to exist in Persian territory." The red deer, as I have stated before, is figured on the monuments; but we have no representation of the elk, whose broad massive horns would at once distinguish it.

The Assyrians often collected the young of wild animals in considerable numbers, brought them home and placed them in menageries; thus one king says, "Fifty young lions I brought into Calah and the palaces of my land, and in confined houses I placed them" (Layard's Inscriptions, xliv, 17). The young of *Bos primigenius* were often thus brought together. Also some young of animals called *Pa-gâ-te* (𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶) were introduced by the same king into Calah, but what these *pagate* were I have not the faintest idea. The hides and horns of the wild cattle were much prized, and are very frequently mentioned; the large horns of the *Bos primigenius* were often erected as ornaments above the gates of the palaces; figures of antelopes, wild sheep, &c., were carved out of stone and set up as ornaments about the palaces.

The *šimkurri* of the hunting record (mentioned above, p. 359) I can give no explanation of. Mr. Sayce compares the Aramean סמקרי "very red"; the word is somewhere equated with *tuseni* or *teseni*, which in the hunting record are mentioned as different animals, but I cannot find my reference.

With the expression, "star of the tip of the bear's tail," may be compared the Arabic *anf al asad*, "nose of the lion," applied to two stars so called.

In concluding this essay on the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures, I have again to thank Professor Sayce for valuable suggestions and help. To Dr. Selater, the eminent Secretary of the Zoological Society, always ready to impart information and to answer questions, and to Sir Victor Brooke, Bart., I also desire thankfully to express my sincere obligations. The illustrations, which have been taken from photographs of the animals of the British Museum sculp-

tures, and which accompany my papers, are very faithful reproductions indeed, and I am grateful to Mr. Clark, the artist, for the care bestowed upon them. I also thank Mr. W. R. Cooper for the trouble he has taken, and the interest he has shown in my subject.

NOTE.—“The hunting scenes from the palace of Ashurbanipal (Sardanapalus of the Greeks) are the most perfect specimens of Assyrian glyptic art. They are to be seen in the *basement* room devoted to Assyrian art in the British Museum. Sir E. Landseer was wont to admire the truthfulness and spirit of these reliefs, more especially of one where hounds are pulling down a wild ass. (*Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, p. 517.) Professor Rolleston has expressed to me his admiration of a wounded lioness in the same series, where the paralysis of the lower limbs, consequent upon an arrow piercing the spine, is finely rendered (*ibid.*, p. 512).” (*Early Civilization*, vi, by the Rev. Canon Rawlinson. *Leisure Hour*, June. 1876.)



A SKETCH OF SABÆAN GRAMMAR ;

WITH

EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATION.

BY LIEUT.-COL. W. F. PRIDEAUX, F.R.G.S.. *Fellow of
the University of Bombay.*

Read 4th January, 1876.

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 224.]

XVII.

(B.M. 16 ; Os. 27.)

1. 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩨, n. pr. masc. = Arab. ^{سريع} *سريع*, *quick, speedy*.

𐩪𐩪𐩣𐩪𐩨,¹ *nom. gent.* from 𐩪𐩣𐩪, a country of South Arabia. (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. II, p. 8.)

3. 𐩪𐩨𐩪 ; conjunction, *when*.

- 3-4. 𐩮𐩨𐩪𐩨𐩪 — 𐩨𐩪𐩨𐩪 ; Halévy likens this to the Hebrew idiom, *הִרְבָּה הִרְבָּה*, *multiplicando multiplicabo*; and takes 𐩪𐩪𐩨𐩪𐩨, etc., to be the subject of the verb. Unless this view be taken, the passage becomes one of great difficulty. The first 𐩨𐩪𐩨𐩪 therefore is the inf. of II. of 𐩨𐩪𐩨 = Arab. ^{أخذ} *أخذ*, *to gain the mastery, to overcome*, perhaps here, simply *to attack* (see Lane, *sub voce*) ; 𐩮𐩨𐩪𐩨𐩪 is perf. 3rd pers. plur. masc. of the same verb.

¹ The final 𐩪 in 𐩪𐩪𐩪 etc., is the demonstrative enclitic, which answers to the Greek *ὁ* in *ὁ Μυαῖος, ὁ Σαβαῖος*, etc.

4. ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ , cf. Heb. לָקַט , Arab. لَقَطَ , *legit, collegit*, referring especially to *grain collected* and stored in the house. The prep. ⲓ here signifies *in the direction of, with a view to*.
5. ⲕⲟⲩⲓ n. pr. of the father of ⲛⲟⲓⲛ .
- 6-7. ⲕⲓⲛⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ ; Halévy takes ⲕⲟⲩⲓ as a plur. of ⲕⲟⲩ = Heb. $\text{דָּוָה, דָּוָה, דָּוָה}$, *distress, misfortune*. ⲓⲛⲟ may perhaps = Arab. عَصْر , *time*; or possibly the phrase may have reference to the *protection* or *refuge* afforded by the god = Arab. عَصْر . Perhaps ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ is for ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ , *from that*...
8. ⲛⲟⲩⲓ , perf. 3rd pers. sing. IV. of ⲛⲟⲩ = Arab. نَاب , *to return*, e.g., *to return from one state of mind to another*.
- ⲓⲛⲓ , n. subst. = Heb. חֵיל ; Arab. حَوْل ; Æth. ሃይል : *vis, robur, potentia*.
- ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ , n. subst., derived from ⲕⲓⲛ = Arab. أَمِنَ , *to feel confident or secure*.
9. ⲓⲛⲓ , n. subst. in stat. constr. = Arab. صِدْق , *truth*, but in Sabæan with the Hebrew meaning of *righteousness, justification*.

Translation.

Sarī^{um} the Minæan has endowed Il-Maḥah of Hīrân with this tablet, which he offered him when the Sabæan and the tribe of Asad began to make an attack upon his property collected in the house of Bin Ṣaufân, and he demanded from him the fulfilment (of his wishes) in that time (*or* in the misfortune of the time); and he (*i.e.*, the god) kept him safe according to the prayer addressed to him; and he (*i.e.*, the votary) returned to his confidence in the power of

Il-Maḩah; and may Il-Maḩah continue to justify his servant Sari'im in the fulfilment [of that] which he may demand from him.

XVIII.

(B.M. 12; Os. 13.)

1. 𐩧𐩢𐩣, n. pr. diptote (v. XV, 1.)
𐩧𐩣𐩢𐩣, n. pr. dim. of 𐩧𐩣𐩢 = 𐩠𐩣𐩢, *horn*.
Probably here the *eponymus* of a tribe.
3. 𐩠𐩣𐩣, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. V. of 𐩠𐩣𐩣.
4. 𐩠𐩣𐩣, prep. = 𐩠𐩣𐩣, *after*.
𐩠𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣; the first of these words is a noun
subst. fem. = Arab. 𐩠𐩣𐩣, *a misfortune, calamity*;
the second, perf. 3rd pers. sing. fem. I. of 𐩠𐩣𐩣 =
Arab. 𐩠𐩣𐩣, *to happen, come to pass*.¹
6. 𐩠𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣; 𐩣𐩣 is the prep. 𐩣 with
the enclitic 𐩣. 𐩠𐩣𐩣, pron. dem. fem. agreeing
with 𐩠𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣.
- 6-7. 𐩠𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 = the Arabic locution 𐩠𐩣𐩣𐩣,
and as for — he.
7. 𐩠𐩣𐩣𐩣, n. subst. fem., acc. case, from the verb
𐩠𐩣𐩣 = Arab. 𐩠𐩣𐩣, *to protect, defend*.
8. 𐩠𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣, n. subst. masc. and
fem. plur. fract. from 𐩠𐩣𐩣 = Arab. 𐩠𐩣𐩣, *free, free-*
born; pl. 𐩠𐩣𐩣.
8. 𐩠𐩣𐩣𐩣, n. subst., cf. Æth. 𐩠𐩣𐩣𐩣 : *a neigh-*
bouring tract of country, thence, provinces, districts.
In status constructus, before the prep. 𐩠𐩣𐩣.

¹ On the grammatical formation of this and similar expressions, see Müller, *Der Status constructus im Ifimjarischen* (Zeitschrift d. D. M. G., xxx, 120).

9. 𐤓𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤌𐤕𐤓 , an epithet of the place 𐤓𐤌𐤕 , which also occurs in No. XXXII, 4. I offer no conjecture with respect to the meaning of the words, but it is odd that they should bear so close a resemblance to the Hebrew and Assyrian terms for *city*.
9. 𐤓𐤌𐤕 , both here and in No. XIX, 2, has apparently the same meaning as the Heb. תְּשׁוּרָה , *oblatio, donum*.
- 9-10. 𐤓𐤌𐤕𐤕 , probably for 𐤓𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤓 (see No. XIX, 6). But there is a principal idea of *perfection* in the word; cf. Heb. מִכְּלֹת זָהָב , *aurum optimum*, from כֶּלֶה and also כָּלֵל .
10. 𐤕𐤕𐤓 , conj., here means *as though*.
 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 , imperf. subjunct. 3rd pers. sing. from 𐤕𐤕 , *i.g.* يَقْل , and with the signification, *to put forth or produce green herbs*.
 𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤕 ; cardinal number, *forty*.
 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 , n. subst. plur. fract. of 𐤕𐤕𐤕 = Arab. قَدْر , *a measure, quantity*.
11. 𐤕𐤕𐤓 = Arab. $\text{مُتَعَدِّ$. 𐤕𐤕𐤕 = Heb. לְמַעַלָּה , *superius; amplius*.
12. 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 , n. pr. composed of 𐤕𐤕𐤕 , *he loved*; and 𐤕𐤕 .
13. 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 , n. pr. composed of 𐤕𐤕𐤕 , imperf. of 𐤕𐤕𐤕 , and 𐤕𐤕𐤕 , an epithet of the deity.
 𐤕𐤕𐤕 , noun adj. = Arab. كَبِير , *great*.¹ 𐤕𐤕𐤕 , noun adj. = Arab. خَالِیل , *true, sincere*. Cf. Hal. 51, 19.

¹ According to Ibn Khallikān, Dhû Kibâr was one of the princes of El-Yemen (*Trad. de McGuckin de Slane*, tom. ii, p. 4). On Dhû Khalîl, see Müller, *Himjarische Inschriften* in *Zeitschrift d. D. M. G.*, xix, 619.

Translation.

Shammar, Bin-Ḳurain^{im}, has endowed Il-Maḳah of Hirrân with this tablet, because Il-Maḳah lord of Awwâm heard him according to the prayer addressed to him when Shammar besought of him, after the misfortune which occurred in the house of Bin Ḳurain^{im}; and because he delivered his servant Shammar in that misfortune; and as to Il-Maḳah, Shammar has given, in accordance with his prayer for protection to their¹ free-born men, and women, and the districts adjacent to Awwân Dhû 'Irân Dhû Alû, an offering of the best kind, as though the green herbs were produced forty-fold, and *even* over and above that; and this prayer and this protection happened in the year of Wadada-Il son of Yeḳah-malik, Kabîr Khalîl.

XIX.

(B.M. 13; Os. 10.)

1. 𐩦𐩨𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩤, n. pr. = Arab. عَبْد شَمْسٍ, *servant of Shams*, a deity of the Sabæans.
𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩤, n. pr. of uncertain derivation.
2. 𐩠𐩣𐩠, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. = Arab. وَقَفَ, *to establish*, and in the religious sense, *to give or endow*.
- 3-4. 𐩨𐩠𐩠, n. subst., perhaps = Arab. عَوِيصٌ, *difficulty, distress, want*; but cf. Prætorius, *Neue Beiträge*, 1873, p. 8-9; perhaps from root عَسَو, *dryness, drought*.
5. 𐩣𐩠𐩠𐩠, n. pr. of uncertain derivation.
- 5-6. 𐩠𐩣𐩣𐩣, perf. 3rd pers. plur. IV. The Arabic does not possess this verb in I. In Sabæan it appears to have an intransitive sense: *to meet with delay*.
6. 𐩣𐩢𐩠𐩠𐩣, n. subst. from IV. of 𐩢𐩠𐩠, with the enclitic 𐩣.

¹ *I.e.*, of the tribe of the votary.

ኣገጠዐ, n. adj., agreeing with the preceding word = Arab. ^{مُؤَكَّلٌ}, *prosperous, fortunate*.

ኣገላ, perf. 3rd pers. masc. sing. = Arab. ^{نَكَرَ}, *to deny, refuse*, but here with the Æthiopic sense of ተነገረ: *alienari*.

6-7. ዐፄሃየገዐጥ, = Arab. ^{مِنْ عَلَيَّوْم}, (Müller, *Hinjarische Inschriften*, Zeitschrift d. D. M. G., xxix, p. 603.)

7. ኣሦሐየዘ, imperf. subjunct. 3rd pers. sing. masc. = Arab. ^{فَتَحَ}, *to open, liberate*; here with the technical signification of *to judge* (cf. Æth. ፈትሐ:).

7. ዐፄሃየገዐጥ, the noun here is probably in the plural = Arab. ^{بَيْرُوت}.

ኣገገዘሃየ, imperf. subjunct. 3rd pers. sing. masc. II. of ገገዘ = Arab. ^{آزَلَ}, *to afflict with drought, or want of rain*.¹

8. ዐፄሃየኣቆ, n. subst. from the verb የኣቆ, *to possess*; meaning therefore *possessions, property*.

ኣገሠጸ, n. subst. with enclitic ኣ, formed by metathesis from the root ሰጸሠ = Arab. ^{حَشَكَ}, *abundant rain, a heavy fall of rain*. The verb ኣዐሰ seems to be understood.

ኣቆኣቆ, n. subst. with enclitic ኣ. This word must be referred to the root ^{ضَنَكٌ}, *narrowness, straitness, hardship*, cognate with ^{ضَيْقٌ}. Or it is perhaps the name of a place, cf. Hal. 208, 2.

¹ Comp. the Arabic expression ^{آزَلَهُمُ اللَّهُ}, Lane, vol. i, p. 53.

Translation.

'Abd-Shams^{im} son of Hiyadh^{im} has endowed Il-Makah of Hurrân with this tablet, which he offered him, and dedicated to him as a gift, when he preserved them (*i.e.*, the tribe) from the drought which was in this land in the year of Samaha-karib son of Tobba'a Karib son of Fadhih^{im}:

And they met with delay in *obtaining* prosperous health; for he who might pass judgment upon them and afflict their possessions with scarcity of water was alienated from them;

And *after that there was* this heavy fall of rain in *the midst* of this necessity: and 'Abd-Shams^{im} returned to his confidence in Il-Makah.

And *also* because he has prospered them in their fruits and in their male children; and with the satisfaction of their lords, the Beni Marthad^{im}.

XX.

(B.M. 10; Os. 6.)

1. 𐩦𐩣𐩨𐩣, n. adj., surname of Annâr^{um}, of uncertain meaning, but perhaps signifying *dark in complexion* = Heb. צלמון.
- 1-2. 𐩣𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩣, n. pr. composed of 𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩣 and 𐩣𐩣𐩠 (Levy), 'Athtor has kept in safety; as a compound, it is diptote.
2. 𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣, n. pr. of a tribe of El-Yemen.
- 5-6. 𐩣𐩣𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣, n. subst., which previous commentators have considered cognate to the Heb. דָּרַג, *to kill*; but I agree with Müller in referring the word to the Æth. ጥረጥረ: *prædam agere, bello capere*. The reduplicated form gives the idea of number or quantity.

6. 𐤔 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 , n. subst. = Arab. عَدَق , used adjectively as attributing the sense of goodness to anything, see Lane, vol. iv, p. 1668, and Müller, Z. d. M. G., xxix, 599.
7. 𐤔 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 , n. subst. plur. = Arab. نَبَّاش , a spoiler of the dead (Hal.). More probably a proper name.
8. 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 ; a favourable omen, or sanction of the deity, cf. Arab. بَرِي , Heb. בְּרִית , etc.
- 8-9. $\text{𐤔 𐤔 𐤕 𐤔 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕}$; the attributes or possessions of the god, are used for the god himself. 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 , is the place in the temple from which the people were called to worship; 𐤔 𐤔 𐤕 𐤔 , the place where the image of the god was set up. 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 for 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 .

Translation.

Anmâr^{am} Azhlam son of Hawaf-Atht, Dhû-Naḥsân, has endowed Il-Maḡah of Hîrrân with this tablet, because he assisted him in obtaining plentiful and valuable booty from the tribe of Nabsh^{im}; and in that Il-Maḡah has continued to prosper Anmâr^{am} with the favourable sanction of the calling-place and station of Il-Maḡah, and because there has been favour in times past, and may there be favour in times to come to the Benî Dhû-Naḥsân.

XXI.

(B.M. 8, Os. 12.)

1. 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 , n. pr., surname of Shammar, of uncertain derivation.
- 𐤔 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 , n. pr.
- 4-5. $\text{𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕}$, imperf. subjunct. 3rd pers. sing. masc.

5-6. 𐤀𐤒𐤁𐤁𐤁, imperf. subjunct. 3rd pers. sing. masc.
VIII. of 𐤒𐤁𐤁.

10. 𐤔𐤐𐤔, n. pr. participle from a verb = Heb. *עשׂה*, to
save (in Hiphil).

Translation.

Shammar Yakub son of Washk^{im} has endowed Il-Makāh of Hīrān with this tablet, because he has kept him safely according to the prayer *addressed to him*, and in order that he may continue to keep him safely according to the prayer which he may *hereafter* make before him, and because he assisted him in *obtaining* valuable booty from the tribe of Nabsh^{im}; and in that he has gifted him with the favourable sanction of the calling-place and of the station of *Il-Makāh*; and with the satisfaction of his chief Yāthi^{um}, Bin Marthad^{im}.

XXII.

(B.M. 11; Os. 8.)

1. 𐤔𐤐𐤔𐤔, n. pr. = 𐤔𐤔, a lord.
𐤔𐤔𐤔, n. pr., surname of Rabāb^{um}, of uncertain derivation.
- 𐤔𐤔𐤔𐤔, a tribal name.
2. 𐤁𐤁𐤔𐤔𐤔𐤔, and 𐤁𐤁𐤔𐤔𐤔𐤔 = 𐤁𐤁 and 𐤁𐤔.
3. 𐤒𐤁𐤁, perf. 3rd pers. sing. of masc. II. of 𐤒𐤁𐤁,
to answer.
6. 𐤁𐤔𐤔𐤔 = 𐤔𐤔𐤔, spoils.
𐤔𐤔𐤔, n. subst. plur. of 𐤔𐤔, cognate with
Arab. 𐤔𐤔, a vestment (Müller).

Marthad^{im}, and because he delivered his servant Rabâb^{am} in the attack which was encountered from the 'Arabian (*or*, the strangers from the West) in the neighbourhood of Manhat^{im}, and because he has prospered him with the satisfaction of his chief, Yafra'; and with the favourable sanction of the calling-place, and of the station of *Il-Maḳah*; and because it has been favourable *in times past*, and may it be favourable *in times to come* with the Beni Akhraf.

XXIII.

(B.M. 22; Os. 26.)

1. 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣, n. pr. = Arab. ^سأَوْس, *the act of giving*. This inscription is very fragmentary, the termination of several of the lines being lost.
 4. 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣; as this word occurs in a broken line, it is difficult to judge of its meaning from the context. I take it to be an adjective qualifying 𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣, and to mean *valuable* (cf. Arab. ^سعَذَابِي).
 7. 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 imperf. subj. 3rd pers. sing. masc. = Arab. اَعْيَبِر, VIII. of عَبَر, *to hold in estimation or respect*; cf. also Heb. הָעֵבֶר, Hiph. of עָבַר, *to offer* (a sacrifice), *to consecrate*.
 9. 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣, perhaps infinitive from a verb = Arab. وَظَا, *to hit on the head*; and hence *hurt* or *injure*.
 10. 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣, n. pr. composed of 𐩦𐩣𐩣, *to see, regard* (Heb. נָבַט), and 𐩦𐩣, the god Il: *Deus adsperxit, curavit*.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣, n. pr. composed of 𐩦𐩣, *to comprehend, or include, the universe*, and 𐩦𐩣𐩣, an epithet of the deity, *the sayer or commander*.

Translation.

1. Aws^{um}
2. sons of Kar
3. have endowed Il-Makah
4. with this valuable tablet
5. Il-Makah lord of Awwâm and
6. his servant Aws^{um}
7. in that he has held him in estimation, and has praised
8. the power and station of Il-Makah *when*
9. he preserved him from injury *in the year of*
10. Nabaṭa-il son of 'Amma-ämir.

XXIV.

(B.M. 1; Os. 3.)

This inscription is merely a fragment.

1. . . . 𐎠𐎢 𐎠𐎫 may be restored 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎫, and perhaps
= Arab. ^{صفر}صفر, Assyrian *šiparru*, Turan. *zabur*, *brass*.
2. 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, n. subst. = Arab. ^{قيل}قيل, the Sabæan name
for a chief.

Translation.

1. Il-Makah of Hîrrân this bronze
2. and their chief and their tribe

XXV.

(B.M. 3; Os. 5.)

This inscription is also considerably mutilated.

1. After . . . 𐎠𐎢𐎠 Halévy supplies 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫.
a good conjecture.

2. In this line he suggests 𐩦𐩢𐩣, perhaps better 𐩣𐩢𐩣.
3. 𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩠; M. Halévy proposes 𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣 = Arab. II. خَصَصَ, or Heb. Piel ִחֲלַץ, to deliver.
4. 𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩠, n. pr. of a tribe. 𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩠 is formed like the 3rd pers. sing. masc. imperfect tense of IV. of 𐩣𐩢𐩣, to surpass or be eminent.

Translation.

..... Beni Yehafra' have endowed Il-Maḩah of Hirrân with this tablet because Il-Maḩah has granted the prayer addressed to him. And may Il-Maḩah continue their justification (i.e., to justify them), and their safety, and the satisfaction of their lords; the Benu Marthad^{im}, both because Il-Maḩah has delivered them, and because there has been favour in times past, and may there be favour in times to come to the Beni Yehafra'.

XXVI.

(B.M. 26; Os. 25.)

This inscription is also mutilated, but the text can be restored without difficulty.

7. 𐩦𐩢𐩣𐩠, n. subst. plur. fract. of 𐩦𐩢𐩣, a possession.
8. 𐩦𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩠, imperf. subjunctive 3rd pers. plur. masc. of 𐩦𐩢𐩣, to gain, or acquire.

Translation.

'Abd-Shams^{im} has endowed Il-Maḩah of Hirrân with this tablet because he has granted the prayer of Abd-Shams^{im} addressed to him; and in that he has kept them safe, and has kept safe their possessions which they have acquired, and which they may acquire.¹

¹ That is, may he keep safe those which they may acquire hereafter!

XXVII.

(B.M. 27; Os. 18.)

The inherent difficulties of this inscription are enhanced by the loss of the two or three lines at the beginning.

1. $\mathbf{10\dot{h}X\dot{H}I\dot{h}1}$; $\mathbf{H\dot{I}h1}$ appears here to have the meaning of *when* = $\mathbf{h\dot{h}\Pi}$; $\mathbf{10\dot{h}X}$ is perf. 3rd pers. sing. V. of $\mathbf{10\dot{h}}$ = Arab. *to return*.

- 1-2. $\mathbf{h\dot{o}\omega\mathfrak{z}1}$, inf. = Arab. *شيعان* the publication, dispersion, and thence *distribution* (*vide* Lane's Lexicon, s. v.).

2. $\mathbf{\omega\psi X8\dot{\imath}\omega}$, *his inheritance*.

$\mathbf{X\Pi\mathfrak{z}\phi}$, n. pr. fem., *an attentive person*.

$\mathbf{h\Pi}$, inf. = here Arab. *آبَان*, *to give separately*.

3. $\mathbf{hX\dot{\imath}h\phi\dot{h}}$, n. subst. fem. from $\mathbf{\dot{\imath}h\phi}$, with the enclitic $\mathbf{h}$.

$\mathbf{\dot{\imath}h\dot{h}1}$ = Arab. *لَاخِر*, from *آخِر*, *another*.

$\mathbf{hX\omega = h\mathfrak{X}\omega}$, *to continue*, by a phonetic degradation analogous to $\mathbf{X1X}$ for $\mathbf{818}$ (Halévy).

4. $\mathbf{\dot{\imath}\mathfrak{z}h}$; cf. the Arab. *اخمر*, which is said to be a phrase common in El-Yemen, and to signify, *he gave him the thing, or put him in possession of it*. In this place, as Halévy points out, it stands for the more usual $\mathbf{h\dot{o}h}$, *to prosper or assist*. In conjunction with $\mathbf{\dot{\imath}\diamond\omega}$ further on, it means *to give health, or safety*.

$\mathbf{\mathfrak{z}h\mathfrak{z}\omega\mathfrak{z}}$, n. pr. = Arab. *مُودَد* ^{5 ~ 9} *beloved*.

$\mathbf{\Pi\dot{\imath}1}$, n. subst. plur. of $\mathbf{X\Pi\dot{\imath}1}$ (v. XII, 9).

5. 𐩦𐩦𐩠, n. subst. = Arab. حظوة, *good fortune, personal happiness.*
5. 𐩦𐩠𐩨, n. subst. plur. of 𐩦𐩠, *an heir or possessor.*
6. 𐩦𐩠𐩠𐩠; this word is generally understood to signify the tribe of 𐩠𐩠, at the present day (in conjunction with the 𐩠𐩠𐩠) one of the largest in El-Yemen; cf. Müller, *himjarische Inschriften*, Z. d. M. G., xxix, p. 593. The Tribe of Hâshid is named in Prid., iv, 6 (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. II, p. 26).
- 𐩠𐩠𐩠, participle from 𐩠𐩠 = Arab. رجع, *he remained, dwelt, or abode* in a place. It is in the singular number agreeing with 𐩠𐩠𐩠, and the enclitic 𐩠 has the force of the Greek *ó*. The expression is probably merely equivalent to 𐩠, as it is used frequently in Halévy's inscriptions.
- 𐩠𐩠𐩠, for 𐩠𐩠𐩠𐩠, imperf. precative, 3rd pers. sing. masc. of 𐩠𐩠, a word of which the obvious meaning is *to protect or preserve.*
- 7-8. 𐩠𐩠𐩠, n. subst. = Heb. רחוק, *to be afar off, at a distance.*
8. 𐩠𐩠𐩠, n. subst. = Heb. קר, *to be near.*
9. 𐩠𐩠𐩠𐩠𐩠, n. pr. of a sub-tribe of the Beni Marthad^{im}.

Translation.

Muwaddad^{um} of the Beni Ashyab has endowed Il-Makah of Hirrân with this tablet because he has granted the prayer addressed to him, in that he kept him safe when he returned to this city of 'Amrân to distribute his inheritance of Kashiḡat Dhât-Marthad^{im} and to give this property in separate portions to another; and because Il-Makah of Hirrân has continued

to bestow upon his servant Muwaddad^{am} safety for his cultivable lands and personal happiness; and the satisfaction of his heirs, the Beni Marthad^{im} and their tribe of Bakîl, occupying 'Amrân; and may he protect his servant Muwaddad^{am} from humiliation and the adversity of enemies at a distance and near at hand; and because there has been favour *in times past*, and may there be favour *in times to come* to his clan, the Beni Ashyab, in the station and power of Il-Makah of Hirrân.

XXVIII.

(B.M. 29; Os. 30.)

1. X808Ψ, n. pr. compounded of the verb 48Ψ = Arab. حَمَى, *to defend from any one or thing*; and }X80.

8Π90, n. pr. = Arab. وُظِبَ, *to adhere to*.

91048H, n. pr. compounded of 48H = Heb. rad. שָׁמָּה, Arab. سَمَاءَ, *to be lofty or exalted*; and 910, *the high (Most High)*, an epithet of the deity.

481H8, n. subst., *a stone* (cf. Lane's Lexicon, s. v. سَلَمٌ). Freytag would appear to be right in saying the word is of the dialect of Ḥimyar. It is probably a sacrificial stone or flat altar.

- 1-2. 410, n. subst. plur. intern. of 410 = Æth. ወጉድጉ :

2. 846X, *nomen verbis* from 846. Here the meaning would seem to be, *to begin or commence a work*. This and the preceding word 809 are in stat. constr.

0948, n. subst. in stat. construct. verbal from 094, *it flowed being spilt*; and therefore, probably, *a receptacle for water, a tank or réservoir* (Halévy), used for purposes of irrigation.

𐩧𐩢𐩧𐩣𐩣, n. subst. 𐩣𐩣, is probably identical with the Hebrew ^{עֲרֵב}, *opobalsamum*, and the Arab. ^{صُور}, a species of tree which is common in El-Yemen (cf. Lane, Book I, part v, p. 1790). The termination 𐩧𐩢𐩧, is the intensified dual form.

𐩧𐩬𐩠𐩢𐩣, n. subst. Halévy is of opinion that 𐩬𐩠𐩢𐩣 is a term of agriculture in parallelism with 𐩣𐩣, but I think it more probable that whilst one 𐩣𐩢𐩣 was constructed for the special use of the 𐩣𐩣 trees, of which the gum was used for incense, the other was for the general use of the tribe, قَبِيلَة. Amongst the ancient Arabs, the قَبِيلَة (tribe) was the first and principal sub-division of the شَعْب.

𐩬𐩢𐩣𐩣𐩣, n. subst. fem. from 𐩢𐩣𐩣𐩣, II. of 𐩢𐩣𐩣.

- 2-3. 𐩢𐩣𐩢; 𐩢𐩣𐩢 would seem to be either an epithet of the god = Heb. יְהִיר, *lofty, proud*; or the name of a place. One of the sub-divisions of the tribe Yâfa'a es-Suflâ of El-Yemen, which claims descent from Himyar, is called Yehar at the present day. It numbers about 700 fighting men, and is settled some fifty or sixty miles from Yerîm.¹

NOTE.—Dr. Praetorius has translated this inscription in the Z.d.M.G., xxvi, and at page I (Die Altarninschrift vom Abian) of his *Neue Beiträge*, 1873, but it is impossible to accept many of his conclusions.

Translation.

Ham'atht son of Wazhbân, servant of Samaha'alî, has endowed 'Athtor with this votive stone, and all his children,

¹ Report on the various Arab Tribes in the Neighbourhood of Aden (No. CI. of the Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department), 1872, pp. 25, 29. In Hal. 187, 6, and 188, 5, Yehar must be the name of a place where a temple and fortress existed. Cf. Hal. 577, 5.

on the day of commencing the special irrigation-tank of the two balsam trees, and the tank of the tribe, *as* an endowment of Yehar (*or*, of the lofty one), in the name of 'Athtor and in the name of Il-Makah.

XXIX.

(B.M. 30; Os. 32.)

This inscription is fractured in such a way as to leave the beginnings and endings of the lines incomplete.

1. **𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤐**, n. pr. = Arab. ⁵عَزِيزٌ, Aram. ܐܝܝܪܐ, *fortis*.

𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤐, n. pr. compounded perhaps from **𐤁𐤁𐤐**, ⁵زَيْدٌ, inf. n. of زָد, *it increased*; and **𐤁𐤁** for **𐤁𐤁**, a name of the deity: cf. **𐤁𐤁𐤐𐤁𐤐**, Hal. 577, 3.

2. **𐤁𐤁𐤐𐤁**, perf. 3rd pers. plur. masc. As this word has the paragogic **𐤁**, it cannot be the first verb of a series. This would probably be **𐤁𐤁𐤐**, *they built*, on the fractured part of the stone. **𐤁𐤁𐤐** is II. of a verb probably identical in meaning with the Arab. وَثَّرَ, *to make level, or equal*, and refers to the operation of planing down the inequalities of the stones with which the building is constructed. Cf. Heb. יָשַׁר, *rectus fuit; planus, aequus fuit*; and in Hiph. *rectum, planum fecit, complanavit*.

𐤁𐤁𐤐𐤁, perf. 3rd pers. plur. masc. with the paragogic **𐤁**, II. of a verb of which the meaning is uncertain, but which probably signifies *to complete* by painting the building red. Arab. شَقَرَّ, *rufus color*, Chald. סָקַר, *rubro pinxit*. M. Halévy points out the frequency of the expression **𐤁𐤁𐤐𐤁𐤐𐤁𐤐𐤁𐤐**

in his inscriptions, the former of which words is referable to the Heb. שָׁרֵשׁ, *radix, pars inferior, radix (montis), fundus (maris)*, and probably means *foundation*; the phrase therefore signifying *from the foundations to the finishing stroke*. In the inscription of Axum, the Æthiopian king Tazena speaks of destroying the *painted houses*, meaning probably the temples.

.... 𐩧𐩬𐩨, perhaps the commencement of the name of the house or temple. As the name of the king of Sabä occurs in the next line, we should here supply 𐩬𐩨𐩧𐩬, *in the year*.

3. 𐩧𐩨𐩬𐩨𐩬, n. pr. composed of 𐩬𐩨𐩬, *he gave*, Aramaic יָתַב, and 𐩧𐩨.

𐩨𐩬𐩨, surname of Wahaba-îl.

4. ... 𐩨𐩬 is evidently for 𐩬𐩨𐩬, a Sabæan verb of which there seems no exact correspondent in the cognate languages. The noun 𐩬𐩨𐩬𐩬 is said by the lexicologist to mean a *generous man*, and it is applied as one of the many names of *the lion*; but the verb, judging from the context in the places where it occurs, would seem to have the signification of *placing under the protection of the gods* (Halévy).

Translation.

1. their sons, 'Azîz^{um} and Zaid-ilat and Sa'd-ilat, *have built*
2. and have rendered even and have completed their house of Yafadh. ... *in the year of*
3. son of Wahaba-îl Yekhaz, king of Sabä,
4. *In the name of Dhat-Ba'danim and in the name of their god, Dhû-Samâwî, and they have placed it under protection....*

XXX.

(B.M. 37; Os. 36.)

This inscription is also greatly mutilated.

1. **𐤅𐤆𐤁𐤅**, n. subst. Cf. Heb. **יָתֵר**, *præstantia*. The votary is evidently a person of the highest rank, and probably a relative of the king.

𐤅𐤆𐤁, n. adj. = **مَلَكَان**, *royal*.

2. **𐤅𐤆𐤁𐤅𐤅𐤁𐤅**, n. subst., an epithet of the god Dhû-Samâwî, *the god who rules over circumstances or events*.

3. **𐤅𐤆𐤁**; restore **𐤅𐤆𐤁𐤅𐤅**.

𐤅𐤆𐤁𐤅, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. X. of **𐤅𐤆𐤁** = Æth. **እስተወከለ**, *confidentiam habere solitus est* (Os.).

4. **𐤅𐤆𐤁𐤅𐤅**, n. pr., composed of **𐤅𐤆𐤁** for **𐤅𐤆𐤁𐤅𐤅**, imperf. of **𐤅𐤆𐤁**, *to protect*; and **𐤅𐤆**.

8. **𐤅𐤆𐤁**, n. subst. = **بَهْ**, *good fortune, prosperity; health*. Here in *stat. construct*.

𐤅𐤆𐤁𐤅𐤅, n. subst. fem., from a cognate of the Heb. **יָדַע**, *cognovit*; **בִּינָה**, *cognitio, familiaritas*.

𐤅𐤆𐤁𐤅𐤅 probably signifies the collection of people known or akin to one another, *i.e., the family*.

Translation.

1. Dhû-Watrim, the royal clan,
2. *has endowed* Dhû Samâwî, Ilah-ämrim, lord of ¹
3. with this votive stone which he has confided to him because of the safety

¹ In an inscription in the possession of Lieut.-Col. S. B. Miles, Political Agent at Maskat, Dhû-Samâwî is called **𐤅𐤆𐤁𐤅𐤅𐤅𐤅𐤅**, *Lord of oxen*.

4. Yeham-îl Dhû-Watrim, and because of the safety
5. *and because of the safety of the lords of their house, and because of their prosperity*
6. *and because Dhû-Samâwî has given them children in abundance, and because*
7. *he has kept them safe in the fulfilment of that which they demanded*
8. *may he continue the prosperity (or health) of the family !*

XXXI.

(B.M. ; Os. 31.)

The first line of this inscription is lost.

2. 𐩧𐩣𐩣, n. subst. derived from a verb cognate with the Chaldean Pa. ܫܡܝܫ, *ministravit*. In Sabæan, the word indicates one who serves the needs of his worshippers, therefore a *patron or tutelary god* (Hal.).

𐩧𐩣𐩣, n. pr. of a goddess ; a diptote noun as being similar, and perhaps referable to, the 3rd pers. sing. fem. imperf. of 𐩧𐩣𐩣 or 𐩧𐩣𐩣, cognate with Heb. גִּזְרָה, גִּזְרָה, *eminentia, excelsa*. Comp. the eponymous 𐩧𐩣𐩣, Arab. نَزَف (Abyan Inscript. 5) and the surname 𐩧𐩣𐩣 (Fresnel, xii, 1, etc.).

𐩣𐩣𐩣, n. subst. fem. of 𐩣𐩣𐩣 ; here in stat. constr.

𐩣𐩣𐩣, n. pr. of a town or district in El-Yemen ; the residence of the *Gedranitæ* of Pliny.

𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣, num. = Arab. أَرْبَعَة, Heb. אַרְבָּעָה, *four*.
The 𐩣 is the demonstrative enclitic.

ሐሐሐንንዐ, num., the dual form of ነንዐ, = Arab. ^{عَشْرَ}عشر, Heb. עֶשֶׂר, *ten*; therefore ሐሐሐንንዐ for ሐሐሐንንዐ = Arab. عَشْرُونَ, Heb. עֶשְׂרִים.

3. ሐገገገ, n. subst. plur. fract. of ገገ = Heb. עֲלָם, *simulacrum, idolum*.

ሐሐገገ, n. pr. of a castle or palace in El-Yemen, which is, perhaps, the Σιλαεον of Ptolemy. It is mentioned in the Geëz inscriptions of Axum as a capital city of the Sabæans.

4. ገገገገ, n. subst. plur. fract. of ገገ (see XX, 8-9).

ገገገገ, n. subst. plur. fract. of ገገ (see XX, 8-9).

5. ዐዐ, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. As there is here a string of verbs in a sequence, the last one only takes the enclitic ሐ. For the meaning, see XII, 10.

ነገገ, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. from = Arab. ^{ثَبَّرَ}ثَبَّرَ, *to restrain, hinder; disappoint; destroy*.

ዐሐ, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. from = Arab. ^{مَنَعَ}مَنَعَ, Heb. ^{מָנַע}מָנַע, *to forbid, to hinder*.

ሐሐ, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. from = Arab. ^{أَخَّرَ}أَخَّرَ, *to retard, make to retreat*.

ነገ, n. subst. from a verb cognate with Arab. ^{ضَرَّ}ضَرَّ, *to harm, injure, hurt*.

Translation.

..... has endowed his patron deity, Tanuf, the Lady of Ghadhrân, with these twenty-four images, because of their safety, and the safety of this house of Silhîn, and of its lords, and of their king, and because he has prospered them with the favourable sanction of the calling-places

and of the stations, and because he has humiliated and disappointed, and hindered and retarded their injurers and their enemies; in the name of 'Athtor and Il-Makab, and in the name of their patron, Tanuf, the Lady of Ghadh_urân.

XXXII.

(B.M. 5; Os. 4.)

1. 𐤕𐤍𐤏𐤇, n. pr. composed of 𐤏𐤇, *prosperity*, and 𐤕𐤍, *a deity*.
4. 𐤕𐤏𐤇, the particle 𐤇 here has the meaning of the Arab. *ف*, and between two verbs may be translated *and so, and therefore*.
- 5-6. 𐤏𐤇𐤇𐤇𐤍𐤕𐤏𐤇𐤏𐤇𐤏𐤇𐤏𐤇. The sense of this passage has been misapprehended by previous commentators. It means "in the offering (*i.e.*, when they offered) the first-fruits (*or*, best produce) of their fields." 𐤍𐤏𐤇 is akin to Heb. *פֶּלֶא, פֶּלֶא*, *separavit, distinxit*. 𐤏𐤇𐤇𐤇 is the plur. of 𐤏𐤇 or 𐤏𐤇 = Arab. *سِر*, *the best or most fruitful part*, especially of a valley, *the middles* of meadows (see Lane's Lexicon, Book I, part iv, p. 1338). 𐤏𐤇𐤏𐤇, is nom. verb from 𐤏𐤇𐤏𐤇 = Heb. *שָׂם, ponere*.
6. 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤇𐤇𐤇; as 𐤕𐤏𐤇 is formed like the 1st pers. sing. of the imperfect tense, it is according to rule a diptote noun, and must consequently here be in the plural.
8. 𐤕..𐤏𐤏𐤇. Various attempts have been made to restore this word. Osiander suggested 𐤕𐤏𐤇𐤏𐤇𐤏𐤇; Praetorius 𐤕𐤏𐤇𐤏𐤇𐤏𐤇; and Halévy 𐤕𐤕𐤏𐤇𐤏𐤇. Judging from the facsimile, I should feel inclined to say M. Halévy was right. The word, whatever it is, must signify, *to protect or guard*.

The word may be translated *temple* for want of a better word. It is here in the dual form, as 'Athtor and Shams had each a special shrine.

13. 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩢𐩠. The sense of this is, that there shall not only be sacrifices to 'Athtor and Shams^{um}, but also to Il-Makah, the god of Hīrân.

𐩢𐩣𐩢𐩢 = Arab. ذَبَحَ.

𐩧𐩧𐩧𐩬𐩢, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. VIII. of 𐩧𐩧𐩢
= Arab. جَنَّ, Heb. יָנַן, *texit, protexit*. But the verb being the *protasis* of the following 𐩧𐩣𐩠𐩢, which is connected with it by the conjunction 𐩠𐩬𐩠, the correct reading is probably 𐩧𐩧𐩧𐩬𐩢. This verb takes the prep. 𐩠 after it, as the corresponding Hebrew verb takes 𐤠 or 𐤡, and the Arab. على.

14. 𐩬𐩢𐩣; see section on Pronouns, p. 193.

14-15. 𐩠𐩬𐩠, conj., and also, as well as.

𐩧𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩢, imperf. subj. 3rd pers. sing. masc. from 𐩣𐩠𐩢, to hear favourably.

15. 𐩢𐩢𐩣𐩢, n. subst. in stat. construct. = Arab. مَحْرَمٌ, a sacred or forbidden place, a sanctuary.

16. 𐩬𐩠𐩢𐩣, n. pr. of a place or district in El-Yemen devoted to the worship of Il-Makah.

𐩢𐩣, prep. according to (see I. 4).

𐩢𐩠𐩠, n. subst = Arab. عَلَمٌ, a sign. For an explanation of the grammatical phenomenon by which 𐩢𐩠𐩠 drops the mimation and 𐩠𐩣𐩢 = Arab. الَّذِي ... يَهُ, see Müller, *Der status constructus im Himjarischen*.

𐩢𐩠𐩠𐩬, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. V. of 𐩢𐩠𐩠, to be made to know, or be instructed.

17. 𐤁𐤀, perf. 3rd pers. sing. = Arab. رَآى, *to see*. See Müller, *l.c.*
18. 𐤏𐤔𐤍𐤏, n. pr. of a seat of the worship of Il-Maḳah.
- 18-19. 𐤏𐤔𐤍𐤏 | | 𐤏𐤔𐤍𐤏 𐤁𐤀 is equivalent to the Arabic locutions وَاَمَّا ف.
20. 𐤁𐤀𐤏𐤔, n. subst. = Arab. بَرْد, Heb. בָּרָד, *hail*.
- 𐤁𐤀𐤏𐤔, n. subst., *calamity, misfortune*.¹

Translation.

Sa'd-ilâh and his sons, Benû Marthad^{im}, have endowed Il-Maḳah of Hîrrân with this tablet, because Il-Maḳah, lord of Awwâm Dhû-Îrân Alû, has favourably heard the prayer addressed to him, and has consequently heard the Benî Marthad^{im} when they offered (*lit.* in the offering) the first-fruits of their fertile lands of Arhaḳim in the presence of Il-Maḳah of Hîrrân, and Il-Maḳah of Hîrrân has favourably heard the prayer addressed to him that he would protect the plains and meadows and this tribe in *their* habitations, in consideration of the frequent gifts throughout the year; and truly his (Sa'd-ilâh's) sons will descend to Arhaḳim, and they will indeed sacrifice in the two shrines of 'Athtor and Shams^{im}, and *there shall be* a sacrifice in Hîrrân—both in order that *Il-Maḳah* may afford protection to those fields of Bin Marthad^{im} as well as that he may favourably listen—and in the sanctuary of Il-Maḳah of Ḥarwat, and therefore may he keep *them* in safety according to the sign in which Sa'd-ilâh was instructed, the sign which he saw in the sanctuary of Il-Maḳah of Na'mân; and as for Il-Maḳah of Hîrrân, he has protected those fertile lands of Arhaḳim from hail and from all misfortune (*or*, from cold and from all extreme heat).

¹ If we adopt Osiander's reading קלאַתם, the word must be referred to the Heb. קלאַ, Arab. قَلَا, قَلَى, Æth. ቀለወ: giving the notion of *extreme heat*.

XXXIII.

(B.M. 33 ; Os. 35.)

1. The commencement of the lines is lost, as well as the endings ; but in the first line, the restoration is not difficult (see Translation, p. 412).

𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩢. Cf. Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. II, p. 10.

𐩧𐩣𐩢𐩣, n. pr. *the lofty or eminent*. A common name amongst the Somalis at the present day.

𐩢𐩣𐩧𐩣, epithet of Fâri^{um} ; perhaps from a verb cognate with the Arab. نَهَبَ, *to plunder*.

𐩣𐩣𐩧𐩣, perf. 3rd pers. dual, see XXVII, 4.

𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩣, perf. 3rd pers. dual. The Arab. verb نَقَصَ, means to *lessen* or *diminish*, and Halévy thinks reference is made to a reduction of taxation. I would prefer to look on the word as a verb in the הַנְּפַעֵל voice, and to refer it to the root 𐩢𐩣, which we find in the Heb. קָצַף with the force of *dijucandi* (קָצִין, *judex*), and in the Arab. قَضَى, *decrevit*.

𐩧𐩣𐩣𐩣, pref. 3rd pers. dual = Arab. أَخَّرَ *to grant a delay*.

2. 𐩣𐩧𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩣, n. subst. plur. fract. of 𐩣𐩢𐩣 = Arab. عَذْرَاءُ, *a virgin, young maiden*.

𐩧𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩢𐩣𐩣, n. pr. of a tribe or family, apparently composed of 𐩣𐩢𐩣, plur. of 𐩣𐩢, *the great* ; and 𐩣𐩣𐩣, plur. of 𐩣𐩣, *a servant*. Cf. Hal., 174, 1 ; 624, 1.

𐩣𐩣𐩣, plur. of 𐩣, *a chief* (see XXIV, 2).

ሃገዐወ፡ሃበወ. These two words are thought to refer to a tribe by Halévy. As ^ሀوَعْل means a *prince* or *noble*, the term may be a title of the heir apparent to the chieftdom, like the ولي عبد of the Muham-madans.

3. ሃሃገበ.... Halévy supplies ሃሃገበ፡የገዐ፡ገዐ, and this seems agreeable to the context.

ሃሃገ፡፡፡ = Arab. مَلَكٌ, plur. مَمْلَكَتٌ, *possessions*.

ሃበዘገ; cf. the Amh. ለዘበ: *to be soft, smooth, polished*.

ሃሃበሃሃ, cf. Arab. سَبْيٌ, *a captive or slave*, especially applied to *women*.

4. ሃሃየዐወ፡፡፡, imperf. prec. 3rd pers. plur. masc. X. of የዐወ, *may they keep intact*.

ሃዐወ, n. subst., cf. Amh. ወተፈ: *to stop, obstruct*.

፡፡፡ሃየ፡፡፡ = ፡፡፡ሃየ፡፡፡, *to reveal*.

5. ሃሃ፡፡፡, n. pr. of many of the Sabæan kings, composed of ገሃ, *Il*, and ሃሃ፡፡፡ = شَرَح, *to reveal*.

በ፡፡፡, epithet of Il-sharaha = Heb. קָצַץ, *cecidit, delevit*.

ገሃየ, n. pr., cf. the Æth. ለዛል: *vir fortis, strenuus*.

ሃየበ, a frequent surname of the Sabæan kings, from the root ሃበ = Arab. بَانَ, *to become manifest or apparent*.

6. ፡፡፡ሃየ፡፡፡, n. subst. = Arab. مَصْدَقٌ, *a confirmation*.

፳፻፳፻, n. subst. from ፳፻, a grant.

፻፻፻፻, n. subst. = Arab. نَحْلٌ, a gift.

፻፻፻፻, a curious instance of a noun being formed from the PERFECT tense of a verb, *that which is restored*, the Æthiopic ገብሏ.

፻፻፻፻, n. subst. = Arab. سَطْرٌ, a line of writing, writing.

፻፻፻፻, = Arab. صَغِيرٌ, small.

Translation.

1. *Il-sharaḥa Yaḥdhab and his brother, Yäzäl Bayyân, kings of Sabä and Dhû-Raidân, sons of Fâri'im Yanhab, king of Sabä, have granted and decreed, and lastly have postponed and*
2. *of their young men and of their maidens, the Akbar-wa-aḳain^{um}, the chiefs of this tribe of Bekîl^{im} and the BinWa'l (heir apparent) of their tribe of Bekîl^{im}*
3. the Akbar-wa-aḳain^{um} and their tribe of Bekîl^{im} may acquire for their lords possessions and gentle female slaves
4. as to their sons' sons and their daughters' daughters, may the Benû Kabîrûḳain^{im} and *their* tribe keep intact this restriction
5. their two lords, Il-sharaḥa Yaḥdhab and his brother, Yäzäl Bayyân, kings of Sabä and Dhû-Raidân, sons of Fâri'im
6. the restriction and the confirmation and the grant and the deed of restitution and every writing, great as well as small.

XXXIV.

(B.M. 35; Os. 37.)

This inscription is in a very mutilated condition, but it is clearly in the Ḥadhrāmūt dialect. The name of the votary appears to be Nabāṭa-il of Rākif and the offering is a piece of gold of four

XXXV.

(B.M. 31; Os. 28.)

This inscription is in too fragmentary a condition to admit of translation.

XXXVI.

(B.M. 6; Os. 29.)

This inscription is in the dialect of Ḥadhrāmūt.

1. 𐤀𐤇𐤇𐤃𐤃𐤁, n. pr. composed of 𐤃𐤇𐤁, *the just or righteous one*, Arab. ^{صَادِقٌ}صَادِقٌ, an epithet of the deity; and 𐤀𐤇𐤇, 3rd pers. sing. perf. = Arab. ^{ذَكَرَ}ذَكَرَ, *to remember*.

𐤀𐤇𐤇, epithet of Ṣādīk-dhakara, from = Arab. ^{بَرٌّ}بَرٌّ, with the adjectival ending 𐤀, = ^{أَبْرٌ}أَبْرٌ, *pious, reverent*.

𐤀𐤇𐤇, another epithet, meaning *the one who listens*, thence *the obedient, sincere* = Arab. ^{أَذِينٌ}أَذِينٌ.

𐤃𐤇𐤃, n. subst., *property, or servant*.

𐤀𐤇𐤇𐤃𐤃 = Arab. ^{حَضْرَمَوْتٌ}حَضْرَمَوْتٌ, Heb. ^{חֲצֵרְמוֹת}חֲצֵרְמוֹת, Ḥadhrāmūt, a province in the south of Arabia.

2. 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩨, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. IV. (Saphel) of
𐩦𐩣𐩪 = 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩣 in Sabæan.

𐩦𐩣𐩨, n. pr. of the god of the moon. (Z. d. D. M. G.
xix, p. 247 *sqq.*)

𐩦𐩬𐩨𐩨; Alam is the name of a place, one of the
principal seats of the cultus of Sîn.

𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩨, n. pr. fem. = 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩣.

𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩣𐩨; the noun 𐩪𐩣𐩨 has here the paragogic
𐩣 peculiar to substantives in the Minæan and
Ḥadhrāmaut dialects, when in the construct state.

- 2-3. 𐩦𐩬𐩨𐩨𐩨, n. subst. genitive case = Æth. ወደቡት :
weight, value. The words simply means “*of weight or
value*”; if, as Halévy thinks, they signified “*of which
the weight,*” the phrase would be 𐩨𐩦𐩬𐩨𐩨𐩨.
In the Ḥadhrāmaut dialect the final 𐩦 of fem. nouns
and 3rd pers. fem. perf. of verbs is often converted
into 𐩦.

3. 𐩪𐩬𐩨𐩣, n. adj. = Arab. خَلْفًا, here meaning *different
from*.

𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩪𐩨𐩨, n. subst. and adj. accus. The
second word = Æth. ቀይሕ, *red*, and refers apparently
to an inferior kind of gold.

𐩦𐩨𐩪𐩪, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. passive voice.
The exact sense of this verb is not deducible from
the other Semitic languages; but from analogy it
evidently signifies *to offer, dedicate*. 𐩦 is for 𐩦 (*vide
supra*, l. 2).

𐩦𐩬𐩨𐩨𐩨; *this offering* (see XIV. 7).

4. 𐩬𐩨𐩨 = Heb. כְּמֵנוּ, *like us*.

ሐሃለከ፩, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. The etymology of the word is not very clear, but from the context it is plainly identical with the Sabæan **ዐሃሃ፩**. The **ሐ** at the end of this and the following word = **ዐሃ**.

ሐፀእ, perf. 3rd pers. sing. masc. VIII. of **ሐፀ** = Arab. **ضوى**, *se recepit, confugit ad aliquem*; VII, *se contulit ad aliquem*.

ሐዘከ = Arab. **أذن**, *the ear*; here, *the favourable protection*.

5. **ሐበከለእፀዐ**; it would appear from this that in the Sabæan mythology 'Athtor was regarded as the father of Sin.

የእሃገከ, fem. of የሃገከ, from **ሃገከ**, *a divinity*. Here in the plur. construct state.

6. **ሐሃነገሃ**; this word also has the Minæan paragogic **ሃ** in addition to the demonstrative enclitic.

እዐበኔ, a town of Ḥadhramaut, known to the classic writers as *Sabbatha* or *Sabota*, and enumerated by Al-Hamdânî in the *Iklîl fi-Ansab* amongst the castles of the province under the name of **شَبْوَة** (Z. d. D. M. G., xix, p. 247 *sqq.*).

ሐሐዘከዐለከከ፩ = Arab. **وَأَذْنُهُ** and **نَفْسُهُ**, referring to the *soul* or *spiritual element* and the *mind* or *intellectual faculty*.

7. **እሂበከ**, n. subst. fem. from a word cognate to Æth. **፩ገከ**: Arab. **صَبَاح**, *the light of the morning, the dawn*. But although this is the recognised interpretation I feel some doubts regarding it. Cf. Æth. **፩ገከተ**: *tribute*.

𐩀𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩀𐩢 ; 𐩢𐩣 = Heb. לֵב, *cor* ; 𐩠𐩀𐩢 = Heb.
זֶכֶר, *memoria*.

- 7-8. It is difficult to say whether the “lux oculorum” and the “memoria cordis” refer to the persons mentioned at the end of the inscription, or whether these are simply the names of the engravers. The former is the accepted interpretation.

Translation.

Ṣādīḳ-dhakara the pious, the obedient, the slave of the King of Ḥadhrāmūt, Bin Il-Sharaḥa, has endowed Sîn of Alam with an offering of gold different from the red gold; and has dedicated this offering to Sîn, as he has granted the prayer addressed to him; and he has recommended to the favourable protection of Sîn of Alam, and of 'Athlōr his father, and of the goddesses of his sanctuary of Alam, and of the gods and goddesses of this city of Shabwat, himself and his mind and his children and his possessions and the light (*or*, tribute) of his eyes and the memory of his heart, Marthad^{am} and Addân^{am} of Yen'am.

XXXVII.

(B.M. 38 ; Os. 35.)

1. 𐩀𐩠𐩣, n. subst. This word, which is cognate with the Heb. נֶפֶשׁ, bears the Talmudical meaning of a *sepulchral monument* in Sabæan.
- 1-2. 𐩠𐩢𐩣, n. subst. = Heb. קֶבֶר, *sepulcrum*.
2. 𐩠𐩀𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩣, n. pr. of uncertain derivation.
3. 𐩠𐩀𐩢𐩣, n. pr. Cf. Heb. עֵשָׂו, Esau.

The end of this inscription, which was found at Warka, the Biblical Erech, is too mutilated to admit of translation.

XXXVIII.

(Halévy, No. 686.)

This inscription was found at Mârib, and is now in the British Museum.

1. 𐤀𐤁𐤍𐤕𐤌𐤕𐤍, n. pr. 𐤀𐤁𐤍𐤕 is the Arabic
^{أحسن}أحسن, *protected against attack*.

𐤌𐤍𐤍𐤕, n. pr. (XXII, 1).

2. 𐤕𐤕𐤕, surname of Rabâb^{um}.

𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕. I should have been inclined at first to think that 𐤕𐤕 was a dual form, but the verbs are in the plural: therefore 𐤕𐤕 may also be a plural form of 𐤕. 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 would then signify the place of their residence.

𐤕𐤕𐤕, perf. 3rd pers. plur. = Heb. ִבְּרָא, *formavit*.

3. 𐤀𐤁𐤍𐤕𐤕 (XXIX, 2).

𐤀𐤁𐤍𐤕𐤕, n. subst. = Arab. مَحْرَابٌ, *the high place or station of the Imâm in a mosque; a pavilion, or small place of worship*.

4. 𐤀𐤁𐤍𐤕𐤕, n. pr. of a place in El-Yemen, now called 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕, Kaukabân, derived no doubt from 𐤕𐤕𐤕, radical signifying *globum convolvit*, thence 𐤕𐤕𐤕, meaning in all the Semitic languages, *a constellation*.

𐤕𐤕𐤕 has here a more extended meaning than usual, and means the place, or seat, where Il-Maḩalî was worshipped.

5. 𐤕𐤕𐤕, (XXIX, 4). 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 (XXXI, 2).

6. 𐩦𐩢𐩣𐩠, perf. 3rd pers. masc. sing. V. of 𐩦𐩢𐩣 = Æth. ገብረ: III. ተገበረ: *opus fecit, operavit*. This and the following word are engraved in smaller characters, and may have been added by the sculptor.

𐩢𐩠𐩠𐩪, a common proper name amongst the Sabæans, meaning, not *the love of the father*, as Halévy translates it, but “*CUJUS pater Wadd est*,” like the Hebrew בן־אב, יוֹנָה. The words 𐩢𐩠𐩠𐩪𐩠𐩪, or *representation of Wadd-ab*, are placed over the figure of a man preserved in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (*Journal*, No. VIII, October, 1844, p. 30). Wadd was pre-eminently the god of the tribe of Kalb, and was worshipped in Daumabu-l-Jandal. The name is also found in the Arabic writers as a personal designation (*Ibn Khaldûn*, apud Caussin de Percival, *Essai*, tom 1, p. 137).

Translation.

Bahal Ahşan and Rabâb^{um} Yatal of Abnat have constructed and completed this sacred pavilion of Kaukabân in the seat (*or*, place of worship) of Il-Maḩah, and have placed it under the protection of their benefactor (*or*, tutelary deity). *Fccit Wadd-ab*.

NOTE ON THE FORMATION OF THE REGULAR PLURAL IN SABÆAN.

In the grammatical sketch which preceded these translations, I expressed the opinion that the regular plural (*pluralis sanus*) of nouns in Sabæan ended in 𐩦, and was probably vocalised as *ânu*, or *înu*. As this opinion is opposed to the views of many who have made a study of the language, I think it right to offer a brief exposition of the grounds for my belief.

Few things strike the student of Sabæan more strongly than the close etymological agreement of the phenomenon of the mîmation with the rules which govern the Arabic *tanwîn*. Syntactically, there are variations, as Dr. Müller has shown with reference to the dropping of the mîmation of the noun when it is the antecedent of a relative sentence, and therefore, on the analogy of the Arabic ⁵صَفَّةٌ, the mîmation should be retained.¹ But, as a general rule, it may be stated that the mîmation follows the *tanwîn*. It is always found in broken or internal plurals, such as מְקֻמָּתָם, אֲאֲדָנִם, מְשִׁימָתָם, etc.; and it is dropped when the noun is in the *status constructus*. And yet etymologically an occasional deviation from this principle occurs, for which it is difficult to account. The presence of the phenomenon certainly cannot depend on local usage, as suggested by M. Halévy (*Études Sabéennes*, p. 55), for we often find a mîmated and an unmîmated form of the same word in inscriptions coming from the same place. It therefore seemed to me that if anomalous forms are found, such as אֲבִינִם, חֲצִרְמוֹתָם, חֲמִיּוֹם, etc., they must be explained, not by the hypothesis that diptotes (or nouns declinable in two cases only) are

¹ It is dropped in Arabic when the subject of the relative is indeterminate.

occasionally triptote in Sabæan, but by the fact, which I shall endeavour to substantiate, that the apparently triptote form is really a note of the plural number.

The key to the interpretation of the Sabæan inscriptions was afforded by the words מלך המירם, which occur in the inscription of Ḥiṣn Ghorâb. These Gesenius (who was as yet unconscious of the phenomenon of the mîmation) translated as *rex Himjaritharum*.¹ This was natural enough, for the י being a *mater lectionis*, might be written defectively, as in the Phœnician ערנם (sing. ערני), and occasionally in Hebrew, as in Gen. i, 21, תנינִים. There may be also noted the archaic plural in ם, as in סלם (sing. סלל), כָּנָם (sing. כָּן). But, beyond this, حير is a diptote noun in Arabic, and good evidence is required to prove that it is a triptote noun in Sabæan. In the Arabic mythology Ḥimyar was the son of Sabä, or, in other words, the clan of the Ḥimyarites was an offshoot of the great tribe or people of the Sabæans, and while there are sufficient proofs to show that Sabä was the name of a tract of country and of its inhabitants from a very early date, there is not a single iota of evidence that there was ever an acre of ground called Ḥimyar. The word is not found in the Bible, nor in Strabo. Ptolemy calls the district occupied by the Ḥimyarites, not 'Ομηρία, or any similar word, but 'Ομηριτών χώρα. All other authorities, from the Periplus to the Greek inscription of Axum, speak of the Βασιλεὺς 'Ομηριτών. The same may be said of the Sabæans, who appear in the documents which I have cited as Σαβαίτοι or Σαβείτοι, but from far more ancient writings we know that Sabä (סַבְא) was a territorial name and was inhabited by one of the principal nations of Arabia. It would be beyond the scope of the present inquiry to enter into a discussion of the historical points involved in the question of Ḥimyar and Sabä, but briefly the case may be stated thus. The original Joktanide possessors of El-Yemen were the great tribe of Sabä, the Σαβαῖοι of Strabo, whose metropolis was Μαριάβα, and whose chief in the

¹ *Thesaurus*, p. 793.

inscriptions is called מלך סבא.¹ Between the time of Augustus and the date of the Periplus, one of the sub-tribes of the Sabæan stock, the Ḥimyarites, rose to power under their chief, Kariba-īl, and probably extinguished the parent line. I believe that Kariba-īl was a Ḥimyarite, because in the passage where he is referred to in the Periplus, the Ḥimyarites are evidently the ascendant tribe, and also because in the inscriptions of Fresnel, Nos. XI and LIV, his father, Dhamar'alī, is not described as *Malik Sabā*, but as *Makrab Sabā*, an inferior title denoting a viceroy or deputy under the principal kings, and probably the *τύραννος* of the Periplus. The official title of the kings of this line was מלך סבא ודרין, and the seat of their sovereignty was at the castle of Raidân at Zhafâr. In later times, this junior stock probably moved to the eastward, and the chief was known by the title of מלך חמירם. In the time of Mohammed, this ancient name was forgotten, and the whole of South Arabia was supposed to be Ḥimyaritic. Theophanes of Byzantium informs us that in his time the term Ἀμανίται (*i.e.*, Yemenites) was synonymous with Ὀμηρίται.²

We have therefore every reason to believe, both on philological and historical grounds, that the instinct of Gesenius rightly guided him, and that the expressions מלך חמירם and ארע חמירם, should be translated, not as *king of Ḥimyar* and *land of Ḥimyar*, but as *king* and *land of the Ḥimyarites*. If this is correct, the final ם is not the mîmation, but the sign of the plural.

One of the best established rules of Arabic grammar is that nouns ending in و are diptote. Such a word is the local name مَعِين, which in Sabæan is represented by מען. As however the form מענס frequently occurs in the inscriptions, and as I did not think these variations attributable to caprice, I endeavoured by an analysis of the texts in which the words are found, to discover the reasons for them, but I am compelled to say without much success. The combina-

¹ I was formerly of opinion that Zhafâr (Raidân) was the seat of the earliest stock, but I now see reason to believe that this view was incorrect. See Sprenger, *Die Alte Geographie Arabiens*, pp. 72, sqq.

² Eichhorn, *Monumenta Antiquissima Historiæ Arabum*, Gothæ, 1775, p. 66.

tions מלך מען, מלכי מען, and מזור מען occur twenty-five times¹ in the inscriptions copied by M. Halévy at Me'in and Berâkîsh, which appears to be the site of the ancient יתל or *Yathal*; while the combinations מלך מענם, מלכי מענם, and מזור מענם only occur ten times.² In one inscription, No. 242, the expression מלך מען דמענם, and this seems sufficient to prove that the words are not identical in meaning. As the inscriptions in which the former of the combinations occur were found both at Me'in and Berâkîsh in large numbers, while those containing the second combination were nearly all found at Berâkîsh, I am disposed to think that the term מלך מען expresses the territorial sovereignty of the king over the whole country, while that of מלך מענם indicates his rule over the people of Me'in or the Minæans, as distinct from the people of *Yathal* or *Hadhrāmūt* (see No. 193). In No. 188, 10 we have, for instance, כל מענם ודיתל, *all the Minæans and those of Yathal*. The terms אלאלת מען and אלאלת מענם, *gods of Me'in, gods of the Minæans*, are used indifferently. When, however, there is a question of the tribe, the form מענם is used, as ביז סבא ו מענם, *between the tribe of Sabā and the Minæans* (Hal. 354, 2); בן כל מענם, *from all the Minæans* (Hal. 385, 3); אמלך מענם, *the possessions of the Minæans* (Hal. 478, 18). The phrase עם מען, *people of Me'in*, is used twice (Hal. 237, 5; 238, 3), and both שעבס מען and שעבס מעום (Hal. 199, 11; 535, 21; 193, 5) are met with.

The same observations apply to such words as בעדנס and אבינס, which are written in Arabic ^بع^دن and ^أب^ين. דת בעדנס and דת בערן correspond with the respective terms אלאלת מענם and אלאלת מען.

We find that another rule of Arabic grammar, viz., that proper names formed by a combination of two words are

¹ Hal. 187, 5; 191, 1; 192, 3, 12; 195, 10; 221, 3; 228, 1; 237, 1; 242, 8; 243, 18; 255, 1; 257, 1; 430, 2; 451, 1; 459, 3; 462, 1; 480, 3; 485, 10; 504, 11; 521, 2; 523, 2; 535, 20; 553, 2; 562, 2; 574, 2.

² Hal. 193, 4; 199, 10; 200, 1; 449, 3; 467, 3; 479, 2; 516, 2; 520, 4; 527, 2; 534, 12.

diptote, is also closely followed in Sabæan, *e.g.* סמהעלי, תבענר, etc. But the two forms חֲצֹרֶמֶת (Arab. حَضْرَمَوْت) and חֲצֹרֶמֶת occur. We find the former in the two passages מלך חֲצֹרֶמֶת (Os. 29, 1; Hal. 193, 1) where it clearly refers to the territory of Ḥadhrāmawt; in Hal. 149, 5, we find, on the contrary, חֲצֹרֶמֶת, for the passage alludes to a war with the *people of Ḥadhrāmawt*.

I have up to this point confined my remarks to the plural form observable in proper names which in their formation present a variation from the ordinary rules of Arabic grammar. To prove the general rule that the *pluralis sanus* of masculine diptote nouns ends in ם is a task of some difficulty, partly in consequence of the rarity of examples arising from the preponderance of broken or internal plurals, and partly because we cannot always from the context discriminate between the ם of the mimation and the ם of the plural. I will offer a few examples:—

(Os. 31, 5) : כל צרהמו רשנאהמו : in this phrase, the word שנא is in the singular number, being qualified by כל (*every injurer and enemy of them*).

(Os. 18, 10) : בן נָעַר ו שְׂצִי שְׁנָאם דָּרְחָק וקָרֵב : here the word is in the plural, as the phrase mentions not a single foe, but two classes of enemies, *those at a distance and those close at hand*.

(Os. 17, 10) : כל אַנְסַם דִּישְׁצִין : the word אַנְסַם is here in the singular, being qualified by כל and the following verb being in the singular of the subjunctive.

(Prid. XVIII) : מַסְבָּאן אַנְסַם וּבִעֵרָם : in this passage the word is probably in the plural, the English phrase “man and beast” or the German “*mensch und vieh*” being foreign to the genius of the Semitic languages.

The following passages afford clearer instances of the plural in ם:—

מִנְּ[פֶק אַמַּת וְחִמַּס קַבִּים (Hal. 215, 3), *i.e.* *half a cubit* (in depth) *and five kabs* (in capacity). The two first words may be compared with the Æthiopic ሥፋፋ፡ ለፋፋ፡ and the last word with the Hebrew and Talmudic קַב.

זלא תעלי סרת צחפס וסדהת (Hal. 192, 3, 4, 5)
 מחפדת בגנא הגר i.e. *he built up*¹ the conduits
 (Heb. תַּעֲלֶה) of the six tanks (Arab. صَحَاف, Lane,
 Book I, p. 1655) and of the six towers (Æth. ሳሳፋፍ: plur.
 ሳሳፋፍተ:) in the enclosure of the city. In this passage צחפס
 cannot be an internal plural, like the Arabic صُحُف, because,
 if it were, it would drop the mîmation before the following
 words, בגנא הגר, in accordance with the rules of the
 Status Constructus in Sabæan.² Cf. Fresnel, LV, 3; LVI, 4:—
 כל מענב ומחפדת בעלי דן מהיען.

The last example which I shall now offer affords an even more convincing proof of the fact which I have endeavoured to substantiate:—

. . . . אשוע ופקדם בן (Hal. 87, 1), i.e., *the followers and officers of Bin*, a passage which reminds us of the Biblical פְּקֹד וְשׁוֹעַ (Ezekiel, xxiii, 23). In this sentence there can be no doubt that the words פקדם and אשוע are in the status constructus before בן.³ יִשׁוּעַ (plene, אשועם) is the plural of שׁוֹעַ, *sectator* (Os. 8, 7; Hal. 20; 26; 33; 169, 1; 202, 3), and פקדם must therefore also be the plural of a word which I take to be פֶּקֶד (Æth. ፋፄ፩: Heb. פְּקִיד), *præfectus, præpositus*. As the mîmation falls when a triptote noun is in the construct state, the presence of the final ם in פקדם can only be accounted for by the fact that it is not the sign of the mîmation, but of the plural number.

In conclusion I will merely add, that from the Sabæan possessing the mîmation, it is even agreeable, on *à priori* grounds, that the plural would end in *âmu* or some such

¹ The word זלא is cognate with the Heb. סָלַל, סָלָה, סָלָא, (i.e., זלל in Crutenden's Inser. of San'a, line 3), which primarily signify *to raise*. Watercourses in the East are generally made by heaping up the earth on either side of the runnel through which the water passes.

² Müller, Zeitschrift d. D. M. Gesellschaft, xxx, p. 122.

³ See, for examples of the phrases ענב בן, etc., Dr. Mordtmann, *zwei himjarische Inschriften*, Z. d. M. G., xxx, pp. 31, 32.

form. It has been conjectured, from the few adverbial accusatives which are found scattered in Hebrew with a termination, that that language was originally mimated; and the analogy of the Arabic shows what is the true development of the *tanwîn*. I believe that in nearly, if not quite, all the passages in which a final } appears, and in which it has hitherto been taken to be a plural ending, it is simply the demonstrative enclitic, which, as a mark of energy, plays such an important part in Sabæan grammar.

W. F. PRIDEAUX.

Bushire, 12th January, 1877.



CHALDEAN ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION.

Translated by H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S.*Read 4th January, 1876.*

THE cuneiform text of the First and Fifth Creation Tablets, which are the only ones as yet found in a tolerable state of preservation, has been published by Mr. G. Smith and also by Delitzsch in his *Assyrische Lesestücke*, plates 40 and 41. From these my translation has been made.

THE FIRST TABLET.

1. When the upper region was not yet called Heaven,
2. and the lower region was not yet called Earth,
3. and the Abyss of Hades had not yet opened its arms,
4. then the Chaos of waters gave birth to all of them
5. and the waters were gathered into one place.
6. No men yet dwelt together : no animals yet wandered
about :
7. None of the gods had yet been born.
8. Their names were not spoken : their attributes were not
known :
9. Then the eldest of the gods
10. Lakhmu and Lakhamu were born
11. and grew up
12. Assur and Kissur were born next
13. and lived through long periods.
14. Anu

[The rest of this tablet is lost.]

THE FIFTH TABLET OF THE CREATION SERIES.

This fifth tablet is very important, because it affirms clearly in my opinion that the origin of the Sabbath was coëval with Creation.

1. He constructed dwellings for the great gods.
2. He fixed up constellations, whose figures were like animals.
3. He made the year. Into four quarters he divided it.
4. Twelve months he established, with their constellations, three by three.
5. and for the days of the year he appointed festivals.
6. He made dwellings for the Planets: for their rising and setting,
7. And that nothing should go amiss, and that the course of none should be retarded,
8. he placed with them the dwellings of Bel and Hea.
9. He opened great gates, on every side:
10. He made strong the portals, on the left hand and on the right.
11. In the centre he placed Luminaries,
12. The Moon he appointed to rule the night
13. and to wander through the night, until the dawn of day.
14. Every month without fail he made holy assembly-days.
15. In the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night,
16. it shot forth its horns to illuminate the heavens.
17. On the seventh day he appointed a holy day,
18. And to cease from all business he commanded.
19. Then arose the Sun in the horizon of heaven in [glory].

The last word is broken off, and though there are seven more lines, they are so broken that I cannot give a translation of them with any confidence.

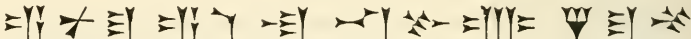
It has been known for some time that the Babylonians observed the Sabbath with considerable strictness. On that day the king was not allowed to take a drive in his chariot; various meats were forbidden to be eaten, and there were a number of other minute restrictions. See 4 R, plate 32.

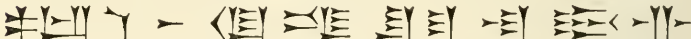
But it was not known that they believed the Sabbath to have been ordained at the Creation. I have found, however, since this translation of the fifth tablet was completed, that Mr. Sayce has recently published a similar opinion. See the Academy of November 27, 1875, p. 554.

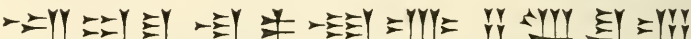
This account falls short of the majesty of the Hebrew Genesis, especially where the writer implies that the heavenly movements might possibly go wrong, and it was therefore necessary that the gods Bel and Hea should watch over them and guard against such a misfortune.

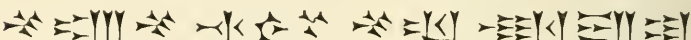
I will now give the cuneiform text of the First Tablet:—

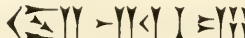
LINE

1.  Enuma elish la nabū samamu
When the region above was not called Heaven

2.  siplish in kitu suma la zakrat
(and) below on Earth (by that) name was not spoken

3.  zuab - ma la patū zaru - sun
and the Abyss had not opened its arms

4.  mummu tisallat muallidat
the Chaos of Ocean was the mother


gimri-sun
of all of them

5.  mi - sun istinish ikhiqū - ma
their waters into one place were gathered

6.    
gipara la kissura : zuzā
Men *not yet* *dwelt together :* *animals*





 la sehu
not yet wandered about:

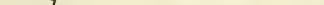
7.                

enuma ili la subū manama
when the gods not had risen none of them

8.      ()
 suma la sukkuru : simata la (. . . .)
their names not were named : their honours not (were known)

9.     ()
 ibbanū - ma ili
 (then) were born the gods (eldest?)

10.                  

11. 
 adi irbū
 and *grew up*

12.    
 Assur Kissur
Assur (and) Kissur were born

13.         
 urriku tama buda
 they were prolonged to days long
14.         
 Anu
 Anu

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

The whole series of Creation tablets was called the *Enuma elish*, from the two first words of the first tablet. So the Jews called the book of Genesis *Beresith*, from its two first words *Be-resith*, 'in the beginning.'

Line 3. *Zaru*, 'its arms.' Heb. זרוע 'the Arm.' The same image is found in the Hebrew scriptures: 'shall he deliver his soul from the *hand* of Hades? (Sheol).' Ps. lxxxix, 48. See a similar passage in Ps. xlix, 15. And Hosea xiii, 14, says: 'I will ransom them from the *hand* of Hades.'

The word *zaru* זרוע is poetical. It is used in Deut. iv, 34, for the *arm* of the Almighty, 'stretched out' to deliver the Israelites.

Line 4. *Mummu*, Chaos. Heb. מהומה, 'tumult,' from root הום, perturbare. It was especially a Chaos of waters, a boundless Ocean. Nearly the same as Heb. *tahum* תהום, 'the Ocean,' from same root הום, which the LXX always render Ἀβυσσος. תהום is feminine in Genesis vii, 11, and xlix, 25; Ezekiel xxxi, 4. Gesenius renders it Oceanus.

Its plural תהמות *tahmut* is the Assyrian *tamti* or *tamut*, 'the Ocean,' a word of frequent occurrence. In our Transactions, vol. iii, p. 511, I have given the gloss *Umun*. *Mummu*             . This word *Umun* המון occurs in Job xxxi, 34, where it is feminine, and means 'tumult: confusion,' from same root המה or הום.

Tisallat, Ocean. If this word was pronounced *Tithallat* (and there are instances, especially in the Behistun Inscription, of S used for TH), then we have here the Θαλατθ of the Chaldean author Berosus, who says, 'There was a time in

which there existed nothing but darkness and an Abyss of waters wherein dwelt all manner of monstrous animals. The being who ruled over them was a female named Omoroca, which in the Chaldean language is *Thalatth*: in Greek *Thalassa* the Sea.' See Smith's 'Chaldean Account of Genesis,' p. 41.

Muallidat, feminine participle of the verb ילד 'to bear children.'

5. *Istinish*, 'into one place.' *Istin* in Assyrian signifies 'One.' Compare Genesis i, 9, 'And God said, let the waters be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so. And God called the dry land Earth, and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that it was good.'

Ikhiqu or *Ihiqu*, from Heb. חק, an appointed bound or limit, from verb חקק statuit, terminavit. This word occurs in a most remarkable passage in the eighth chapter of Proverbs, where Eternal Wisdom is said to have been present, with God, at the Creation of the World; which Calmet compares to the Eternal *Λογος* of the 1st chapter of St. John's Gospel. The sacred writer of this chapter of Proverbs pictures to himself the time before anything was created, save Wisdom alone, and his words take a turn not unlike the *Enuma elish* of the Babylonians, *ex. gr.*, 'When as yet God had not made the Earth,' &c. Proverbs viii, 26.

Three lines afterwards we read: 'When He gave to the sea his decree, that the waters should not pass His commandment.'

Here the decree (חק) given to the Sea, not to pass over its appointed limits, is the same word as the Babylonian tablet employs in line 5, *mi istinish ihiqu*, 'the waters were gathered into one place.'

Line 6. *Gipara*. Heb. גבר¹ 'a Man.' Syriac *gabra*. Often put absolutely for 'Man.' Jeremiah xvii, 7, "Blessed is the man (*gibir*) that trusteth in the Lord." Job. iv 17, "Shall man (*gibir*) be more pure than his maker?"

Job x, 5, "Are Thy years as the days of man (*gibir*)?" These words are addressed to the Deity.

¹ Pointed so as to read *gibir*.

Kissurn 'they were banded together; united; or bound.' Heb. קשר to join or bind together; sometimes to unite in sympathy, as the hearts of David and Jonathan: to bind into a group, as the stars of the Pleiades. Job xxxviii, 31, "Didst thou bind together the bands of the Pleiades?" So Gesenius renders the passage. Hence the union of the first men into societies would be properly expressed by the verb *kissur*.

Zuza 'animals.' Heb. *Ziz* זיז, a living animal, especially a wild beast; from the root *zuz* זוז to live and move, as in Ps. l, 11, "I know all the fowls of the mountains, and the wild beasts (*ziz*) of the fields are mine." And Ps. lxxx, 13. "The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast (*ziz*) of the field doth devour it." *Sehu* 'they wandered about.' Heb. תעה and also טעה 'to wander'; oberravit; erravit.

Line 7. *Subu* 'they were risen.' Catafago, p. 143, has *sabaa* to rise (as a star): *sabāh*, the dawn of day; *subh*, the dawn, aurora; *sabihat*, the dawn. The stars were the original gods of the Babylonians, who to denote 'a god' figured a star.

Line 8. *Suma la sukkuru*, 'their names were not spoken.' Apparently the same as *zakaru* (speak or name), which occurs often.

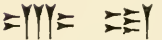
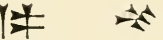
Line 10. *Ustabu* is I think a T conjugation of *subu* (see l. 7) and with the same meaning.

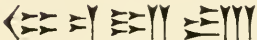
Line 13. *Urriku* 'were prolonged, or extended.' Compare *iriku*, *liriku*, *ruku*; from רחק longè recessit, a word which occurs very frequently.

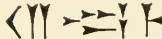
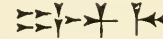
The discovery of this tablet has greatly raised the reputation of the ancient author Damascius, for it is now seen that his account of the Creation was derived from genuine Babylonian sources. He says (see Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 318, compared with the original): "The Babylonians speak not of *One* origin of all things (αρχη των όλων), for they make two original beings, *Tauθε* and *Απασων*, making *Απασων* the husband of *Tauθε*, whom they call the Mother of the gods. Their only son (? eldest son) was *Μωνυμις*. And

2.    
 Kakkabi tamsil - su as umami
Constellations, their figures like animals

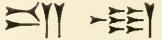
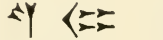

 uzziz
he fixed up.

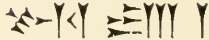
3.   
 uaddi muanna eli
he made the year, into

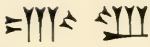
 
 mizrata umazzir
quarters he divided it

4.    
 ... arkhi kakkabi ana
twelve months, their constellations by threes

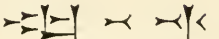

 uzziz
he fixed up

5.    
 istu tami sha muanna
from the days of the year

 
 ustatil ussurati
he established festivals

10.      
 sigaru uddannina sumila
the portals *he made strong* *on the left*

  
 u - imna
and on the right

11.      
 in kabatti-sha-ma istakan
in *the centre of it also* *he placed*

   
 elati
luminaries

12.        
 ilu Urru ustipā musa
the divine *Moon* *he placed on high,* *the night*

   
 iqtipa
to go round

13.        
 uaddi-su-mma sukkur musi
and made it *to wander through* *the night*

     
 ana uddu sami
until the rising of the day

14.          
- arkhi sam la naparkā
Month every without fail

as agie utsir
with holy festivals he observed

15.          
- ina resh arkhi-ma napakhi
in the beginning of the month at the rising

lilati
of the night

16.          
- garni nabata ana uddu
its horns it shot forth to illuminate

samami
the heavens

17.          
- ina tama sibitti-kan agā ukin-ma
on the seventh day, a holy day he appointed

18.          
- ana battulū sutkhurati
(and) to cease from all business

uzzu
he commanded

19. [=|||= >-|||<] =| >-† †| =| >-†| =| >|||
 utzur-ma Shems ina isid
 and he made the Sun in the ...

>-† =||| > (<|> >-|||<|) >-|||
 Shamie as arka
 of Heaven in its place

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

Line 2. *Tamsil*, figure or resemblance: from מַשַּׁל to resemble. This word occurs frequently.

Umami 'animals' is a frequent word, but doubtful here. I think the last letter should be |> or <=, and not <|>.

Uzziz 'he fixed up.' Heb. עָצַב firmavit.

Line 3. *Mizrata* 'quarters,' is a term frequently applied to the quarters of the human body. It is sometimes written *mizriti*. The etymology is uncertain.

Line 5. *Ustatil* 'he established.' An uncertain word, but compare *edil* 'I established'; *mudil* 'establisher or restorer.'

Ussurati, holy festivals held on certain days, עֲצֻרָת dies feriatus: feria: coetus ferians.

Line 6. *Nibiri*, the Planets. Moving stars, from עָבַר to pass over; whence *nibirti*, a crossing over.

Line 7. *Anni*, faults, errors, wrong doings. I have treated of this word in my glossary No. 415; *ex. gr.* *Anni ebusu*, 'the faults I have committed.' It is the Heb. עֵן peccatum, perversitas, actio prava. The verb *epis* or *ebus* usually governs *anni*, as here, 'ana la epis anni.'

Egu, from עָגַה tardavit: to stop or retard. See Schindler, p. 1267.

Line 9. *Tsili* 'sides.' Heb. צֶלַע *latus*.

Kilallan, from Heb. כָּל *omnis*, is a word of frequent occurrence.

Line 10. *Sigaru* 'gates.' Heb. סָגַר *porta, clausura*.

Line 11. *Kabat*, Cor. Etiam *medium rei cujusuis*. See my glossary No. 500 on the meanings of *kabat*.

Elati, luminaries. Heb. הֵלֵל *splenduit, luxit*.

Line 12. *Urru* is a frequent name for the Moon, as being the tutelary divinity of the city of Ur.

Ustipa 'he placed on high.' T conjugation of Heb. שפה *shapha* eminere, whence שפימ *shaphim* 'high places.'

Iqtipa is I believe the T conjugation of יקה *iqqa* circumivit, nearly the same as נקה or קה to go round, or wander about. From root קה *iqqa* is a regular T conjugation. This verb נקה *naqip* 'to wander' is the root of *naqbi* 'wanderings,' which occurs in the Deluge Tablet, viz., "Eleventh portion of the *wanderings* of Izdubar." See Transactions, vol. iv, p. 81.

Line 13. *Sukkur* to wander about, or circulate. Heb. סהר *sahar* circumivit.

Line 14. *Agie* 'festivals': plural of *Aga* אָגָא = אָגָא אָגָא אָגָא which occurs in line 17. Heb. חג *chag* festum.

Utzur, it assembled (?) probably from עצר to assemble the people on a feast day, congregavit (Gesenius). The meaning seems, 'Every month without exception the Moon (that is, the New Moon) caused an assembly of the people'; for, on the *first* day of the month (see line 15) she shows her horns in the evening twilight, and on the *seventh* day of the moon (see line 17) there is a holy festival.

Line 15. *Napakhi*, 'rising' or 'coming forth.' Chald. נפק *napak* to come forth. Often used with אָרְחָא to express Sunrise.

Line 16. *Nabata* 'shot forth' or 'poured forth.' Heb. נבע *nabac* copiosè effudit. In 4 R 27, 22, the same verb *nabat* is used as it is here in connection with 'horns': *garnd-su kima sarur Samsi ittananbithu*. The last word is from *nabith*, another form of the verb *nabat*.

Uldu, in the sense of Light, is frequent.

Line 18. *Ana battulū* 'to cease.' Heb. בטל *batal* cessavit. Buxtorf renders it 'to intermit, cease, rest, be at leisure.'

Sutkhurat. Heb. סחר *sachar* commerce, buying and selling, marketing, or business. (See Buxtorf.)

Uzzu 'he commanded.' Heb. צוה *tsava* præcepit, jussit.

Line 19. *Arka*, probably Heb. ערך *arak* ordinavit, disposuit, struxit.

It will be observed that in line 3 the year is said to be divided into four parts or seasons. This agrees with

THE BABYLONIAN CYLINDERS

*Found by GENERAL DI CESNOLA in the Treasury of the Temple
at Kurium.*

BY REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

Read 5th December, 1876.

ONE of the most interesting and valuable discoveries ever made was that of the Temple-treasure of Kurium, in Cyprus, by General di Cesnola. It is the first time that such a collection of offerings has been found, and the vast number of precious objects it contains, mostly of gold, and many of them of exquisite workmanship, bear testimony to the wealth of the temple and the devotion of its frequenters. The objects dedicated to the deity are of various ages and styles of art; some influenced by Egypt, some by Assyria, some by Phœnicia, and others again being of native Greek work. Among what may be called the Assyrian objects are several Babylonian cylinders, which seem to have been imported into Cyprus as oriental *antiques*, and regarded by their owners as articles of value. Three of these Babylonian cylinders have cuneiform inscriptions, which General di Cesnola has had the kindness to allow me to copy. The copies will be found below; my translations of them will be given in the present paper.

The cylinder of most interest is one of hæmatite, and of no great size. A priest with the usual flounced dress is represented upon it as holding up his hands in adoration of a deified hero, behind whom stands Rimmon, the air-god, with the forked thunderbolt in one hand and the mace or scimeter in the other. Three symbolical animals, together with the sun and groups of stars, are interspersed among the figures,

and a kneeling suppliant, the original possessor of the cylinder probably, is placed between the priest and the figure he is worshipping. The inscription on the seal is as follows :—



1. Abil- D.P. Istar
Abil-Istar

2. abil Ilu-ba-lid
son of Ilu-balid

3. abed D.P. Na-ra-am D.P. EN-ZU
the servant of the god Naram-Sin.

Now Naram-Sin was a Babylonian monarch, the son and successor of Sargon of Agané, who flourished before the sixteenth century B.C. A vase was discovered at Babylon by M. Fresnel, bearing the name of "Naram-Sin, king of the four races, conqueror of Apirak and Magan," or the Peninsula of Sinai, which was afterwards unfortunately lost in the Tigris. In the legend on the cylinder, therefore, we have a proof of the apotheosis of the Babylonian kings. We know of another Chaldean king who was similarly deified. This was Amar-Agu, an early monarch of Ur and Nipur, whose inscriptions are found on bricks from Mugheir (Ur) and Abu-Shahreïn, and who is mentioned in a list of gods in W.A.I., III, 69, 77. As the determinative prefix of divinity is attached to the name of Amar-Agu in his own brick legends, it is clear that the deification had taken place in his life-time, and not after his death. This may also have been the case with Naram-Sin, and it is possible that the cylinder found by General di Cesnola may date from his reign. It cannot be much later, as it is not likely that the cult of Naram-Sin would have survived the fall of his dynasty in the reign of his successor, the queen Ellat-Gula. It may be noticed that whereas Amar-Agu belonged to Accadian times, Naram-Sin and his subjects were Semites.

The second cylinder from Kurium, also of hæmatite, is much smaller than the other, and of inferior workmanship. Two figures are engraved upon it, one of them in a long

fringed robe, with a crooked staff in the hand. The inscription is only two lines in length:—

1. Eriv-Ba-gas

Eriv-Bagas

2. eriv D.P. NIR-UNU-GAL

servant of Nergal.

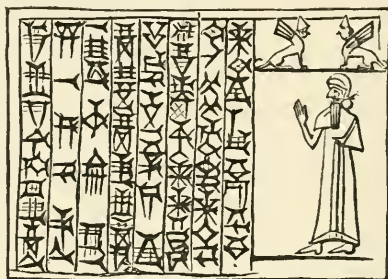


The legend is in Accadian, and the cylinder, therefore, must be considerably older than that of Abil-Istar. If the Dungi son of Lig-Bagas, who is mentioned on a cylinder now in the British Museum, is the same as the Dungi son of Lig... king of Ur, who goes back to the earliest times of which we have monumental record, it is possible that we may find an approximate date for the Kurium cylinder. I know of no other instance in which the name of the deity Bagas enters into the composition of a proper name, and we may perhaps assume that where we have two names of which it forms part, one being the name of a monarch and the other of a private individual, there is a probability that the latter was modelled upon the former, and so belongs to the same epoch.¹

The third cylinder brought from Kurium is of very considerably later date than the other two. It is of rock crystal and of large size, and I believe cannot well be older than the eighth or seventh century B.C. Indeed, I am inclined to reduce its age still more considerably. The characters are not well formed, some of them being quite unrecognizable, and the scribe has made a curious mistake in the first line, from which it is evident that he was simply a copyist whose knowledge of the writing was very imperfect. The name of the moon-god, Sin, is expressed by his Accadian title of *Enu-zu-na* "lord of waxing," but the three Accadian words are written backwards, *na-zu-enu*. The whole inscription is in Accadian, though the proper names are Semitic, and I think, therefore, that it belongs to the period when a taste arose for imitating the archaic, and the Assyrian and Babylonian scribes began to compose in Accadian, just as it is still sometimes

¹ I may mention that the Accadian Bagas is plainly identical with the Cassite or Kossæan deity Bugas.

the fashion to write public or dedicatory inscriptions in Latin. In this case the cylinder could not be much earlier than the time of Esar-haddon. The same date is also indicated by the engraving which represents a priest, with two sphinxes above him,—clear evidences of Egyptian influence. The inscription, so far as I can make it out, runs thus:—



1. D.P. na-zu-enu (?) khi ša tic

The moon-god the good

2. di-tar kur-kur ší-di di-á an ci-á

the judge of the world, the fortune completer of heaven (and) earth,

3. sem-ga nam-ti dimirriene-la

the giver of the life of the gods to ;

4. nin ší-a te-in zu

O master who givest thy

5. sak (?) li sak (?) nun mu bat

head (?) precious (?) head (?) prince of the dead (?)

6. D.P. Tu-na-mi-is

Tunamis

7. tur D.P. Pa-a-ri

son of Pāru

8. nitakh mu ni-pam un (?) ne (?)

the man who the year records

The office of "recorder of the year" explains why the moon-god was the patron deity of the original owner of the cylinder.



ON A HIMYARITIC SEAL FOUND IN THE HAURAN.

BY ISAAC H. HALL, LL.B., PH.D.

Read 6th February, 1877.

IN January, 1876, I obtained several gems that had been dug up in the Hauran, some distance south of Damascus, but the locality I cannot give precisely. Among them was a seal of fine agate, composed of dark and light alternating layers, inscribed with six intaglio Himyaritic characters. The shape of the stone may be described as that of a nearly perfect hemi-ellipsoid of revolution about the major axis, and having, accordingly, a flat elliptical face. A hole passes lengthwise through the stone, intended probably for a string or the pivots of a setting. The dimensions of the face (if important) are 2 centimetres in longest diameter, by 1·45 centimetres in the shortest. The characters are 0·6 of a centimetre high, and run across the stone in two rows, three characters in a row, between parallel lines cut across the face, of the same depth as the characters. There are six of these parallel lines, two at each end of the face, and two between the two rows of characters. The edge is a little broken at one end, but not enough to damage the inscription. Further details of its appearance will appear from the accompanying figure. The seal I have presented to the British Museum, where it now is.



Like many coins and other seals, its legend is cut so as to read correctly on the stone; the impression reverses both the reading and the characters. It appears to be a proper name, composed, like most Arabic names of the present day, of two distinct names, both of which are well known to the

Arabic-speaking people of Syria at the present day. The transliteration into Arabic letters is شكر خرف (or, neglecting vowels, *Shkr Chrf*). The first name is common in Arabic, both old and modern, and usually takes the vocalization of the infinitive or verbal noun, and has the signification "thanks." Sometimes a ي (*ye*) is added, making its meaning "my thanks." We have both at this moment as names of students in our Syrian Protestant College. But a more common name is formed by inserting an *elif* between the *shin* and the *caph*, thus, شاكِر (*Shâkir*), meaning "thankful"; and this is perfectly allowable in turning the Himyaritic into its Arabic equivalents, as the former commonly omits the *elif*, frequently necessary in the latter. I therefore adopt this latter reading as the probably correct one.

As to the second word, by itself it is a Himyaritic (not Arabic) word, meaning "year," which is here inappropriate. But by inserting a و (*waw*) between the *re* and the *fe*, which is quite allowable in the transliteration, it forms the name خروف (*Charâf*), an Arabic name of renown, being the name of a noted Arabic grammarian as well as of the Beni Charûf, an Arab tribe. Its meaning as an Arabic word is "lamb." The whole name, then, would be شاكِر خروف (*Shâkir Charâf*), and, by the way, its transliteration, "thankful lamb," would not be very strange as an English name.

How this seal came to be in the Hauran I do not pretend to conjecture. If any are inclined so to do, it may help them to know that near it was found a carnelian seal in form of a scarabæus, with an intaglio human figure, which is most likely of Hamathite origin.

Syrian Protestant College, Beirût, Syria,
Nov. 15, 1876.



ON THE CYPRIOTE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S.

Read 6th February, 1877.

GREAT interest was excited a few years ago by the publication in the Transactions of this Society of papers by Mr. G. Smith and Dr. Birch relating what was then known about the Cypriote inscriptions, and evidently containing at least the commencement of a true interpretation of them. But I believe that few British scholars are as yet acquainted with the great discoveries which have been made by the German archæologists Moriz Schmidt, Deecke, and Siegismund, within the last two or three years.

Thanks to their labours, we now possess a nearly complete Cypriote syllabary, correctly valued, which when applied to the best and most perfect inscriptions transforms them into very intelligible Greek, thus realising the provisions of Mr. G. Smith and Dr. Birch, and adding a very important and interesting chapter to the history of the Greek language.

Of these authors Schmidt¹ was first in the field, but Deecke and Siegismund² followed later in the same year, 1874. Their labours had been quite independent, and apparently carried on unknown to each other, but when the essays were published they had the satisfaction to find an almost complete agreement in the results which they had obtained. This, as

¹ Moriz Schmidt, "Die Inscript von Idalion, und das Kyprische Syllabar." Jena, 1874. This is a work of more than 100 pages in auto-lithography, an art of the greatest utility for learned works of this kind, in which the correction of the press is so difficult and expensive, and moreover causes so much delay.

² Die wichtigsten Kyprischen Inschriften, umschrieben und erläutert von Wilhelm Deecke und Justus Siegismund—in Curtius Studien, Leipzig, 1874.

one of them justly observes, is of itself a strong argument for the truth of the conclusions.¹

I first became acquainted with these new researches by reading a very useful little book “sur le déchiffrement des inscriptions de l’île de Chypre,” par Léon Rodet, Paris, 1876. This gives a clear and accurate account of the late discoveries, and includes a careful copy² of the inscription of Dali or Idalium as rendered into Greek letters by Deecke and Siegismund. But Rodet gives no translation of this Greek, which is embarrassed by a multitude of Cypriote expressions. The general tenour or meaning of it is however not difficult to follow, and I made a translation of it. At a later time when I had procured the German works themselves, I was gratified to find that my translation was very similar to that of the German scholars (see p. 240 of Deecke and Siegismund) with the exception of a few passages.

Schmidt on his side transliterated the Cypriote original into Greek letters, in close accordance with Deecke and Siegismund, and his copious notes show a general agreement with their views throughout the inscription. In short, these translators are in very fair accord, and I shall follow them, except only in a few passages, in the annexed English version, which I believe represents pretty closely the sense of the original.

THE BRONZE TABLET OF IDALIUM.

When the Medes and the Kitians³ besieged the city of Idalium in the year when Philokupros son of Onasagoras was eponym (or *chief magistrate*?) the king Stasikupros and the city of the Idalians commanded Onasilus son of

¹ Daraus ergab sich dass wir im Wesentlichen unabhängig von einander ganz zu denselben Resultaten gelangt waren—gewiss eine schlagende Bestätigung für ihre Richtigkeit.

² The author says: “Je donne ici la transcription de la plaque de Dali, d’après la restitution de MM. Deecke et Siegismund, après l’avoir collationnée sur les fac-simile du due de Luyne et m’être assuré que la transcription syllabique est faite avec une entière bonne foi.”

³ Inhabitants of Kitium, a city not far from Idalium. Compare the Chittim of Scripture.

Onasikupros the physician and his brethren to heal the men that were wounded in the battle, without receiving any fees. And at that time the King and the City made a covenant with Onasilus and his brethren, in lieu of all fees and rewards, to give them from the King's house and from the city (*so many*) talents of silver. Or else, instead of those talents of silver, the King and the City shall give to Onasilus and his brethren from the King's land, which is in the *sacred inclosure* (?) of Alphirita the piece of land in the valley which adjoins the field of Onkas and all the young plantations which are upon it, to hold it and take all its produce as long as he lives, free from all taxes. And if anyone shall expel Onasilus, or his brethren, or the grandchildren of Onasikupros¹ from this land, then the person who so expels them shall pay to Onasilus and his brethren, or to their children, the money aforesaid, that is to say (*so many*) talents of silver.

PART II.

And moreover to Onasilus himself, apart from his other brethren, the King and the City have covenanted to give him in lieu of fees and rewards, silver amounting to (*so much*). Or else, the King and the City shall give to Onasilus in lieu of that money, from the king's land at Melania in the plain the piece of land which adjoins the field of Amenias together with all the young plantations which are upon it, which adjoins the *street* (?) of Drumion and the sacred enclosure of Athena, and the garden in the field of Sinnmis which Diithemis the Aramnian held formerly, which adjoins (the house of) Pasagoras son of Onasagoras and all the young plantations which are upon it, to hold it, with all its produce, as long as he lives, free from taxes. And if anyone shall expel Onasilus or his children from this land, or from this garden, then he who expels him shall pay to Onasilus or his children the aforesaid sum of (*so many*) pieces of silver. And these declarations, mutually exchanged, the King and the City have deposited with the goddess Athena of Idalium with

¹ He was father of Onasilus.

oaths not to break these covenants as long as they live. Whoever shall break these covenants let him be held guilty of impiety. These lands and these gardens the sons of Onasikupros and his descendants shall hold for ever, so long as any remain in the sacred service of Idalium.

I will add a few remarks to this translation. It will be perceived that the King and the City make a double covenant, the first with Onasilus and his brethren, the second with Onasilus alone. In each case the minor stipulations (such as the option of paying either in money or in lands) were nearly the same, yet they had to be repeated in the same words. All this is expressed with so much precision as to lead to the belief that this agreement was drawn up by a lawyer.

It is necessary however to remark that there is a great difference between Schmidt's translation of the first line and that given by Deecke and Siegismund. It appears to me that Schmidt is in the right, for the following reasons:—At the time when this bronze tablet was engraved, a war (*μαχα*) was going on, and many persons were wounded. The Medes and Kitians were then besieging the City.¹ Surgeons were of course greatly needed, and therefore the City made a contract with a confraternity of them. The words of the original are *Ὅτε ταν πτολιν Ηδαλιων κατεορκουν Μαδοι και Κετιεις*. Here we have the well-known verb *πολιορκειν* "to besiege a city," of which *καταπολιορκειν* would be a stronger form, implying a formidable siege.²

The Cypriote phrase *ταν πτολιν κατεορκουν* is equivalent to the Greek *κατεπολιορκειν ταν πολιν*. But Deecke and Siegismund take *ορκος* in the sense of 'an oath,' which gives no satisfactory meaning, for certainly the King and City of Idalium did not swear anything to the Medes and Kittians, nor receive any oath from them. The bronze

¹ Schmidt, p. 68, "Die Madoi (Meder, Perser) die Stadt belagerten."

² Compare *πολεμειν* 'to make war,' but *καταπολεμειν* is 'to make war and conquer.' So in Latin *bellare*, and its stronger form *debellare*.

tablet relates to a purely domestic transaction, a contract between the City and certain citizens of Idalium.

Each of the three writers I have quoted from, Schmidt, Deecke, and Rodet give the Greek text as it comes out when rendered into Cypriote syllables; it is therefore unnecessary for me to do so. I think it will be more useful to give a copy of it when divested of some of its unusual forms, it will then be considerably more legible. The inscription with the Greek rendered somewhat more regular, but still semi-barbarous, is nearly as follows:—

‘Οτε ταν πτολιν Ηδαλιων κατεορκουν Μαδοι και Κετιεις εν τῷ Φιλοκυπρου ετει του Ονασαγορου, βασιλεws Στασικυπρος και ἁ πτολις Ηδαλιεις ανωγον Ονασιλον τον Ονασικυπρου τον ιατηρα και τους κασιγνητους ιασθαι τους ανθρωπους τους εν τα μαχα ικμαμμενους ανευ μισθων. Και πα εφρητασαντο βασιλεws και ἁ πτολις Ονασιλω και τοις κασιγνητοις αντι των μισθων και αντι ταυκερων δουναι εξ τῷ οικῷ του βασιλεws και εξ τα πτολει αργυρου (.) τα(λαντα). Η δυανοιη αντι του αργυρου τωνδε των ταλαντων βασιλεws και ἁ πτολις Ονασιλω και τοις κασιγνητοις απο τα γα τα βασιλεws τα εν τῷ ιρωνι τῷ Αλφιριατα τον χωρον τον εν τῷ ἔλει τον χρανομενον Ογκαντος αλφω και τα τερχνια τα επιοντα παντα εχειν παν ωνιον ἕως (?) ζα (?) ατελην. Ει κε τις Ονασιλον η τους κασιγνητους η τους παιδας των παιδων του Ονασικυπρου εξ τῷ χωρα ταδε εξοριξη, ιδεπα ὁ εξοριξη πεισει Ονασιλω και τοις κασιγνητοις η τοις παισι τον αργυρον τονδε, αργυρου (.) τα(λαντα).

II. Και Ονασιλω οιω ανευ των κασιγνητων των αλλων εφρητασαντο βασιλεws και ἁ πτολις δουναι αντι ταυκερων των μισθων αργυρου (.). Η δωκοιη βασιλεws και ἁ πτολις Ονασιλω αντι αργυρου τουδε απο τα γα τα βασιλεws τα Μαλανια τα πεδια τον χωρον τον χραυμενον Αμηνια αλφω και τα τερχνια τα επιοντα παντα τον ποτεχομενον ποττω ροφω των Δρυμιων και ποτταν ιερειαν τας Αθνας και τον καπον τον εν Σιμμιδος αρουρα τον Διιθεμις ὁ Αραμνεws ειχε αλλοπο, τον ποτεχομενον ποτι Πασαγοραν τον Ονασαγορου και τα τερχνια τα επιοντα παντα, εχειν πανωνιws ἕως (?) ζα (?) ατελεα εοντα. Ει κε τις Ονασιλον η τους παιδας τους Ονασιλου

ἐξ τα γὰ ταδε η ἐξ τῷ καπῷ τῷδε ἐξοριξῇ ἰδε ὁ ἐξοριξῇ πεισει
 Ονασιλῷ η τοῖς παισὶ τὸν ἀργυρὸν τὸνδε, ἀργυροῦ (.)
 ταλαντῶν ταδε τα ἐπεα ταδε ἐναλλαλισμένα βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄ
 πτολὶς κατεθίαν ἐν ταν θίον ταν Ἀθαναν ταν παρ' Ἡδαλιῶν
 συν ὀρκοῖς μὴ λῦσαι τὰς φρητὰς τασδε ἕως (?) ζα (?) Ὅπι τις
 κε τὰς φρητὰς τασδε λῦσῃ ἀνοσία οἱ γένοιτο. Τασγε γὰς
 τασδε καὶ τοὺς καποὺς τοὺςδε οἱ Ονασικυπροῦ παῖδες καὶ
 τῶν παιδῶν οἱ παῖδες ἔξουσιν αἰεὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἱρῶνι τῷ Ἡδαλίει
 ἐῶσι.

NOTES ON THE PRECEDING TRANSLITERATION.

Ἐν τῷ ἐτεὶ τοῦ Φιλοκυπροῦ, in the year of Philokupros, that is, when he was chief magistrate, which office was probably changed annually.

Philokupros. A king of this name is mentioned by Herodotus, book 5, ch. 113, as reigning in Cyprus. He was a friend of Solon.

Ἰκμαμμενους, a word of uncertain origin.

Ἐφρητασαντο ‘they covenanted’: from *φρητα* ‘a covenant or treaty,’ which occurs in line 29. The usual Greek is *ρητρα*. The celebrated and very ancient Elean inscription begins *Α φρατρα* ‘this is the treaty, &c., &c.’

Ταυκερων. A Cypriote word otherwise unknown.

Ἐξ τῷ οἰκῷ is a Cypriote solecism. It will be remembered doubtless that the people of Soli in Cyprus spoke Greek so badly as to give rise to the word ‘Solecism,’ or ‘speech of Soli.’

Ὤνιον ‘saleable.’ *Παν ὠνιον* ‘the whole saleable produce of the land.’

Χρανομενον, ‘touching.’

Ἀλφῷ, garden or vineyard. Hesychius, quoted by Deecke, has *Ἀλουα κηποι Κυπριοι*.

Τερχνια is explained by Hesychius *φυτα νεα* (Deecke). I have rendered it ‘new plantations.’

Ἐξοριξῇ, from *ἐξοριζειν* ‘to expel’: from *oros terminus*; *q.d.* exterminare.

Πεισει, ‘he shall pay’: from an old verb *πενδειν* (Latin *pendere* ‘to pay.’) *πενδω*, fut. *πεισω*, like *σπενδω*, *σπεισω*

ποινη (penalty or payment) is another derivative from the same root.

Δωκοιη from a local verb δωκειν derived from εδωκα.

Αλλοπο 'formerly' for αλλοποτε, but the word is very uncertain.

The chief monument of the Cypriote language hitherto found is this bronze tablet of Dali or Idalion. It is written on both sides, and contains not less than thirty-one long lines clearly and legibly written. It was found in the ruins of the temple of Athena at Idalium, where it had been suspended as a record of the public Engagement or Covenant made between the government and the family of Onasilus. Of this tablet the Duc de Luynes gave a correct fac-simile in his costly work *Numismatique et inscriptions Cypriotes*, Paris, 1852, fol. This was republished by Professor Röth of Heidelberg in a very splendid work published at the Duc de Luynes' expense, entitled 'die Proclamation des Amasis an die Cyprier bei der Besitznahme Cyperns durch die Aegypter, Paris and Heidelberg. 1855, folio. Professor Röth erroneously supposed that the inscription of Dali was written in a language closely akin to the Hebrew, and he therefore essayed to give to each Cypriote character its equivalent in the Hebrew alphabet. The quasi-Hebrew words or sentences thus obtained he affirmed to be a Proclamation issued by Amasis king of Egypt to the people of Cyprus. But all this was labour lost, since the inscription is really in the Greek language and the name of Amasis does not occur at all in it.

The word *Basileus*, which occurs many times, was supposed by Röth and the Duc de Luynes to be *Salamis*: and the other letters were equally mistaken. This account of the first attempt to interpret the tablet of Dali is chiefly taken from Schmidt's work, pp. 2-3. He then proceeds to relate the beginning and progress of a more successful solution. Lang, he says, was the first to discover the meaning of one or two words.¹ Then G. Smith followed,²

¹ Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. i, pp. 116-128.

² Ibid., pp. 129-144.

and explained that "the Cyprian system consisted of a syllabary, each consonant having about three forms, the whole number of characters amounting to between fifty and sixty." Then Brandis in 1873¹ made some further progress: for instance, he noticed that *και* is spelt *κας* in the inscriptions, which we know from Hesychius to have been a peculiarity of the Cypriote dialect. But the success of the later writers, Schmidt, Deecke, and Siegismund, far surpassed that of their predecessors. This was mainly owing to their careful study of the peculiarities of the inscription, which enabled them to find out that the Cypriote syllables (when not vowels) consist of a consonant *followed* by a vowel, such as *na, ne, ni, no, nu*, but never *an, en, in, &c.* To express *an* they write two signs, *a ne*, no doubt omitting the final vowel in pronunciation.² Another great peculiarity of the Cypriote dialect was this: it always omitted the letter N before a dental *δ τ* or *θ*. Thus they said *τονδε* for *τονδε*, *ατι* for *αντι*.³ As this omission of the letter N was very frequent, it is evident that so long as it remained undiscovered the reading of the Greek text appeared much embarrassed and in many places hardly intelligible.

Before concluding this paper I will add one other specimen of the language.

The bilingual inscription of Idalium (Phœnician and Cypriote) given by Rodet, pp. 12-19, as rendered by him into Greek letters offers an obscurity. I think it should stand as follows:—*Βασιλεως Μιλκιαθωνος Κετιων και Ηδαλιων* (επαγο)μενων των πεμπαμερων νεωτατας, τον ανδριαντα τονδε κατεστασε ο αναξ ο Αβδιμιλκου τῷ Απολλωνι τῷ Αμυκλῷ. "Milkiathon being king of the Kitians and Idalians on the last of the five intercalary days, the prince son of Abdimilik erected this statue to the Amyclæan Apollo."⁴

¹ Brandis, Versuch zur Entzifferung der Kyprischen Schrift.

² Deecke and Siegismund, p. 220.

³ Ibid., p. 229.

⁴ See also Schmidt, p. 97, who has not seen that the broken word μενων should be restored επαγομενων. I find, however, that Deecke has preceded me in this restoration.

The last of the five intercalary days will be the last day of the year, or perhaps New Year's day, a proper season for honouring Apollo with a new statue. The word *νεωτατας* (*sc.* *ἡμερας*) more fully perhaps *επι νεωτατας ἡμερας*, has been hitherto read *νεοστατας*, which gives no satisfactory meaning. But Schmidt (p. 52) says that he possesses a *squeeze* of the original, which shows that the letter given as Υ or S is really Υ or O. Making therefore this correction we obtain the word *νεωτατας*.



ON AN ARAMÆAN SEAL.

By LIEUT.-COL. W. F. PRIDEAUX, F.R.G.S., *Fellow of the University of Bombay.*

Read 5th December, 1876.

A SEAL engraved with ancient Phœnician characters has lately come into my possession, which from its intrinsic interest deserves, I think, notice in the Transactions of the



לבקשתבת
עבדירה

Society. It is formed of very pale-blue chalcedony; and is of a conoidal shape, 1 inch in length, $\cdot 65$ inch in breadth at bottom, and $\cdot 3$ inch at top, and in depth $\cdot 45$ inch at bottom, and $\cdot 3$ at top. The face on which the legend is engraved is slightly convex. A hole has been bored through the upper part of the stone to admit of its being suspended from a string. I am ignorant of the exact locality in which the seal was found, but it was somewhere in Mesopotamia, and probably at Babylon. On one side of it is a four-winged monster of Babylonian type, apparently with the face of a man, and the body of a bull, rearing on its hind-legs. Its head is surmounted by an ibex-horn, in front of which is a crescent. Before the lower part of the body is the Egyptian symbol of life. The annexed woodcut gives a fair representation of the figure, which is unfortunately rather worn upon the stone.

The inscription is surrounded by a border, and is contained in two lines which are divided in the manner

considered by the Count de Vogüé characteristic of Hebrew seals, although it is occasionally met with in others (*Mélanges d'Archéologie Orientale*, pl. v, No. 11). The palæography belongs to that time when the Phœnician, Aramæan, and Hebrew writing was identical, and from the general distinctive signs of high antiquity being found in the seal, namely, the undulated ש, combined with the cruciform ת, and the closed loops of the ב, ד, and ר, its date cannot be assigned to a later period than the eighth century B.C. (De Vogüé, pp. 145, 146). The stone, indeed, appears to afford an indication of the original formation of the letter ש, which in the earliest monuments hitherto known appears as W, but in the seal as W. The ה is also of the most archaic type.

In Hebrew characters the legend reads as follows :

לבקשתבת
עבדירח

“*Belonging to Bkshth bath 'Abd-Yrkh.*”

In Hebrew the word בִּקְשָׁה (from the Piel בִּקֵּשׁ) signifies *petitio*. The name בִּקְשָׁה is not found elsewhere in Phœnician. We know from the First Trilingual Inscription of Leptis that the name בִּרְכָּה, the last three letters of which were vocalized in the Hebrew בִּרְכָּה as in בִּקְשָׁה, was transliterated in Greek and Latin as **BYPYXΘ** and BYRYCTH, but it would not be safe to assume that the same pronunciation prevailed in early days in Aram as was current centuries afterwards among the Phœnician colonies in Africa. In the case before us, the Masoretic pointing of the Hebrew is probably a surer guide, and I think we may infer that the name was pronounced Bakkâshath.

The name of Bakkâshath's father is far more interesting. Although the Moon was personified among the Chaldeans, as well as the Sabæans of South Arabia, by the deity Sîn, I believe I am right in stating that no indication has yet been discovered, from Semitic sources, that Lunus or the Moon-god, found a place in the theogony of the more westerly nations of Syria and Phœnicia. We have עבדשמש

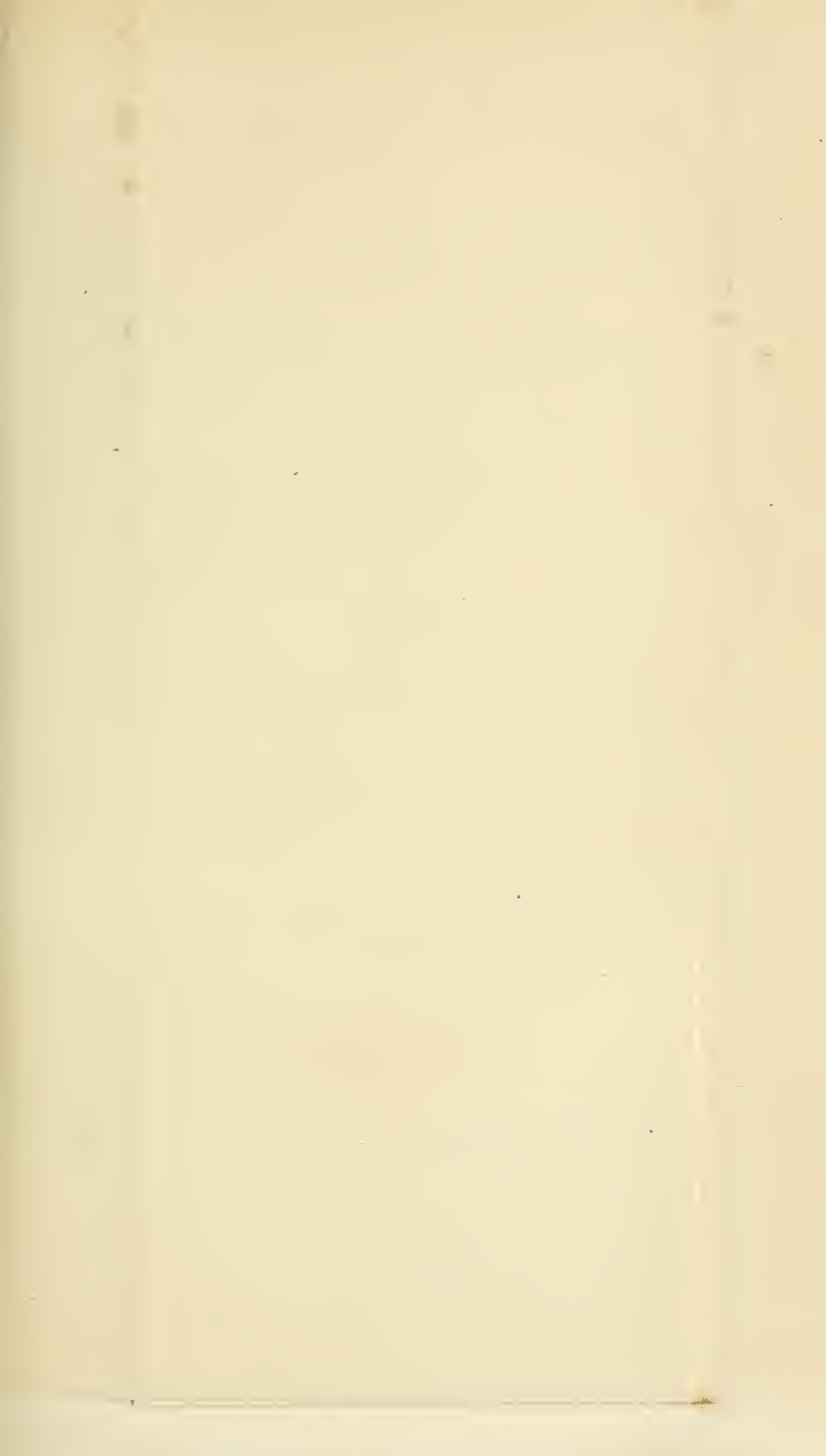
in the inscriptions Athen. I and II, corresponding with the Greek *Ἡλιοδῶρος*; but before the discovery of the present seal we had no name indicative of a votary of Lunus. **בנחדש**, corresponding with *νουμήμιος*, belongs to a different class of names, and is not significative of worship. It is therefore important to ascertain that the Phœnician word **ירח** does not merely mean the moon or lunar month, but is also the designation of the personified Lunus, as **שמש** is of the personified Sun.¹ Whether the name has any relations with the Arabian patriarch Jerah (**יֶרַח**) in Gen. x, 26, I will not venture to conjecture.

The crescent engraved in front of the head of the horned figure on the side of the seal, has not improbably some connexion with the name of the owner's father.

I have called the seal "Aramæan," because the place of its discovery and the engraved figure on the side forbid the supposition that it could have belonged to a dweller in Phœnicia Proper; but as regards the palæography no difference, as I have said above, is discernible between this and the most ancient Phœnician intaglios.

¹ The following passages of Scripture refer to the worship of the Moon under the appellation of **יֶרַח**:—Deut. iv, 19; xvii, 3; 2 Kings xxiii, 5; Jer. viii, 2; Job xxxi, 26, 27.





Stèle de l'Intendant du grenier public Beka.

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NOTICE SUR UNE STÈLE ÉGYPTIENNE DU MUSÉE DE TURIN.

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APRÈS les papyrus et les inscriptions monumentales, les stèles de bois, et surtout celles de pierre, fournissent aux égyptologues les sources les plus abondantes d'information. Elles sont fort heureusement parvenues jusqu'à nous en quantité à peu près innombrable. Il en existe des plus anciennes époques jusqu'aux temps romains; et l'on peut y suivre le progrès et le déclin de l'épigraphie égyptienne.

Ces monuments ne nous montrent souvent que des scènes d'offrandes et de courtes prières; d'autres nous donnent des détails biographiques ou nous renseignent sur des faits historiques. Dans le plus grand nombre, on trouve des notions intéressantes pour la mythologie, la morale et les rites funéraires. En un mot, on est bien fondé à affirmer que peu d'entre elles pourraient être considérées comme absolument dénuées d'intérêt.

Des publications, déjà assez nombreuses, ont fait connaître plusieurs de ces monumens, mais, parmi les plus importants, il en est qui n'ont point été encore traduits; tel est en particulier le cas de celui que M. de Rougé a appelé *la reine des stèles*, et qui est déjà connu dans la science par des citations partielles qui ont pu en faire apprécier la grande valeur.

On trouve dans tous les Musées de l'Europe un assez grand nombre de stèles qui mériteraient aussi d'être publiées et analysées avec soin. Je viens ici satisfaire à ce desideratum pour ce qui concerne une stèle du Musée de Turin, sur laquelle mon attention a été appelée par mes recherches sur

les doctrines religieuses et morales des anciens Égyptiens, dans le cours de mes études pour l'interprétation des Maximes du scribe Ani, que je publie dans le journal 'l'Égyptologie.'

La stèle dont il s'agit porte aujourd'hui le No. 19 dans le Musée réorganisé. Pendant ma mission en Italie, en 1869, j'en ai fait une copie, que j'ai collationnée, depuis lors avec une empreinte à la plombagine, prise à mon intention par mon savant confrère M. Fr. Rossi, attaché au Musée Égyptien de Turin. C'est à l'aide de ces éléments que j'ai dressé la planche jointe au présent mémoire. Mes confrères en égyptologie pourront l'utiliser avec confiance.

Le registre supérieur de la stèle, que la planche ne figure pas, est, comme à l'ordinaire, surmonté d'un symbole d'éternité et d'infinité: le disque du soleil superposé au vase et aux zigzags de l'eau, et flanqué des deux *outas*, ou yeux symboliques.

Dans d'autres monuments du même genre on trouve, à la même place, le disque ailé. Au-dessous est représentée la scène habituelle du culte des ancêtres.

Le défunt assis, tenant un rouleau, insigne de sa dignité de scribe, reçoit l'offrande entassée devant lui sur une table, au-dessous de laquelle sont rangés trois vases, qui sont censés renfermer les liquides de l'oblation; chaque objet est accompagné du signe  signifiant mille, ou beaucoup, et donnant à entendre que chaque objet était offert par milliers. Entre le défunt et la table, trois lignes verticales disent ce qui suit:—

“Royale offrande pacifique à Ammon-Ra, seigneur des trônes du monde; bonheur, richesse, justification, à la personne de l'intendant du grenier public, contrôleur de la haute et de la basse Égypte, Béka, justifié. Tout ce qui sort des autels d'Osiris dans toutes ses fêtes, à l'Intendant du grenier royal, Béka, justifié.”

Cette légende nous donne le nom et les titres du défunt, que la stèle ne répète nulle part ailleurs d'une manière plus complète. En voici l'expression hiéroglyphique :

 ¹, l'Intendant du grenier public, contrôleur de la haute et de la basse Egypte, Béka, justifié.

Béka est un nom assez fréquent sur les monuments égyptiens ; il signifie *serviteur*, et correspond au sémitique עבד, *abd* ; ce nom ne nous donne aucune indication sur la date de la stèle, mais, à en juger par le style des hiéroglyphes, on est en droit de l'attribuer aux temps de la XIX^{me} ou la XX^{me} dynastie. Le défunt, qui (circonstance assez exceptionnelle) ne nous donne ni le nom de sa mère ni celui de son père, devait appartenir à une famille d'origine modeste. Sa promotion à des postes importants, qui lui permettaient la fréquentation de la personne royale, était donc due uniquement à son mérite. Chez les anciens Egyptiens la science et les services intelligents primaient les prétentions de caste avec plus d'avantage que chez beaucoup de peuples modernes, où, malgré les tendances démocratiques de l'époque, il reste trop d'influence aux privilégiés de la naissance et de la richesse.

L'inscription de Béka nous donne peu de détails biographiques. Comme nous l'avons dit, il ne nomme ni son père ni sa mère ; mais il nous apprend que ses mérites lui avaient valu la faveur du roi des deux Égyptes, et qu'il était parvenu à une haute situation. Partout il était admis à fréquenter et à approcher le souverain. Le roi l'avait fait *neb-kat*, c'est-à-dire chef-d'office, ou quelque chose d'approchant. Malgré cette élévation, et peut-être à raison de son origine obscure, Béka affirme que, quoique grand, il a agi comme s'il eût été petit. Ses fonctions d'intendant royal, chargé des greniers publics, devaient comprendre les attributions du patriarche Joseph à la cour de Pharaon. Béka conserva sa faveur jusqu'à sa mort dans un âge avancé. Les vertus dont le défunt se fait gloire, aussi bien que les vices dont il prétend avoir exempt, forment un abrégé des préceptes principaux de la morale recommandée par la doctrine égyptienne. On obtiendra un tableau complet

¹ Le déterminatif  représentant des grains entassés, est double. C'est une particularité des noms des établissements publics ou royaux.

de ces préceptes par l'interprétation d'un nombre suffisant d'inscriptions funéraires. Mais leur mise en ordre exigera un travail considérable, qui trouvera sa place dans la suite de nos études sur les traités de morale des anciens Égyptiens.

Nous nous bornerons à envisager les points spéciaux au document dont nous allons donner la traduction.

Respect de la vérité.—Béka se vante d'avoir été juste et vrai, sans malice ; de s'être complu à dire la vérité ; d'avoir connu l'avantage qu'il y a de s'y conformer sur la terre, depuis la première action jusqu'au moment de la mort. Détail nouveau dans les textes de ce genre, il ajoute qu'au moment de subir le jugement et de répondre aux quarante-deux accusateurs du tribunal d'Osiris, il considère comme sa défense efficace la simple confession de la vérité ; et, dans le paragraphe suivant, il nous apprend que c'est effectivement par la vérité qu'il est sorti de cette épreuve suprême. Dans sa vie de *Sahou*, c'est-à-dire de transition entre la vie de ce monde et celle de l'Hadès, à l'état de momie, il s'est encore reposé dans la vérité.

À la fin de son panégyrique, Béka revient encore sur sa prétention d'avoir vécu d'une vie de vérité jusqu'à une vieillesse vénérable. Une autre marque de l'importance attachée au respect de la vérité se rencontre dans cette phrase un peu naïve : *J'ai dit ce que j'ai entendu, tel que cela m'avait été dit.* Les Égyptiens avaient fait une bien juste appréciation des inconvénients de l'intempérance de langage.

Justice.—La notion de la justice se confond avec celle de la vérité. Béka se contente d'avancer qu'il a été juste et vrai, ce qui revient à dire véritablement juste.

Seuls, les juges professionnels pouvaient avoir à insister davantage sur leur impartialité, et c'est ce qu'ils ont fait dans quelques inscriptions funéraires.

Amour filial.—Chez les Égyptiens cette vertu était recommandée de la même manière que dans le Décalogue de Moïse. C'étaient les enfants pieux qui pouvaient compter sur une longue vie. L'amour filial et l'amour paternel étaient puissamment entretenus par le culte des ancêtres, qui formait en quelque sorte une annexe inséparable des honneurs rendus

aux dieux. Chaque année toute la famille, ascendants, descendants, alliés et domestiques, se réunissait plusieurs fois autour de la tombe des membres défunts, et renouvelait les prières et les oblations des funérailles. L'inscription de Béka, différente en cela d'un grand nombre de textes funéraires, ne mentionne pas l'accomplissement des devoirs envers les mânes, mais notre personnage évoque une image délicate : *sa bonté était dans le cœur de son père et de sa mère, et son amour était en eux. Il n'avait jamais faussé ce sentiment envers eux depuis sa plus tendre enfance.* Aimer son père et sa mère, c'est obéir à un besoin naturel plutôt que pratiquer une vertu, mais mériter l'amour d'un père et d'une mère, c'est prouver qu'on s'est acquitté convenablement de tous les devoirs de l'enfant pieux.

Modestie, humilité.—Ces deux mots semblent faire dissonance avec la teneur habituelle des panégyriques des morts. Les Égyptiens se vantaient sans vergogne, et épuisaient envers leurs défunts les formules de la plus hyperbolique louange. Cependant, si elles étaient peu respectées dans la pratique, la modestie et l'humilité n'en faisaient pas moins partie du faisceau des vertus recommandées par la doctrine.

En arrivant à l'Hadès, Béka aime à se donner à lui-même témoignage qu'il n'a jamais cherché à se rendre maître d'un plus petit que lui, et il nous affirme, dans un autre passage, qu'étant grand, il a agi comme s'il eut été petit, et qu'il n'a point à se reprocher d'avoir évincé un plus méritant que lui. Les mêmes règles de modestie se manifestent dans plusieurs autres inscriptions, mais les formules de celle que nous étudions ont un style particulier qui les signale à l'attention.

Bienfaisance, douceur.—Dans tous les monuments du genre de celui qui nous occupe, nous trouvons l'énonciation de la bienfaisance et de l'humanité. Les morts prétendent avoir été bons sur cette terre, et s'être abstenus d'actes dommageables envers autrui. L'inscription de Béka ne fait pas exception à cette règle; seulement ce personnage ajoute une nuance importante, à savoir qu'il ne s'est réjoui d'aucun acte d'iniquité et d'indignité.

Vivant à la cour, au milieu des familiers du Pharaon, il ne croit pas devoir faire la moindre allusion à ses rapports personnels en dehors de ce cercle, et il lui suffit de nous apprendre qu'il avait mérité les faveurs du roi, l'affection de ses favoris, et n'avait à redouter aucun fâcheux sentiment de la part des gens vivant dans la demeure royale. Mais sa prudence et son amour de la concorde se révèlent dans le soin qu'il avait eu de parler avec bienveillance et de ne pas préparer de querelles.

Religion.—Béka semble avoir eu une religion philosophique; de nos jours il aurait passé en France pour Voltairien. Dans son inscription il ne fait appel à aucun souvenir mythologique. Seul entre tous les dieux de l'Égypte, Ammon-Ra y est nommé, mais simplement dans le vœu funéraire du premier registre, qui appelait nécessairement aussi la mention des mets d'Osiris. Dans le corps du texte il est question des divins magistrats et des seigneurs éternels établis devant les dieux, mais cela se rapporte simplement au jugement des morts, et l'on n'aperçoit ici nulle mention de l'Osiris infernal, ni d'Horus, ni d'Anubis, ni de Thoth, etc.

On croirait avoir affaire à un déiste inhumé par une famille qui a respecté les opinions du défunt, tout en satisfaisant aux exigences de la fête des funérailles. C'est du reste ce que laisse supposer la formule initiale, qui attribue le royal don d'offrandes directement à Béka lui-même sans intervention d'un dieu quelconque. Mais s'il faisait peu de cas du formulaire traditionnel et des rites sacerdotaux, Béka avait si on l'en croit, une croyance pure et sage, dont toutes les églises de nos jours pourraient accepter la formule simple : *mettre dieu dans son cœur et bien connaître les volontés de dieu*. Il y avait en effet, cachée derrière le voile d'une mythologie compliquée de mystères sans nombre, une doctrine raisonnable, dont aucune autre doctrine, sauf le christianisme, n'a surpassé l'élévation.

Béka termine par un vœu passablement épicurien pour l'époque, et fort différent de ceux que l'on est habitué à rencontrer dans les textes de ce genre. Il s'adresse à tous les vivants de son pays et leur souhaite de passer leur vie dans

la joie, jusqu'à ce qu'ils arrivent à la tombe, après laquelle il leur souhaite de jouir, dans *l'infernum*, du droit d'entrer et de sortir librement. On sait que telle était la béatitude principale de l'élu du ciel égyptien ; elle comportait la faculté de se transporter dans tout l'univers sous la forme qu'on voulait. Ce paradis est dans tous les cas bien supérieur à celui des houris de Mahomet.

Nous donnons maintenant notre version de cette remarquable inscription, et nous la ferons suivre, de quelques justifications philologiques.

TRADUCTION.

LIGNE

1. Royal don d'offrandes (*a*) à la personne de l'intendant du grenier public, Béka, justifié.
Il dit
Moi, je fus juste et vrai, sans malice (*b*), ayant mis dieu dans mon cœur (*c*), ayant été habile à discerner ses volontés (*d*).
2. J'arrive à la cité de ceux qui sont dans l'éternité (*e*).
J'ai fait le bien sur la terre (*f*) ;
Je n'ai pas porté de préjudice (*g*) ;
Je n'ai pas été méchant (*h*) ;
Je n'ai point acclamé aucun acte d'indignité et d'iniquité.
3. Je me suis complu à dire la vérité ;
J'ai connu l'avantage qu'il y a de s'y conformer sur la terre depuis le premier acte jusqu'à la tombe (*i*).
Ma défense efficace (*j*) est de la dire en ce jour où
4. j'arrive auprès des divins juges, interprètes habiles (*k*),
révélateurs des actions, castigateurs des péchés.
Pure (*l*) est mon âme.
Moi vivant, je n'ai pas eu de malice (*m*).
5. Il n'existe pas d'abus (*n*) de moi — pas de péchés de moi devant leur main.
Je suis sorti de cette épreuve¹ par la vérité (*o*), et voilà que je suis ici dans le lieu des vénérables (*p*).
Apport des aliments de la vérité (*q*) à l'intendant
6. du grenier public, Béka, justifié.
Il dit : J'ai été le grand remplisseur du cœur du seigneur des deux régions, l'aimé (*r*) du roi de la haute Égypte, le favorisé du roi de la basse Égypte, à cause de mes mérites excellents, qui ont avancé mon poste.
7. Grand ai-je été dans le lieu des millions de perfections vraies (*s*).
Que le roi prospérât en avant ou en arrière, j'approchais sa personne (*t*), marchant autour de lui en allégresse pour adorer sa bonté chaque

¹ Littéralement, *de là*.

8. jour, et rendre gloire au double aspic de son diadème en tout temps.

L'intendant du grenier public, Béka. Il dit :

Je suis un *sahou* (un mort, une momie) qui s'est complu dans la vérité, conformément aux lois du tribunal de la double justice, par moi désirées (*u*).

9. J'arrive au Kher-neter (l'Hadès).

Il n'est pas d'humbles dont je me sois fait le maître ;

Je n'ai pas fait de mal aux hommes qui ont célébré leurs dieux (*v*).

J'ai passé ma vie dans la vie de vérité (*x*), jusqu'à ce que je fusse parvenu à l'âge

10. de vénération, étant dans les faveurs du roi, aimé des grands de son entourage.

La demeure royale, ceux qui y résidaient, il n'y avait nul mal contre moi dans leur cœur (*y*). Les hommes

11. à venir, tant qu'ils seront, seront ravis de mon mérite éminent.

Celui qui habite dans la demeure de l'efficacité salutaire (*le palais du roi*) avait fait de moi un maître d'office (*z*).

Ma sincérité et ma bonté étaient dans le cœur de mon père et de ma mère ; mon affection était en eux (*aa*).

12. Jamais je ne l'ai violée dans ma manière de faire envers eux depuis le commencement du temps de ma jeunesse. Grand, j'ai agi comme si j'eusse été petit (*cc*).

13. Ma bouche a parlé pour dire choses vraies, ne préparant pas de querelles.

J'ai dit ce que j'ai entendu tel que cela m'avait été dit.

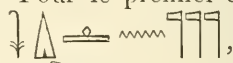
O vous tous ! hommes qui existez, vous complaisant dans la vérité chaque jour dans l'Égypte,

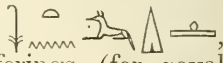
14. vous que ne nourrit pas (encore) le dieu, seigneur d'Abydos, qui vit de la vérité chaque jour, soyez heureux ! Passez votre vie dans les délices jusqu'à ce que vous abordiez au bon occident.¹ Que votre âme jouisse du droit d'entrer et de sortir librement, comme les seigneurs éternels qui sont établis devant les dieux.

¹ La tombe du juste.

NOTES PHILOLOGIQUES.

- (a). Je traduis mot-à-mot la formule , *royal don d'offrandes*, à laquelle on a voulu, à tort, donner le sens de *proscynème*. Le *proscynème* est un salut accompagné d'une inclination profonde. Le don d'offrandes tel qu'il est représenté des milliers de fois sur les monuments, ne comportait aucune prostation de ce genre ; il consiste uniquement dans la présentation d'objets divers, solides et liquides, et dans une prière tendant à ce que le défunt prenne part, dans l'autre monde aux tables d'Osiris, figurées par celle de la cérémonie.

L'oblation jouait un grand rôle dans le culte des dieux et dans celui des manes. Pour le premier elle porte habituellement le nom de , et pour le second, celui de .

L'épithète de  orthographe pleine , indique qu'il s'agit d'une cérémonie telle que la pratiquaient les rois, que remplissaient souvent de hautes fonctions sacerdotales. C'est une qualification d'honneur, qui pouvait être retranchée sans nuire au sens de la formule. L'ordre des groupes y est souvent interverti, comme, par exemple, dans , mot-à-mot, *royal Anubis gift-offerings* (for royal gift of offerings to Anubis). Des interventions de ce genre ne sont du reste pas rares dans les hiéroglyphes.

- (b). , ¹, est un équivalent de , , *mal, malice, perversité* (voir Lepsius, Todt. ch. 125, lig. 36, et la variante du Papyrus Cadet). Dans notre monument les trois traits du pluriel ,

¹ Je représente les mots égyptiens en lettres coptes, et pour éviter toute confusion les mots coptes sont toujours noté comme tels.

sont quelquefois remplacés par les trois grains , et le  par la barre droite . Ces variantes sont communes.

(c). Béka dit littéralement, *ayant mis Dieu dans son cœur*. Ce changement de personne qui constituait une élégance dans le style égyptien, n'est pas toujours sans inconvénient pour la clarté. Nous n'en tenons pas compte dans notre version. Le cas se reproduit assez fréquemment dans l'inscription.

(d).  est une abréviation de      , $\text{c}\bar{\text{w}}\text{c}\Delta\sigma\tau$, mot qui signifie, *expert, expérimenté, habile*. Dans une prière à Thoth, dieu de l'intelligence, un scribe sollicite la faveur de devenir habile ($\text{c}\bar{\text{w}}\text{c}\Delta\sigma\tau$) dans tous ses travaux (Pap. Anastasi, v, p. 9, lig. 4). Au papyrus médical Ebers, p. 36, lig. 4, $\text{c}\bar{\text{w}}\text{c}\Delta\sigma\tau$ a le sens de *reconnaissance, diagnostic*. Béka se vante d'avoir bien reconnu les volontés de Dieu. , $\text{B}\sigma\sigma\tau$, littéralement, *esprits*, se réfère à la pensée, à la volonté (voir ce que j'ai dit de ce mot dans mon journal l'Egyptologie, tome 1, p. 47).

(e).     , mot-à-mot, la ville de qui est dans les millions d'années.   veut dire un million; appliqué à la mesure du temps, il répond au latin *secula seculorum*. C'est une expression designant un temps très-long, indéfini, et le copte $\text{w}\Delta\text{ eneg}$, *in seculum*, se trouve en hiéroglyphes sous la forme      (Papyrus Abbott, p. 6, lig. 7). La cité de l'éternité était l'habitation des morts. Dans une autre stèle de Turin on trouve l'expression analogue      , la fosse de qui est dans l'éternité.

(f). J'ai fait  , littéralement, *chose bonne*. Il faut se garder de traduire *lieu bon*.

(g).      , $\Delta\pi\Delta\omega\tau\epsilon$. Ce mot signifie

baigner, détremper, délayer. Il ne n'est pas arrivé de le rencontrer comme désignation d'un acte répréhensible, mais les textes du même genre que celui que nous étudions ont habituellement   , $\omega\sigma\tau$, mot dont la valeur est *tort, préjudice, dommage*.

- (h).  , $\sigma\tau\eta$, n'a pas d'anaologue en Copte, et la définition exacte du vice ainsi nommé est assez difficile à déterminer. Les textes nous apprennent seulement que ce vice ne doit pas se trouver sur la balance du jugement de l'homme méritant la justification.

- (i). L'expression $\mathfrak{B}$    , littéralement, *depuis l'action jusqu'à la tombe*, est assez remarquable.  nommer *l'acte, l'action de la main*, et, par suite, *l'existence active*; il est pris dans notre texte pour le *premier acte*, le commencement de la vie effective, à peu près dans le même acception que dans cette réserve mélancolique exprimée dans certaines lettres :          , nous ne connaissons pas notre acte de demain, c'est-à-dire, ce que nous serons ou ce que nous ferons demain.

- (j). Le mot que je rends par *défense*,    , est de fort rare occurrence; c'est le troisième exemple que j'en rencontre. Au Papyrus Anastasi I on trouve la phrase : tu es seul, car tes      restent derrière toi (p. 5, lig. 5). Ici le  final est remplacé par $\ominus$, ce qui ne me paraît pas constituer un mot différent. Un passage mutilé du même document (p. 9, lig. 1) donne la même orthographe, mais la forme avec  se retrouve au discours d'Amenemha (Pap. Sallier II, p. 2, lig. 1), dans un passage où le sens *gardes, escorte*, est admissible.

- (k). , est une abréviation de   , $\sigma\tau\chi\chi$, *apprécier, examiner, juger, estimer*.   , $\epsilon\lambda\text{po}\tau$.

est une qualification concernant la science, la pénétration, que les textes donnent quelquefois à Thoth.

- (l).  , , mot que je traduis par *pur*, ne m'est pas connu par d'autres textes. Au Rituel on trouve  , avec le même déterminatif. Mais on trouve ailleurs  déterminé par le vase de la purification. 

- (m). Le texte joue ici sur les mots , , *être, exister*, et  , , *malice, méchanceté*. La version ne peut faire sentir cette allitération.

- (n).  , , est le même mot qu'on trouve ailleurs sous la forme   , , , , , , , , , , ,

  enfant, et à    jeune, , se dit aussi de la tendresse, de l'amour qu'il est louable d'avoir pour la divinité, pour un père, une mère, les parents, les bienfaiteurs et les rois. Le *lien des vénérables*, c'est la demeure des justes dans l'autre monde.

(q). Cette dernière phrase est elliptique. Le pronom  ne peut se rapporter qu' à la vérité. Les   de la vérité sont les offrandes faites pour les manes.

(r).  est un faute ; il faut lire .

(s).              

 doit être lu , wn , et constituer une variante de   Δ ou  Δ DNT , Dn , *approcher*, *s'approcher*. Les     DNTOT , étaient ceux qui avaient le droit d'approcher le Pharaon.

u).  DNT-2 , littéralement, *mon désir*. Béka semble dire que loin de redouter le jugement suprême, il l'a souhaité , nous donne le phonétique du nombre trois, wn en Copte, qui a été signalé par M. de Rougé dans le poème de Pentaour. Ici, ce phonétique est pris comme verbe, signifiant *desirer*, d'après la traduction qu'en a donnée Mr. Goodwin dans l'histoire de Saneha.

(v). Ce membre de phrase fait naître quelques doutes. Le texte laisse bien distinguer le groupe  Δ , qui ne me suggère aucun sens satisfaisant. Je soupçonne encore une erreur du lapicide, et je traduis comme s'il y avait  Δ , T22-T , *élever, célébrer, exalter*.

(x). Par caprice le scribe a écrit ici    22OT , *air, souffle*, a la place de  22 , *vérité*.

(y). Cette phrase est un curieux exemple d'inversion et d'ellipse. Ma traduction fera suffisamment comprendre mon arrangement du texte; il suffira de suppléer les déterminatifs de     22 .

(z).  NH2 K2T . Le Papyrus Prisse rapproche ce titre de  22 . Il y a en effet certain rapport entre l'idée *maître de l'œuvre, chef d'office*, et *maître des choses*. Il y a la deux nuances de l'idée maître.

Neb-kat était usité comme nom de personne.

(aa). Les derniers signes de ce passage sont illisibles. Je ne distingue pas si le texte parle de l'affection du fils pour les parents, ou de celle des parents pour leur fils.

(bb).  — est suivi de deux signes indistincts. Je ne connais de cette forme qu'un mot signifiant *assouplir, courber*. Béka dit peut être qu'il n'a jamais *faussé, forcé*, le sentiment de son affection pour ses parents. En français on dit, dans le même sens, *faire entorse* (to sprain).

(cc). , souvent déterminé par le signe de la petitesse, signifie *faiblesse, infirmité, épuisement, accablement*. C'est un effet de la maladie et de la vieillesse, comme nous dirions *l'enfance sénile*. Béka assure que malgré la haute position qui lui donnait une grande influence auprès du roi, il n'a pas en quelque sorte anéanti (disabled) un plus méritoire que lui-même.



THE BABYLONIAN CODEX OF HOSEA, JOEL,
AND JONAH.

Dated 916 A.D. (now at St. Petersburg),

COMPARED WITH THE RECEIVED MASSORETIC TEXTS.

Continued from page 176.

BY THE REV. CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG, LL.D.

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושיע iii, 4—iv, 6.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. Harl.
CH. v. iii. 4	...	...	ל	... {	סמי וחד אין בית השחר
11 11	ל	ך	ך	ך	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 5	...	...	ז חס	ז חס בנבי	...
11 11	...	...	...	ח	...
11 11	...	...	ר	...	סמי
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	ג	...
11 11	נ מר	נ ומל	נ מל	...	ל
iv. 1	...	...	לא מל	לר מל	מל
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	ג	ג	ג בלי	...
11 2	...	...	ל	ל	ק
11 11	...	...	ל	ל	...
11 11	...	...	ל	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	ב	...	ב	ב	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 3	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ג	...	...
11 11	...	...	ב	ב	...
11 4	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	ל	...	ר	ר ומל	...
11 11	...	...	ר	...	...
11 5	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ל	ל	...
11 6	...	...	ל	ל	...
11 11	ל יתיר אדף	לקא	ואמאסך ר וכת בן	יתיר א {	יתיר א אסך ה
11 11	...	...	ב	ב	...
11 11	...	...	...	ל	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושע iii, 4—iv, 6.

AGE ADD. 465.	B. M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V.
...	...	...	...	וְאִין שָׁר	iii. 4
...	...	...	ל	שָׁר	" "
כר בתי כ	...	...	...	וְתַרְפִּים	" "
...	...	חם כת	ז חם	יִשְׁבוּ	5
...	...	...	...	אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם	" "
...	...	...	ב	וְאֶת דָּוִיד	" "
...	...	ה מל	...	דָּוִיד	" "
...	...	ג	...	וְאֶל־טוֹבוֹ	" "
ג	ג ומל	...	ג ומל	טוֹבוֹ	" "
...	לר מל	חם	לר מל	יִזְשָׁבִי	iv. 1
סימ	...	...	...	אִין־אֶמֶת	" "
...	...	ג	ג	דַּעַת אֱלֹהִים	" "
...	...	חם	ל וכת' ה	אֱלֹה	2
...	...	...	...	וּבְחֵשׁ	" "
...	...	חם	...	וְנִלְחַ	" "
...	...	חם	...	וְנִאָּף	" "
...	ב	...	ב	וְדָמִים	" "
ק	...	...	...	וְדָמִים בְּדָמִים	" "
...	...	חם	...	יִזְשָׁב	3
ל	...	...	...	בְּחֵית הַשָּׂדֶה וּבָעוֹף	" "
...	...	...	...	וּבָעוֹף	" "
...	...	...	...	יִאָּסְפוּ	" "
...	...	ל	...	יָרֵב	4
...	...	...	ל בטע	יִזְכַּח	" "
...	ל	ל ומל	ל	בְּמַרְיָבִי	" "
...	...	ל	...	עֲמֹד קִילָה	5
...	ל	...	ל	וְדָמִיתִי	" "
...	...	ל	...	מִכְּבִּלִי הַדַּעַת	6
יתיר א	{ל קרי א	כן בת ולא ק א חלתא	ל וכת' כן יתיר א	וְאִמְאָסָד	" "
...	...	...	ב	מִפְּהֶן	" "
...	...	ל	...	תִּזְרַת אֱלֹהֵיךְ	" "

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושיע iv. 7—iv. 16.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399	B.M. HARL.
CH. V. iv. 7	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	ב בתר לייש	ב	ב	ב בתר לייש	לייש
11 8	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	ב	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 9	...	...	...	ב	...
11 11	...	...	ב	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 10	...	...	יד פסו בספ ולא ולא }	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ל	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 12	ל זקף	ל	ל	ל	ל
11 11	...	...	...	ל	...
11 13	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ל	ב	מקל לבנה
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ל	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	בספ	...
11 14	...	...	ב מל	ב מל	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ב ממועד	...	...
11 11	...	...	ל	...	...
11 11	...	ל	...	ל	אתנה רכו
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 15	ב א מל וא חס	...	ב בתר ליישי	ב בתר לייש	חס וחד מל
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 16	...	...	ל	ל	...
11 11	...	ג	ל	ג חס בלי	...
11 11	...	...	ג	ג	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ iv, 7—iv, 16.

GE. ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. iv. 7
ל	...	...	ל	כָּרָבָם	" "
...	...	...	ב ומב ליש	אָמִיר	" "
כל ספר פ	...	...	...	חֲטָאת	" 8
...	...	...	ב	וְשָׂאוּ	" "
...	...	...	נ מטעי בהון	נִפְשׁוּ	" "
...	...	...	...	דָּעַם	" 9
...	...	...	ב	כִּפְהֶן	" "
כל כתיב	...	...	...	דִּדְרָיו	" "
...	...	...	יך פסז בסי ולא	וְלֹא	" 10
...	ל	...	...	הִנְנוּ	" "
...	...	...	ל	וַיִּזְן וְתִירוֹשׁ	" 11
...	...	מל	...	וְתִירוֹשׁ	" "
...	...	...	ל זקה קמין	וְשָׂאֵל	" 12
ל	...	ומקולו כת ופול	ל	וּמִקְלוֹ	" "
...	...	בפ	...	עַל וְעַל עַל	" 13
...	...	...	...	אֶלֶזֶן	" "
ל	...	...	ל וחד לבנה	וְלִבְנָה	" "
...	...	...	...	צִלָּה	" "
...	...	...	ל	וְכִלְזִיכָם	" "
ב ובעין	...	...	יא בסיפ	חֲזָאֲפָנָה	" "
...	ב	ב מל על בנותיכם	ב ומל וה מל	אֶפְקוֹד	" 14
...	...	על הרעים	בליש	כִּלְזִיכָם	" "
ל	ל	...	ב	יִפְרְדּוּ	" "
...	...	...	ל	חֲקִדְשֹׁת	" "
...	...	...	ז	וְעַם	" "
ז	...	ז	...	יִלְבָּט	" "
ב א מל ו	ב א מל וא חס	...	ב בתרי ליש חד מל	זָנָה	" 15
...	...	בפס	וחד חס	אֵל וְאֵל וְאֵל	" "
...	...	...	ל	כָּפָרָה	" 16
...	ל	...	ל	סִרְרָה	" "
ד	ל	ז	ז	יִרְעַם	" "

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושיע iv, 16—v, 5.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 571.
CH. v. iv. 16	...	...	...	...	...
17	ד' קמ וכל אתנ וסז פסז דכו	ד'	ד' גכל	ב ד'	...
18	...	...	...	...	...
19	...	...	...	...	...
20	...	...	...	...	...
21	...	...	...	...	...
22	...	...	...	...	...
23	...	...	...	...	...
24	...	...	...	...	...
25	...	...	...	...	...
26	...	...	...	...	...
27	...	...	...	...	...
28	...	...	...	...	...
29	...	...	...	...	...
30	...	...	...	...	...
31	...	...	...	...	...
32	...	...	...	...	...
33	...	...	...	...	...
34	...	...	...	...	...
35	...	...	...	...	...
36	...	...	...	...	...
37	...	...	...	...	...
38	...	...	...	...	...
39	...	...	...	...	...
40	...	...	...	...	...
41	...	...	...	...	...
42	...	...	...	...	...
43	...	...	...	...	...
44	...	...	...	...	...
45	...	...	...	...	...
46	...	...	...	...	...
47	...	...	...	...	...
48	...	...	...	...	...
49	...	...	...	...	...
50	...	...	...	...	...
51	...	...	...	...	...
52	...	...	...	...	...
53	...	...	...	...	...
54	...	...	...	...	...
55	...	...	...	...	...
56	...	...	...	...	...
57	...	...	...	...	...
58	...	...	...	...	...
59	...	...	...	...	...
60	...	...	...	...	...
61	...	...	...	...	...
62	...	...	...	...	...
63	...	...	...	...	...
64	...	...	...	...	...
65	...	...	...	...	...
66	...	...	...	...	...
67	...	...	...	...	...
68	...	...	...	...	...
69	...	...	...	...	...
70	...	...	...	...	...
71	...	...	...	...	...
72	...	...	...	...	...
73	...	...	...	...	...
74	...	...	...	...	...
75	...	...	...	...	...
76	...	...	...	...	...
77	...	...	...	...	...
78	...	...	...	...	...
79	...	...	...	...	...
80	...	...	...	...	...
81	...	...	...	...	...
82	...	...	...	...	...
83	...	...	...	...	...
84	...	...	...	...	...
85	...	...	...	...	...
86	...	...	...	...	...
87	...	...	...	...	...
88	...	...	...	...	...
89	...	...	...	...	...
90	...	...	...	...	...
91	...	...	...	...	...
92	...	...	...	...	...
93	...	...	...	...	...
94	...	...	...	...	...
95	...	...	...	...	...
96	...	...	...	...	...
97	...	...	...	...	...
98	...	...	...	...	...
99	...	...	...	...	...
100	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ iv, 16—v, 5.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
...	...	...	ב אלף	בְּקָבֶשׁ	CH. v. iv. 16
...	...	...	...	בְּמִרְחָב	17
...	...	ל	ל	אֶפְרַיִם	17
ל	...	...	...	סְבָאִם	18
ל	...	...	...	הַנֶּגֶה	18
...	...	...	...	הַזֵּנוּ	18
...	...	...	ל	הַבּוֹ	18
...	...	...	יב מל	אֹתָהּ	19
ל	...	ל	...	בְּכִנְפֶיהָ	19
...	ל	...	ל	מִזְבְּחָתָם	19
...	...	...	...	וְהִקְשִׁיבוּ	v. 1
...	...	ל	...	וְהִקְשִׁיבוּ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל	1
...	...	...	ז	וּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ	1
ב	...	...	...	וּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ הַזֵּנוּ	1
...	...	...	ח	הַזֵּנוּ	1
ל	...	...	...	לְמַצָּה	1
...	...	ז מל	ל	פְּרוּשָׁה	1
ק	ל	...	...	וְשִׁחְטָהּ	2
ל ובשין {	ב א כתי ש וא כתי ס }	...	ב חד כתי סמך עשה שמים ובקצת ספרי ראיתי גם זה מנה בסמך }	סָטִים	2
...	...	...	...	וְיִשְׂרָאֵל	3
...	...	...	...	מִמֶּנִּי	3
...	...	...	יא בנבי	כִּי עָתָה	3
ב	...	...	...	הַזֵּמָה	3
...	...	כול דק	...	אֶפְרַיִם	3
...	...	...	...	זְנוּגִים	4
ז	ז	...	ז	וְאֶת־יְהוָה	4
...	...	...	...	וְעָנָה	5
...	...	...	...	בְּפִנְיוֹ	5

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ v, 5—v, 15.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 571.
CH. V. v. 5	קב	...	לנ	לנ	...
.. ..	...	...	...	...	...
.. ..	...	...	...	ה	...
.. ..	...	...	...	...	...
.. 6	...	...	ל	...	...
.. ..	...	...	ל	...	...
.. 7	יה בטע	יה בטע	יה בטע	...	...
.. ..	...	...	...	...	...
.. ..	...	...	ל	ל	...
.. 8	...	...	ל וחם	ל וחם	חם
.. ..	יו מל	...	יו מל	יו מל	מל בקרי
.. 9	...	...	...	...	...
.. 10	...	נרף	ב רא פסו	נ רפ	...
.. ..	...	...	ל	ה כתי ס בל	יה כתי סמך
.. ..	ד מל	...	ד מל	ד מל	מל
.. 11	...	...	ד	ד נ מל	מל וחד חם
.. ..	...	...	ל	ל	...
.. ..	...	...	נ ומל	ג ומל	...
.. ..	...	...	ל	...	...
.. 12	...	...	ג	...	...
.. ..	...	...	ל	ל	...
.. 13	ד חם	...	ל	...	וחם
.. ..	...	...	...	...	...
.. ..	ב	ב א מ וא ה	ב א חם וא מל	ב ל חם	חד חם וחד מל
.. ..	...	...	ל	ל	...
.. 14	...	...	...	...	...
.. ..	ק	...	ל	ל	דנ
.. ..	...	...	...	נ	...
.. ..	...	...	...	...	...
.. 15	...	...	ל	...	...
.. ..	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושיע v. 5—v. 15.

DGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. V.
...	...	...	לז	וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל	5
ל	...	...	...	וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶפְרַיִם	"
...	...	...	ה	וְאֶפְרַיִם	"
...	...	ל	...	כָּשָׁל נִסְיָהוּדָה	"
...	ל	ל	ל	וּבְבִקְרָם	6
ל	...	...	...	חֲלִין	"
...	יֵא בַטַּע	...	יֵא בַטַּע	עֲתָה	7
ל	...	...	...	יֵאכְלֵם חֲדָשׁ	"
...	...	ל	...	חֲלָמִיקָם	"
ל	...	ל וחם	ל וחם	חֲצִצְרָה	8
יז-מל	יז מל	יז מל	יז מל	בְּנִימִין	"
ל	...	...	...	הוֹדַעְתִּי נֶאֱמָנָה	9
...	ז רֵא פֶסוּ	...	...	הִיוּ	10
ל	...	ל ומל	{ ל דכתי סמך בליש חשנה וכל נסיגה אחור דכז במא }		בְּמִסְיָגִי
...	...	...	ד מל	אֶשְׁפּוֹף	"
ד א מנהו ו	...	...	ד	עֲשׂוֹק	11
...	...	...	...	רְצִוִּין	"
...	ג ומל	ג	ג ומל	הוֹאֵל	"
...	...	ל בס פס	...	צו	"
...	...	...	ג	כָּעֵשׂ	12
ל	...	ל מלע	ל	וּבְרָקָב	"
ל	...	...	ל וחם	מִזְרוּ	13
ל	...	...	...	מֶלֶךְ יֵרֵב	"
...	ב א מל וא חם	...	ב חר מל	לָפֶא	"
ל	...	ל	ל	יִגְהָה	"
ל	...	...	...	כִּשְׁחַל לְאֶפְרַיִם	14
...	...	...	ל	וּבְכַפִּיר	"
...	...	...	...	אֲנִי אֲנִי	"
ל	...	...	...	אֲנִי אֶמְרָף	"
...	...	...	...	אֶלֶף אֲשׁוּבָה	15
...	...	מל	...	מְקוֹמִי	"

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושיע v, 15—vi, 7.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL.
CH. v. v. 15	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	לא פת בנון	...	ל	...	...
vi. 1	...	...	ז	ז	...
11 11	...	כ	ב בתרי ליש	ב	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ל	ל	...
11 11	...	...	ל	...	...
2	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ב	ל	...
11 11	...	...	ל חס	ל וחס ו	...
11 11	...	ל חס	ל וחס	ל וחס י	...
11 11	3	...	...	ז	...
11 11	ב	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ב רפין	ב	...
11 11	...	...	ב א חס וא מל	ב ל חס	...
11 11	...	יא רפי	יא רפין	יא ב מל	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
4	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
5	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ה	ה	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	6	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	ב וא ואין דעת	...	...	...
11 11	ג	...	ז	ב	...
11 11	7	...	יא רא פס	...	א פס
11 11	...	...	ז	ז	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

Hosea דוּשֵׁעַ v, 15—vi, 7.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. v. v. 15
ז	...	...	...	וּבְקִשׁוֹ	...
...	...	...	פּתַח	בְּצִר	...
...	...	ב חֶסֶד	ב חֶד מֶל	יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶינִי	...
ז א מִנְהָ חֶסֶד וּ מִנְהָז חֶסֶד הָא	...	...	ז	וְנִשְׁוֹכָה	vi. 1
...	...	...	ך	טָרַף	...
...	ל	...	...	וּרְפָאֵנוּ	...
...	ל	ל וְהָ וַיֵּךְ שְׂרָשׁוֹ	ל	יָהּ	...
...	...	...	...	וַיִּחַפְּזֵנוּ	...
...	...	...	ז פֶסֶק מִן ז תִּיבּוֹ וְכָל תִּיבּוֹ יוֹד }	יִחַיִּינוּ	2
...	...	...	...	יִחַיִּינוּ	...
...	...	...	...	מִיָּמִיִּם	...
...	ל חֶסֶד	...	...	יִקְמֵנוּ	...
...	...	...	...	וְנִדְעָה	3
...	...	...	...	נִדְרָפָה	...
...	...	...	ב	בְּשֹׁחַר	...
...	...	ב מֶל	ב חֶד מֶל	מִצָּאוֹ	...
...	יָא רַפִּי	...	...	וְיִבּוֹא	...
...	...	...	ב מֶל	יִזְרָה	...
...	...	ל	...	וְחִסְדְּכֶם	4
ב	...	...	...	כַּעֲנֹד־בְּקָר	...
...	...	...	...	וּכְטָל	...
...	...	...	ג	מִשְׁבִּיִּם	...
ב	...	...	...	מִשְׁבִּיִּם הַלֵּךְ	...
...	...	...	...	חֲצִבְתִּי	5
...	...	...	ה	בְּנִבְיָאִים	...
ל	...	ל	...	הַרְגָּתִים	...
...	...	...	ל	וְלֹא־זָבַח	6
...	ב	...	...	וְדַעַת	...
...	...	...	ג	וְדַעַת אֱלֹהִים	...
...	...	...	יָא רַפִּי	וְחִמָּה	7
ז	...	ז	ג	כָּאָדָם	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ vi, 7—vii, 7.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9599.	B.M. Harl. 57.
CH. v. vi. 7	...	...	...	...	...
8	...	...	ל	...	...
9	ז	...	ל	ל	...
10	ישעוריה ק	רוריה ק	ישעוריה ק	ו ו ק	רוריה ק
11	ך	...	ך	ך	...
vii. 1	...	...	ל	ל	...
2	...	...	ז	ז	...
3	...	...	...	ב	...
4	...	...	ק	...	...
5	...	...	כ	...	...
6	...	...	...	...	...
7	...	...	ל	...	...
8	ב	ב	...	ב	...
9	...	...	...	...	...
10	...	...	ר מר	ר לעיל	מ ר לעי
11	...	...	ר	...	ל
12	ל	...	ל	ל	...
13	5	...	...	...	א פס
14	...	ל	ל	...	...
15	ב	...	ב	ב	...
16	...	...	ז	ז	...
17	...	...	...	ל	...
18	...	...	ל	...	...
19	7	...	...	...	...
20	...	...	ז	ז	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושע vi, 7—vii, 7.

EDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. vi. 7
כל כתי כן	...	...	...	בְּרִית	8
...	...	ל	ל	עֲקָבָה	9
...	...	...	ל	וְכַחֲכִי	10
ל	...	...	פלוגת ירצהו	יִרְצָחוּ	11
...	...	...	...	שִׁכְמָה	1
שערוריה ל	רוריה ק	וק	שערוריה ק	שְׁעָרֵי־הָ	2
ד קמ	...	ך	ך	שֵׁת	3
ל	ל	ל	ל	בְּרַפְאִי	4
...	...	...	ג	וְרַעוֹת	5
...	...	...	...	פָּעֻלוּ	6
ל	...	...	ל	וְגִנְבִי	7
...	...	...	...	בַּחוּץ	8
...	...	ל	...	וּבְלִיאֲמָרוֹ לְלִבָּם	9
ל	...	...	ל	לְלִבָּם	10
ל	...	ל	...	סִבְבוֹם	11
ל	...	...	...	בְּרַעְתָּם	12
...	...	...	ב	יִשְׁמָחוּ	13
ל	...	ל	ל	וּבְכַחֲשֵׁיהֶם	14
ל מלעיל	ל ומלע וחם	...	ל חם ומלעי וחד מלרע }	בַּעֲרָה	15
...	...	...	...	יִשְׁבּוֹת	16
...	...	...	ל	מְלוּשׁ	17
ל וחם	...	ל וחם	ל	חֲמֻצָתוֹ	18
...	...	...	...	יִזֵּם	19
...	...	...	ל	הַחֲלֹל	20
...	...	...	ל וחם	לְצִיִּים	21
ג	...	ג	ב	קִרְבּוֹ	22
ג	...	...	ג דגשי	כַּתְּמוֹר	23
...	...	...	ל	בְּאֲרָבָם	24
ל וכתי כן	ל וחם	...	ל וחם	אֲפָקָם	25
...	...	...	ל	בָּעֵר	26
...	...	...	ל	יַחֲמוּ	27
...	...	ג	ג דגשי	כַּתְּמוֹר	28

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA רושע vii, 7—vii, 15.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARB.
CH. v. vii. 7	...	...	...	...	
8	...	...	...	...	ע בם
9	ל	ל	ל	...	
10	ל	...	ל	...	
11	...	...	ז פסו דמין	...	דאי בהו והוא
12	ל	...	ל	...	
13	...	...	...	...	ה
14	...	...	נ	נ	נ
15	...	...	...	...	...
16	ב וחם	...	ב וחם	ב וחם	ב וחם
17	...	...	...	ב	ב
18	ל	...	ל ומל	...	...
19	...	...	ל	...	עם סכל לב
20	...	...	...	...	...
21	...	...	ל מל	ל מל	ל מל
22	...	...	ל	...	בליש
23	ב	ב	ב גל	ב	ב
24	...	...	...	נז	...
25	...	...	ב ובספ	ב	...
26	נ רא פסו בספ	...	נ רא פס בספ	נ רפ בספ	...
27	...	...	ט	ט	...
28	...	...	...	...	ס בקרי דאי ל על ומלא כיניהון
29	...	...	...	...	...
30	...	...	...	ד ומל	...
31	...	...	ל	ל ומל	...
32	15	...	...	יט רפ	...
33	...	...	נ	נ	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA חושיע vii, 7—vii, 15.

DGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
...	...	...	...	אין	CH. V. vii. 7
...	...	...	...	אפרים	" 8
ל וחם	ל	...	ל	יתבולל	" "
...	...	ל	ל וחד ההפוכה	הפוכה	" "
...	...	...	ח פסו' והוא והוא	והוא	" 9
ל	...	...	...	זרקה	" "
ב	...	...	...	וענה נאון	" 10
...	...	...	...	בפניו	" "
...	...	...	ג	ולא-שביו	" "
ל	...	...	...	ולא בקשהו	" "
...	...	ב וחם	ב וחם	בקשהו	" "
...	...	...	ב רפי	ביונה	" 11
ל	...	ל ומל	ל ומל	פותרה	" "
...	...	...	...	אין לב	" "
כל ליש מל } חם	...	...	...	אשור	" "
...	ל מל	...	ל מל	אפרוש	" 12
...	...	...	...	בעזף	" "
...	...	ל	ל	אסירם	" "
...	...	ב	ב יחילו	בשמע	" "
...	...	...	נז	ממני	" 13
...	ב	ב	ב מיד שאול	אפרים	" "
...	ג רא פסו	...	ג רף	ולא	" 14
ט	...	...	...	בלבם	" "
...	...	...	...	על	" "
ב	...	...	...	על-משבזותם	" "
...	...	...	ד ומל	משבזותם	" "
ל וא יתגורר	...	ל וא יתגורר	ל וחד ובית זונה } יתגוררו	יתגוררו	" "
...	...	...	...	ואני	" 15
...	...	...	ג	ואלי	" "

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ vii, 15—viii, 10.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 545.
CH. v. vii. 15	...	...	ב	ב	...
„ 16	...	ל ו ק	...	...	...
„ „	ך	ך	ך ובתרי לישני	ך	...
„ „	...	...	...	...	...
viii. 1	...	...	...	...	...
„ „	ט חס	...	נ חס	נ חס בלי	...
„ 2	ל	...	ל	...	...
„ 3	...	...	ז	ז	...
„ 4	...	...	ד בספ	...	ל תהיל דכו
„ „	...	...	...	...	נת יט
„ „	...	...	...	...	ס בקרי דאית
„ „	...	ה	ה	...	ולא ולא
„ 5	...	...	...	...	...
„ „	...	...	יא	יא	...
„ „	...	...	ל	ל	...
„ 6	...	...	ה פסו דמין	...	ז בקרי דאי
„ „	ב פסו והוא הוא	...	...	...	והוא הוא
„ „	...	...	...	...	...
„ „	...	...	ל	...	...
„ 7	...	...	...	...	...
„ „	...	...	ז	ז	...
„ „	...	...	...	...	...
„ „	ל וחס	ל וחס	ל	ל וחס	...
„ 9	ו הד מנהון כתי ה	...	...	ו	...
„ „	...	...	...	...	...
„ „	...	...	ל	ל ורפי	...
„ „	...	...	ז	ז	...
„ 10	...	...	ל	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושע vii, 15—viii, 10.

MS. ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1523.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. vii. 15
...	...	...	...	יְחִשְׁבוּ	...
...	...	...	...	לֹא	16
ב קמ	...	...	...	עַל	...
...	...	...	...	ב כתי ויו ועדתי זו	...
...	...	...	...	זו	...
...	...	...	...	אֶל-הַקֶּדֶר	viii. 1
ז חס בנבי } וכל אורי במנ	ט חס	חס בסיפ	ט חס	שָׁפֵר	...
...	...	...	...	יְדַעְנוּךְ	2
...	...	...	...	זָנַח	3
...	...	...	...	מִמֶּנִּי	4
...	...	...	...	הַשִּׁירָה	...
...	...	...	...	וְלֹא	...
...	...	...	...	וְלֹא יִדְעָתִי	...
...	...	...	...	זָנַח	5
...	...	...	...	יִכְלֹוּ	...
ל	...	...	ל וחס	נִקְוָו	...
...	...	...	...	וְהוּא	6
...	...	...	...	וְהוּא	...
...	...	...	...	עֲשֶׂהוּ	...
ל	...	ל	ל	שִׁבְבִים	...
ל	...	ל	ל	וְסוּפָתָהּ	7
ז	...	...	...	וְקִצְרוּ	...
כלה מלא } חס	...	...	...	אוֹלִי	...
...	ל וחס	ל וחס	ל וחס	יִבְלַעְהוּ	...
...	...	...	...	פָּרָא	8
...	...	...	...	בֹּרֵךְ	...
...	...	...	...	הַתְּנוּ	...
ד	...	...	...	אֶהְיֶים	...
...	...	...	...	יִתְּנוּ	10

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ viii, 10—ix, 6.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARL.
CH. V. viii. 10	...	...	ד	ד	
11 11	...	ה	ז	ז	
12 12	...	יתו	ל מל	ה מל בלי	מי ל יתו
13 13	רבי ק	...	רבי ק	רבי ק	ק
14 14	נא ויאבדו	...	ל	ל	
15 15	...	...	ט	ט	
16 16	...	...	...	...	
17 17	...	ל	...	ל	
18 18	ד חם	...	ד חם	ד חם	חם
ix. 1	...	...	...	...	...
2 2	ז	ז	ז	ז	ז
3 3	...	...	...	ב דס במ	זי במ בקרי
4 4	...	...	כ	כ	...
5 5	...	...	כ	...	...
6 6	...	...	ל	...	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
8 8	...	...	...	...	...
9 9	...	...	...	...	...
10 10	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
12 12	...	...	...	...	...
13 13	...	...	...	ל	...
14 14	...	...	...	...	...
15 15	...	...	...	...	...
16 16	...	...	...	...	...
17 17	...	...	...	...	...
18 18	...	...	...	...	...
19 19	...	...	...	...	...
20 20	...	...	...	...	...
21 21	...	...	...	...	...
22 22	...	...	...	...	...
23 23	...	...	...	...	...
24 24	...	...	...	...	...
25 25	...	...	...	...	...
26 26	...	...	...	...	...
27 27	...	...	...	...	...
28 28	...	...	...	...	...
29 29	...	...	...	...	...
30 30	...	...	...	...	...
31 31	...	...	...	...	...
32 32	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
34 34	...	...	...	...	...
35 35	...	...	...	...	...
36 36	...	...	...	...	...
37 37	...	...	...	...	...
38 38	...	...	...	...	...
39 39	...	...	...	...	...
40 40	...	...	...	...	...
41 41	...	...	...	...	...
42 42	...	...	...	...	...
43 43	...	...	...	...	...
44 44	...	...	...	...	...
45 45	...	...	...	...	...
46 46	...	...	...	...	...
47 47	...	...	...	...	...
48 48	...	...	...	...	...
49 49	...	...	...	...	...
50 50	...	...	...	...	...
51 51	...	...	...	...	...
52 52	...	...	...	...	...
53 53	...	...	...	...	...
54 54	...	...	...	...	...
55 55	...	...	...	...	...
56 56	...	...	...	...	...
57 57	...	...	...	...	...
58 58	...	...	...	...	...
59 59	...	...	...	...	...
60 60	...	...	...	...	...
61 61	...	...	...	...	...
62 62	...	...	...	...	...
63 63	...	...	...	...	...
64 64	...	...	...	...	...
65 65	...	...	...	...	...
66 66	...	...	...	...	...
67 67	...	...	...	...	...
68 68	...	...	...	...	...
69 69	...	...	...	...	...
70 70	...	...	...	...	...
71 71	...	...	...	...	...
72 72	...	...	...	...	...
73 73	...	...	...	...	...
74 74	...	...	...	...	...
75 75	...	...	...	...	...
76 76	...	...	...	...	...
77 77	...	...	...	...	...
78 78	...	...	...	...	...
79 79	...	...	...	...	...
80 80	...	...	...	...	...
81 81	...	...	...	...	...
82 82	...	...	...	...	...
83 83	...	...	...	...	...
84 84	...	...	...	...	...
85 85	...	...	...	...	...
86 86	...	...	...	...	...
87 87	...	...	...	...	...
88 88	...	...	...	...	...
89 89	...	...	...	...	...
90 90	...	...	...	...	...
91 91	...	...	...	...	...
92 92	...	...	...	...	...
93 93	...	...	...	...	...
94 94	...	...	...	...	...
95 95	...	...	...	...	...
96 96	...	...	...	...	...
97 97	...	...	...	...	...
98 98	...	...	...	...	...
99 99	...	...	...	...	...
100 100	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

Hosea דרשע viii, 10—ix, 6.

E. Add. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
...	...	...	ד	וְיַחֲלֹ	CH. V. viii. 10
...	...	?	...	מָעַט	?? ??
מִנָּה מִשֵּׁ	...	...	ל דַּסְמִי	מִלֶּךְ שָׂרִים	?? ??
ה כְּתִי כ	אֲכַתֵּב ק	וּלֶקֶ	ל יִתִּיר ז	אֲכַתֵּב	?? 12
...	רִבִּי ק	...	רִבִּי ק	רָבוּ	?? ??
...	...	ל	...	הִבְהִיבִי	?? 13
...	...	...	...	וְיִאֲבֹלִי	?? ??
...	...	...	ט	חֲטֹאתֶם	?? ??
כֹּל מִלְּב	...	...	...	יִשְׁוּבוּ	?? ??
...	...	ל וּמֹל	ל	הִיבְלֹחַת	?? 14
...	...	...	ד חֶסֶד	אֲרֻמְנִתִּיהָ	?? ??
...	...	פ	...	יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל	ix. 1
ג	ג	...	ג	גִּיל	?? ??
...	...	ל	ל	פְּעָמַיִם	?? ??
...	...	ל מֹל	...	גְּרָנוֹת	?? ??
ג	...	...	ג	יָרַעַם	?? 2
...	...	...	{ בִּסְבִּירִי בָם וַיְכּוּ בָה }	בָּה	?? ??
כ	...	ג	ג	וַיִּשְׁבוּ	?? 3
...	...	...	...	וַיִּשָּׁב	?? ??
...	...	...	...	וּבְאִשּׁוֹר	?? ??
ל	...	...	...	טָמֵא יִאֲבֹלִי	?? ??
...	...	...	ג רַפּ לֹא וּלֹא לֹא	לֹא	?? 4
...	...	...	...	לֹא-יִסְכּוּ	?? ??
...	...	פ	...	לִיהֲזֹתָ יִזֵּן	?? ??
ל	...	...	ל	יַעֲרְבוּ	?? ??
...	...	...	...	כָּלֶחֶם	?? ??
...	...	ב	...	יִטְמָאוּ	?? ??
ל	...	...	...	לֶחֶם לְנַפְשָׁם	?? ??
...	...	...	...	לְיוֹם מוֹעֵד	?? 5
ל	...	...	ל	וּלְיוֹם	?? ??
...	ד	...	ד	חֲגִיגָהּ	?? ??
ל	...	ל	...	חֲמֻצָּם	?? 6

MASSORAH PARVA.

Hosea הושע ix, 6—ix, 13.

MS. ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. ix. 6
...	...	...	ל וחם	מך	...
...	...	...	ג	חזק	...
...	ב רא פסו	...	ב רף מלכי	באו	7
ג חס בלי	...	...	ג חס בליש	הישלם	...
...	...	יב	יב	ייעו	...
...	...	...	ג	מישע	...
...	...	ד	ד	ורקה	...
ג	...	ב בעז	ב	מיטמה	...
...	...	...	ל	יקו"ש	8
...	...	ב	ב	מיטמה	...
...	...	ל	...	בבית אלהיו	...
ל	...	...	...	העמיקו ישתחו	9
...	...	מל	ל מל	ויפזר	...
...	ל מל	מל	ל מל	יפזר	...
...	...	...	...	הטאותם	...
ל	...	...	ל	פענבים	10
ל דלא מפ	...	לא מפ הי וח מפ הי כבכורה בטרם	ל לא מפ וחד מפיק }	בכבורה	...
...	...	...	ל	בראשיתה	...
...	...	...	ג מל בסי	אבותיכם	...
ל	...	...	ל	ויקזרו	...
...	...	...	ל	לבשת	...
ל	ל	...	ל	כאחבם	...
...	...	...	...	אפרים	11
...	...	...	ד	פעוף	...
...	...	ל ומל	...	יתעופף	...
ל	...	...	...	מלדה	...
...	...	...	...	ומפזן	...
ל	...	ל	ל	ומהריון	...
ל	ל	...	ל	וישב לתים	12
ל	ל	ל	ל כתי שין	בטורי	...
...	...	...	...	אפרים	13
י מל בלי	...	...	י מל בליש	לצור	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושיע ix, 13—x, 6.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57.
CH. V. ix. 13	...	...	ה	ה	בטע
.. 13	...	...	...	...	...
.. 14	...	...	ב	ב	...
.. 14	ל	ל	...	...	...
.. 15	...	...	ז	נ ל מל	...
.. 15	...	...	...	ב חס בלי	...
.. 16	...	נ ב ח וא מ	נ ב חס וא מל	נ ב חס	...
.. 16	בל ק	...	בל ק	לקו	יור
.. 16	...	...	...	ה	...
.. 16	...	...	...	...	...
.. 16	...	...	...	ב	...
.. 17	...	...	יא	יא	רפ
x. 1	...	...	ב	ב מל	...
.. 1	...	...	...	...	...
.. 1	...	...	...	ז	...
.. 1	...	ד	ד	ד	...
.. 2	ב במטר	...	ב	ב וחס	...
.. 2	...	...	ל	ל וחס	...
.. 3	...	...	...	...	בנבי
.. 3	...	...	ל	ל	...
.. 4	...	...	...	...	...
.. 4	...	...	...	...	...
.. 4	ל חס	ל חס	ל וחס	ל וחס	ל ת
.. 4	ל	...	ל	ל	...
.. 5	...	...	...	...	...
.. 5	...	...	...	ל	...
.. 5	...	...	...	נ	...
.. 5	...	...	...	...	...
.. 6	...	...	...	...	ל בספ
.. 6	ב זק קמ	ק	ק	ק	קמ

MASSORAH PARVA.

Hosea הושע ix, 13—x, 6.

RIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. v. ix. 13
...	...	...	ה	וּפְּרִים	" "
...	...	חם כת	ל מל	הזרנ	" "
...	...	ב	ב חציו כנבור	מִשְׁכִּיל	" 14
ל וחסר וו	...	...	...	צִמְקִים	" "
ג	ל חס וא מל	מל בו וחס ביוד	ל מל ג	אזסף	" 15
...	...	...	...	סוֹדְרִים	" "
ג ב חס וא	...	ג {	ג וחד והכה ב חס וחד מל	הקה	" 16
...	...	...	כל ק	בלי	" "
...	...	...	ה	יַעֲשֶׂנוּ	" "
...	...	ל	...	יִלְדוּן	" "
...	...	...	...	וְחַמְתִּי	" "
...	יא רפי	יא	יא רפין	וְיִהְיוּ	" 17
ב	...	...	ב ל מל	בִּזְקָק	x. 1
ל	...	...	...	יִשְׁנֶה	" "
...	...	...	ז	כָּרַב	" "
ד רפי	...	ד	ד רפין	כָּטוּב	" "
ב וחס בלי	...	...	ב בתרי ליש כמטר לקחי	יַעֲרֶה	" 2
...	ל	...	...	יִשְׁדָּד	" "
...	...	...	יא בנבי	כִּי עֲתָה	" 3
...	ל	ל	...	יִרְאֵנוּ	" "
ל	...	...	...	דְּבָרוֹ דְּבָרִים	" 4
ל	...	...	...	אֵלֹת שָׁוְא	" "
...	...	חם	ל	כָּרַת	" "
...	...	...	ל כף	כָּרָאֵשׁ	" "
ב	...	ב	...	תִּלְמִי	" "
...	...	...	ז	יְגוּרוֹ	" 5
...	...	...	...	שָׁכֵן	" "
ג קמ פת	...	...	ג	אָבֵל	" "
...	...	ל	...	וּבְקִדְיוֹ	" "
...	...	מל	ד מל בסיפ	אוֹתוֹ	" 6
...	ב קמ	...	ב זק קמין כשה לטבה	יִבְגֵּל	" "

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושיע x, 6—x, 12.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 5.
CH. V. x. 6	...	...	...	כט	פ
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	ל	...	...
33 33	...	...	ז	ז	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	ל
33 7	...	...	ל	ל	...
33 33	...	...	ל	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	ה	סמי
33 8	כופסו אית בהו אלף בית }	...	...	...	פס
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	ב וקוין	...	ב	ב	...
33 33	...	...	...	ל	...
33 33	...	...	ל	ל	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	ג	ג	ז עלות ק ג
33 10	...	...	ל	...	...
33 33	...	...	ל	ל	...
33 33	...	...	ב	ב	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	עונתם ק	...	עונתם ק	עו ק	זם ק
33 11	...	...	ה	ה	...
33 33	...	...	...	ב	...
33 33	...	...	...	ל	...
33 33	...	...	ב כעפר	ב ל מז	ש ל דוש ק ב
33 33	...	...	ל	...	זמי
33 33	...	...	...	...	גליש
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	ב מל	...
33 33	...	...	...	ב	...
33 12	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

Hosea הוֹשֵׁעַ x, 6—x, 12.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. x. 6
...	...	...	כט	לְמֶלֶךְ	...
ב	...	...	...	לְמֶלֶךְ יָרֵב	...
ל	...	ל	ל	בְּשִׁנָּה	...
...	...	...	ז	יָקַח	...
...	...	...	ב מל	וַיִּבֹשֶׁט	...
ל	...	...	ל וחד ונדמה	נִדְמָה	7
...	...	...	ל	בְּמִצָּה	...
...	...	...	ה	עַד־פְּנֵי־מִיָּם	...
...	...	...	...	וַיִּשְׁמְדוּ	8
כל ספר פת	...	...	...	חֲטָאת	...
...	...	ל וח וק ודר	ל וחד וקוין ודרדר	קוֹי וְדִרְדֵּר	...
...	...	...	...	וְדִרְדֵּר	...
ל	ל	...	ל	פִּסּוּנוֹ	...
...	...	ל וח ונפ	ל וחד ונפלו	נָפְלוּ	...
...	...	...	ל	חֲטָאת יִשְׂרָאֵל	...
ל	...	...	...	חֲשִׁיגִם	...
...	...	...	נ	עֲלֶיהָ	...
ל	...	...	ל	בְּאֵזְתִּי	10
...	...	ל	ל	וְאֶסְרָם	...
...	...	ב	ב	וְאֶסְפוּ	...
ל	...	...	...	בְּאֶסְרָם	...
ל	עונתם ק	...	עונותם ק	עֵינֵתָם	...
...	...	...	ה	וְאֶפְרַיִם	11
ב	...	ב	ב	מִלְמֶדָה	...
...	...	יֶלֶק	...	אֶחָדָתִי	...
...	...	...	ב חד חס כעפר לדש }	לְדֹשׁ	...
...	...	...	ל וחד אל טובו	עַל־טוֹב	...
...	...	יב	...	טוֹב	...
ל	...	...	...	אֶרְפִּיב	...
...	...	...	נ	יֶחֱזֹשׁ	...
יִשְׁדֵּר־ל	...	...	נ	יִשְׁדֵּר	...
...	...	ל מרחי	...	קִצְרוֹ	12

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושיע x, 12—xi, 3.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HABL. 571.
CH. V. x. 12	...	...	...	...	...
12 12	...	...	ח	ח	...
12 12	ב מל	...	ב מל בנבי	ב מל בנבי	מל
12 12	...	...	...	...	...
12 12	...	...	...	...	...
12 13	ב	...	ב	ב בתרו ליש	...
12 13	...	...	...	...	...
12 13	...	...	נ	נ	...
12 13	...	...	...	...	...
12 13	...	...	...	...	...
12 14	...	ל כת כן	ל מל	לקא	א ל יתו א
12 14	...	...	...	ה מל בלי	מל
12 14	...	...	ל	...	...
12 14	...	...	...	...	...
12 14	ל	...	...	...	...
12 14	...	...	...	טו בטע ימה	...
12 14	ל	ק	...	ל	א ל וית א
12 14	...	...	ל	...	...
12 14	...	...	ב	ב	...
12 14	...	...	ל	...	...
12 15	...	...	...	...	...
12 15	...	...	ל	ל	...
12 15	...	ל	ל	ל	...
xi. 1	...	...	ל	ל	...
11 1	...	...	ל	ב	...
11 2	...	...	...	...	א פס
11 2	...	...	...	...	...
11 2	ל	...	...	ה מל בלי	...
11 2	...	...	ל	...	...
11 3	...	ל	ל	ל	...
11 3	...	ל	ל	ל	...
11 3	...	...	ל כת כן	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושע x, 12—xi, 3.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. x. 12
...	...	...	...	...	כִּירו
...	ח ז חס	...	ח	...	כִּיר
...	...	...	ב מל בסיפ	...	לְדִרוֹשׁ
ל	...	...	...	...	וְיִזְרָה
...	...	ב }	ב בתרי ליש בעגלתי }	...	תִּרְשָׁתָם
ל	...	...	...	...	רִשָּׁע
...	...	...	...	...	תִּרְשָׁתָם רִשָּׁע
ל	...	...	...	...	עֲלֹתָהּ
ל	...	...	...	...	קִצְרָתָם
ל	...	...	...	...	בָּרַב גְּבוּרִיד
ל כתי בן	ל וכתי בן	אלק	ל מל	...	וְקָאם
...	...	...	...	...	בְּעִמִּיד
...	...	...	...	...	וְכָל־מִבְצָרֶיךָ
...	...	...	...	?	יֹשֵׁר
...	...	...	...	...	כָּשֶׁד
...	...	...	יג פסו מתחרפין בטע }	...	כָּשֶׁד שְׁלֹמֹן
...	ל	...	...	...	שְׁלֹמֹן
...	ל	אלק	ד ומל	...	אַרְבָּאל
ב	...	...	...	...	אִם עַל־בָּנִים
...	...	...	...	...	רִמְיָה
ל	...	...	...	...	רַעַת רַעַתְכֶם
...	ל	...	ד	...	בִּישְׁתֵּךְ
ל	...	ל בהי כת	ד	...	נִדְמָה
ל וחם	ל	ל קמ וחם	ד	...	וְאַתְּ־בִהוּ
...	...	...	ב	...	וּמִמִּצְרַיִם
...	...	...	...	...	רָאוּ
ל	...	...	...	...	לְבַעֲלִים יִזְבְּחוּ
...	...	...	...	...	וְלִפְסָלִים
ל	...	ד	ד	...	וְמִטְרוֹן
ל	ל	ד	ד	...	תִּרְגְּלִיתִי
ל	ל	...	ל	...	קָחָם
...	...	...	...	...	וְרוּעֵתִיו

MASSORAH PARVA.

Hosea **הושע** xi, 3—xi, 10.

	B.M. Add. 15251	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 571
CH. v. xi. 3	...	...	ג	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	א
33 4	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	ל	ד	...
33 33	...	...	ל	...	...
33 33	...	...	ל	...	...
33 33	...	...	ל	לפי התרגו הוא מן בחרם	...
33 33	...	...	ל	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	ד	...
33 33	ל וכול	...	ל וכול	...	...
33 6	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	ד	...
33 33	...	...	ה בטע	...	בב טע
33 7	...	...	יא	יא	...
33 33	ב חר חס וחר מל	...	ב א חס וא מל	ב ד מל	...
33 33	...	...	...	ל ומר	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	ב וחס ו	וחס
33 33	...	...	...	ל	...
33 8	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	ל	ל	ד	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	ל	...	...	...
33 33	...	ל	ל וכת א	ל כתי כן	בויסק ל וית א
33 33	...	...	ג	ג	...
33 33	...	ל	ל	...	...
33 9	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	ב	ב	...
33 33	...	...	ל	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 10	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	ישאג סא ישאג	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	ד	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ xi, 3—xi, 10.

DE ADD. 465.	B. M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
ג	...	...	ג	וְלֹא יָדְעוּ	CH. V. xi. 3
...	...	...	ל	רְפָאִיתִים	" "
...	...	...	ד	בְּחֻבְלֵי	" 4
ל	...	...	...	אֲמִישָׁבֶם	" "
ל	...	בתת כה	...	בַּעֲבֹתוֹת	" "
...	...	ל ומל	ל	בְּמִרְיָמִי	" "
...	...	...	...	לְחִיָּהֶם	" "
...	...	...	...	וְאֵט	" "
ל	ל ומל	ד ומל	ל ומל	אֲזִכִּיל	" "
ל	...	ל	...	וְכִלְתָּהּ	" 6
...	...	ל	...	וְאֶכְלָהּ	" "
ה מלי בת	...	...	ה ספ בטע	מִמּוֹעֲצוֹתֵיהֶם	" "
...	...	...	...	וְעָמִי	" 7
...	...	ב	ב חד חס וחד מל	תְּלוֹאִיִּם	" "
...	...	...	...	לְמִשְׁבְּתֵי	" "
...	...	...	ל	וְאֶל־עַל	" "
...	...	...	ב	יִרְאֶהוּ	" "
...	...	...	...	יְרוֹמִם	" "
...	...	...	ב ובפסו	אֲתַנְּךָ	" 8
...	ל	ל	ל	אֲמַנְנֶךָ	" "
...	ל	...	...	בְּאֲדָמָה	" "
...	...	...	...	אֲשִׁימֶךָ	" "
ל	ל	בויס ק	ל	בְּצִבְאִים	" "
...	...	...	ג	נִכְמְרוּ	" "
ב	ל	...	ל	נְחֻמִּי	" "
...	...	בסיפ מוג	ו פסו דמיון	לֹא אֲשׁוּב	" 9
...	...	...	ב	וְלֹא־אֵיִשׁ	" "
ד	...	...	...	וְלֹא אֲבוֹא	" "
...	...	ב בספ	...	בְּעִיר	" "
...	...	...	ב רפ	אֲחֵרֵי יְהוָה	" 10
...	...	...	...	יִשְׁאָג	" "
ל	...	...	ל	וְיִחַרְדּוּ	" "

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ xi, 11—xii, 9.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57.
CH. V. xi. 11	...	...	...	...	דפ
11 11	...	...	ל	ל	...
11 11	...	ל מל	ל מל	ב מל	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
xii. 1	ל ומל	...	ל חס	ל חס	חס
11 11	יב חס	...	יב חס	יב חס	חס
11 11	...	...	ב	ב ל	ד פת וחד קמ
11 11	ג מל	...	ג מל	ג מל בלי	...
11 2	...	...	...	...	בטע במ
11 11	...	...	ג	נ חס	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	החס
11 11	...	...	...	...	ליש
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 3	ד	...	ד ג מל וא חס	ד ג מל	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	ל	...
11 11	...	כד	...	כד	...
11 4	...	...	ג	ג	...
11 11	...	...	ל	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	ל ומל	...
11 11	...	...	ל וכל שום אנתתה דכו }	ל	...
11 5	ג כת יש	ג כת ש	...	ג	ג כת יש
11 11	...	...	ל וחס	ל וחס וקמ	חס וזק קמ
11 6	...	...	כב	...	...
11 11	ג	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ה	...	...
11 7	ב	...	ב	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 8	...	...	ל	...	...
11 11	ט	ט	ט	ט	...
11 9	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ xi, 11—xii, 9.

DGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
...	...	...	...	כָּצֹפֹר	CH. V. xi. 11
ל	...	...	ל	וּכְיוֹנָה	" "
...	ל מל	...	ל מל	וְהוֹשִׁבְתִּים	" "
...	...	ל	...	עַל-בְּתִיָּהֶם	" "
ל חס	ל חס	חס בע	ל חס	סָבְכָנִי	xii. 1
...	...	יד חס	יד חס	עַד	" "
...	ב א קמ וא פת	...	ל	ךְ	" "
כל חסר ב	...	ג מל	ג מל	קְדוֹשִׁים	" "
...	...	...	...	אֶפְרַיִם	2
...	...	...	ג וחס	וְרֹדֶף	" "
...	...	ב אפרים עליך ברית }	...	יִכְרְתוּ	" "
...	...	...	...	וְשָׁמֹן	" "
ו	...	...	...	יֹבֵל	" "
...	...	...	ד	וְרִיב	3
כל דיש ב	...	...	...	יְהוּדָה	" "
...	...	...	ל	עַל-יַעֲקֹב	" "
...	כד	כד	כד	יָשִׁיב	" "
...	...	...	ג	בִּבְטָן	4
...	...	...	...	עָקֵב	" "
...	...	...	...	וּבְאוֹנוֹ	" "
...	...	...	...	שָׂרָה	" "
...	...	...	ג בתיב שין	וַיִּשָּׂר	5
ל וחס	...	חס כת	ל זקף קמין וחס	וַיִּכָּל	" "
...	...	...	...	וַיִּהְיֶה	6
...	...	...	...	אֱלֹהֵי הַצִּבְאוֹת	" "
כל ליש מ	...	ד	...	הַצִּבְאוֹת	" "
...	ב	...	ב אל יהוה	וַיִּמָּנֶה	7
...	...	ל	...	אֶל-אֱלֹהֶיךָ	" "
...	...	...	...	לַעֲשֹׂק	8
ט	ט	ט	ט	אָהָב	" "
...	...	...	יב סבי ויאמרו	וַיֵּאמְרוּ	9

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA חושיע xii, 9—xiii, 3.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57.
CH. V. xii. 9	...	...	ג מל	ג מל	ג מל בלי
12 12	...	...	...	...	...
12 10	...	טורף	...	...	...
12 11	יב חס	...	יב חס	יב חס	חס
12 12	...	...	ד	ד	...
12 11	...	...	ב	ב	...
12 12	...	...	ל	...	...
12 12	...	...	ב	ב	...
12 12	...	...	...	...	...
12 12	ל	...	ל	...	...
12 12	...	...	...	ב	...
12 13	...	...	...	ב	...
12 12	...	...	ב	ב	...
12 12	...	...	ל	...	...
12 14	...	...	ב ובפס	ב ובפס	...
12 12	...	...	ב	...	...
12 12	...	...	...	...	...
12 15	...	...	...	...	...
12 12	...	...	ל מל	ל מל	ל מל
12 12	כד	...	כד	כד	כד
xiii. 1	...	ל	ל	...	...
12 12	...	...	...	...	...
12 2	...	...	ד בת כן	ד כתי כן	...
12 12	כו פסו אית בהו } אלף בית }	...	...	כו פסו דאי בהון } כל האב }	כו פסו אית בהו בכל } וחד אב }
12 12	...	ל	ל	ל	ל
12 12	...	...	...	...	...
12 12	...	...	ב	ב	ב
12 12	...	ל	ל	...	...
12 3	...	...	...	...	...
12 12	...	...	...	...	...
12 12	...	...	ל	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושיע xii, 9—xiii, 3.

EDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1523.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. xii. 9
...	...	...	ג מל	און	...
ק	...	...	...	יניצי	...
כל ספראי	ט רא פסו	...	...	ואנכי	10
בן	...	עד כת עוד ק יד	יד הם	עד	...
...	...	דחם	ד	באהלים	...
...	...	...	ב מה אעידך	אדמה	11
ב	...	ב	...	שורים	...
ל	ל	...	...	זבח	12
...	...	...	מל	מזבחותם	...
...	...	...	ל	פגלים	...
ב	...	...	...	תלמי שדי	...
...	...	...	...	שעה ארם	13
...	...	ב את יהוה	ל	ועבד ישראל	...
ל	...	ל	ל	ובאשה	...
...	...	ב בפסו	ב בפסו	ובנביא	14
...	...	...	...	ובנביא	...
ל	...	...	...	נשקור	...
ד	...	...	ד	תמרוגים	15
...	...	...	...	ימוש	...
כד	...	כד	כד	ישוב	...
...	ל	...	ל	רתת	xiii.1
ל	...	...	ד כתי כן	ונאשם	...
...	ד כתי כן	...	...	יוקפו	2
...	...	...	אית בפסו אב	לתטא	...
ל	...	...	ל	בתכונם	...
...	...	כלו ק	...	גלה	...
...	...	...	ב וחם	זבחי	...
ק	...	ל	ק	ישירי	...
ב	...	...	...	מיטבים	3
...	...	ק	...	יסער	...
...	...	...	ל	וקעשי	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושיע xiii, 3—xiii. 12.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57.
CH. V. xiii. 3	...	...	ל	...	...
" 4	...	...	ה	ה	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" "	ל זק קמ	...	ל	ל	קמ
" "	...	...	...	ב	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 5	תלאובת זא תלאבות }	תלאבות ל	תלאובת ל	תלאבות ל	אבות ל
" 6	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	ל	...	...
" "	...	...	ב	ב	...
" 7	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	ל	...	...
" "	...	...	ה	ה	כמי
" "	...	ד בלייט רפי	ל	ל רפי	פ
" 8	...	...	ל	...	...
" "	...	...	...	ל	...
" "	ב	...	ב	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 9	...	...	...	ל	...
" "	...	...	ב	...	...
" 10	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	ב	ב	ב	...
" "	...	ב	...	...	...
" 11	...	...	...	ל	...
" 12	...	...	ל	ל	ד צרור את ינים
" "	ד	...	ה וכל רבו	ד	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

Hosea הושיע xiii, 3—xiii, 12.

EDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. xiii. 3
...	...	...	ל	ל	מִצְרַיִם
ה	ה	...	ה	ה	וְאֱלֹהִים
...	...	...	...	...	זֹלָתִי
...	...	ל	?	?	תִּדְעַ
...	...	...	ב אל צדיק	ב אל צדיק	וּמוֹשִׁיעַ
...	...	ל	...	...	וּמוֹשִׁיעַ אִין
ל וּכְתִי כֵן	תְּלַאבוֹת ל	תְּלַאבוֹת ל	ל	ל	תְּלַאבוֹת
...	...	...	ל	ל	בְּמִדְעֵיתָם
...	...	...	...	...	שִׁבְעִי
...	...	...	ך	ך	וְיָרֵם
...	...	ל	...	...	וְאֶהֱי לָהֶם
...	...	...	...	...	בְּנִמְךָ
...	...	...	ה	ה	עַל-דִּרְגָּה
ל	ד בליש רפי	ל	ל	ל	אֲשׁוּר
...	...	...	...	...	אֶפְיֹנִשִׁם
...	...	ל	ל	ל	וְאֶקְרַע
...	...	...	...	...	סָגוֹר
...	...	ל	ל וְחָד וְאֶכְלֵם	ל וְחָד וְאֶכְלֵם	וְאֶכְלֵם
ל	...	ל	...	...	תִּבְקַעֵם
ל	...	ל	...	...	שִׁחַתְתִּהּ
...	...	{ כְּעֹז כֶּתֶב בְּעֹז קָרָה וּפֹל לָךְ כֵּן }	ב	ב	בְּעֹזְךָ
סימ כל מנה איפה ומנה ומנה אפוא אפוא	...	...	...	...	אֶפְיֹא
...	...	...	...	...	וְיִשְׁעֶךָ
...	ב	...	ב	ב	וְשִׁפְטֶיךָ
...	...	...	ב	ב	מִלֵּךְ וְשָׁרִים
...	...	...	...	...	וְאֶחָד
...	...	...	...	...	צָרוֹר
...	ך זק קמ	{ ד קמ וב סח וס פס }	...	...	אֶפְיֹרִים

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הוֹשֵׁעַ xiii, 12—xiv. 5.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 5.
CH. V. xiii.12	...	...	ל	...	...
13	...	...	...	...	...
14	ב	...	ב ובספ ואנכי	ב	...
15	...	...	ל	...	...
...	...	...	ל	ל ולעיל	...
...	ד	...	ד	ד	...
15	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	ל	ל	ל	...
...	...	...	...	ל	...
...	ב	...	ב מל	ב מל	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
xiv.1	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	ל	...	ל	ל וחס ו	...
...	...	ל	ל	ל	...
...	ד	...	ל	...	...
2	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	ה	ה	סמי
...	...	...	...	...	...
3	...	...	...	ה רפ	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	כה	...
...	י	...	י	י	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
4	ב	ל	ד	ד	...
...	...	...	ז מל	ז מל	...
...	ב א פת וא קמ	...	ב א	ב ל	...
5	...	...	ל	ל	...
...	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA דוּשֵׁעַ xiii, 12—xiv, 5.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. xiii. 12
...	...	...	...	ל	צְפוּנָה
...	...	...	...	...	לֹא חֶקֶם
...	...	ל	...	...	בְּמִשְׁפָּר
...	...	ב	ב וְהִמָּה דְּבָרוֹ	...	אֶפְרָם
...	ל	ל	ל	...	קִטְבֹּד
...	ל	...	ל	...	נָחֵם
...	...	...	...	...	מַעֲיָי
...	...	...	פֶּתַח	...	אֲחִים
...	...	ל	ל	...	יִפְרִיא
...	ל	...	ל וְכָל קְרִיאָה חֲלוּף	...	קָדִים רוּחַ
...	...	...	ב מַל	...	וְגִבּוֹשׁ
...	...	ל וּמַל	...	...	מִקְדָּרוֹ
ל	...	...	...	...	מַעֲנֵנוּ
...	...	...	...	ל	יִשְׁפָּה
ל	...	...	...	ל	תִּאֲשָׁם
...	...	ל	...	...	מִרְתָּה
ל	...	...	...	...	יִרְטָשׁוּ
ל	ל	...	ל	...	וְהָרִיצֵתִיו
ל	...	ל	ל	...	יִבְקָעוּ
כֹּלָה מַלְעַב	...	...	...	...	יִשׁוּבָה
...	ה	...	ה	...	עַד יִהְיֶה
...	...	כֹּל חֵם	...	...	כְּשִׁלְתָּ
...	...	...	...	...	קָחוּ
כָּל קְרִי אֵם } בְּמֹז וְאִמְרוּ	...	...	...	...	אֲמָרוּ
...	...	...	כֹּה	...	תִּשָּׂא
...	...	...	יֵג	...	וְקַח
...	...	ל	ל	...	וְגִשְׁלָמָה
...	ל קַמֵּי	...	כָּ וְעַל קַל	...	נִרְכָּב
...	...	ו מַל	ו מַל	...	יִדְּיָנוּ
כָּל כְּתִי כֵן	...	ל מִן אֵלֶּפֶת	ל וָאֵ	...	יִרְחֵם
...	...	...	...	...	אֲתֵבָם
...	...	מִמֶּנִּי נוֹ קַ	...	...	מִמֶּנִּי

MASSORAH PARVA.

HOSEA הושע xiv, 6—xiv, 10.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57.
CH. V. xiv. 6	...	...	ב	ב	...
77 77	...	...	ד	ד	...
77 77	...	...	...	ל	...
77 77	...	...	ל	ל	...
77 77	ד	...	ד	ד	בחו מעבר לדרך
77 7	...	...	ב א מל וא חס	ב ל מל	...
77 77	...	...	...	לב	רפי
77 77	...	...	...	ה	...
77 77	...	...	...	...	בחו מעבר לדרך
77 77	...	...	ד	ד	...
77 8	...	...	ז חס	...	חס
77 77	...	ב	...	ב	...
77 77	...	...	...	...	...
77 77	...	...	...	...	...
77 77	...	ז	...	...	...
77 77	...	...	...	י בלו	...
77 8 לעצבים נא	...	...	...	...	...
77 77	...	...	...	...	...
77 77	...	ל	ל	ל	...
77 77	...	...	ל	ל ומל	...
77 77	...	...	...	...	...
77 77	...	...	ל	ל	ל
77 10	נ רפי	...	ג	...	פ
77 77	...	...	ל	ל	...
77 77	...	ג חס בנבי	ג חס	...	חס יוד קמ
77 77	...	...	...	...	חס בקרי דאי
77 77	...	...	...	חס בם ו פסו	חס בם בם
77 77	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

Hosea הושע xiv, 6—xiv, 10.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. xiv. 6
...	...	...	...	בטל	...
...	...	...	ד ב וך	יפּרַח	...
...	...	ל דגש וחר רפ	...	בישׁוּשָׁנָה	...
ל	...	...	ל	וּנְדָ	...
...	ר	...	...	בְּלָבָנוֹן	...
...	...	...	ב	יוֹנְקוֹתָיו	7
...	...	לב	לב	וּיְהִי	...
...	...	...	...	הוֹדוּ	...
...	...	...	...	וְרִיחַ	...
...	...	...	...	בְּלָבָנוֹן	...
ז חס	...	...	ז חס	וְשָׁבוּ	8
...	ב	ב ואותך	ב ואותך	יָחִיו	...
...	...	...	ל	וּיִפְרָחוּ	...
...	...	...	ל	בְּנֶגֶן	...
...	ג	...	...	זָכְרוּ	...
...	...	...	י בלי	בְּיוֹן	...
...	...	...	...	לְעֵצִים	9
...	...	...	...	אֲנִי עָנִיתִי	...
ל	...	ל וַחֲאֵשׁ	ל	וְאֲשֻׁרְנֹו	...
...	...	...	...	בְּכָרוֹשׁ	...
...	...	...	נז	מִמֶּנִּי	...
...	...	...	ל	פָּרִיד	...
ב	...	...	גִּרְפִּין	וְיָבֹו	10
...	...	ל	...	וְיִדְעֻם	...
ו כתי כן בלי	ג חס בנבי	מל	ד ג חס יוד קרמ בנבי	וְיִדְעֻם	...
...	...	...	...	בָּם	...
...	...	חס כת	...	וּפִשְׁעֵיהֶם	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JOEL יואל i, 1—i, 11.

		B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57.
CH. V. i. 1	ל		ל	ל	ל	
2	לד מל	...	...	לד מל	לד מל	לד בספ
3	...	...	ל	ל	ל	...
4	ל רא פסו	...	...	ל רא פס	ל רפ	ל רא פס
5	...	...	ב	ב	ב	...
6	...	...	...	ל כת כן	...	...
7	...	...	...	ב	ב	...
8	...	...	...	ה	ה	...
9	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
11	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
12	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
13	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
14	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
15	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
16	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
17	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
18	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
19	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
20	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
21	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
22	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
23	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
24	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
25	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
26	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
27	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
28	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
29	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
30	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
31	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
32	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
33	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
34	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
35	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
36	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
37	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
38	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
39	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
40	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
41	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
42	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
43	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
44	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
45	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
46	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
47	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
48	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
49	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
50	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
51	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
52	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
53	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
54	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
55	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
56	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
57	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
58	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
59	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
60	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
61	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
62	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
63	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
64	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
65	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
66	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
67	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
68	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
69	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
70	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
71	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
72	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
73	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
74	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
75	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
76	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
77	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
78	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
79	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
80	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
81	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
82	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
83	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
84	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
85	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
86	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
87	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
88	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
89	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
90	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
91	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
92	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
93	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
94	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
95	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
96	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
97	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
98	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
99	...	...	...	ל	ל	...
100	...	...	...	ל	ל	...

MASSORAH PARVA.
JOEL יואל i, 1—i, 11.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. i. 1
ל ומל	ל	ל	ל	פְּתוּאֵל	1
...	...	...	לד מל	יִזְכִּי	2
ל	ל	ל	ל	הָהִיתָה	"
ל	ל	ל	ל	סָפְרוּ	3
ל	ל רא פסו	...	ל רפ	יָתֵר	4
...	...	בפ	...	יָתֵר וְיָתֵר וְיָתֵר	"
ל	...	...	...	וְיָתֵר הָאֲרָבָה	"
ל	...	...	...	וְיָתֵר הַיָּלָק	"
...	...	...	ב	הַקִּיּוֹ	5
...	...	מל	...	שְׂבֻזִּים	"
כל מל במב	...	כת בע	ל כב	וְהַלִּילוּ	"
...	...	...	ב	עַל־אֲרָצִי	6
...	...	...	...	וְאִי מִסְפָּר	"
ל	...	...	...	שָׁנָיו שְׁנֵי	"
ל	...	ל וְחַ מִּתְלַעוֹת	ל ומל	וּמִתְלַעוֹת	"
...	...	עוֹל }	...	וְתִאֲחָתִי	7
ל	ל	...	ל	לְקַצֶּפָּה	"
ל	...	ל חס	ל	חִישָׁה	"
ל	ל	...	ל	חִשְׁפָּה	"
ל	...	...	...	הַלְבִּינוּ	"
...	...	...	...	שְׁרִיגָה	"
...	...	ל {	ל וְחַס וְחַד בֵּית	אֵלִי	8
...	...	...	הָאֵלִי }	פְּבַתִּיגְלָה	"
ל	ל	...	ל	חֲגִרַת	"
ל	ל	ל רפ וְחַס כַּת	ל	חֲגִרַת	9
יא	...	...	יא	אֲדָמָה	10
...	...	מל בסיפ	ג מל	הַזְבִּישׁ	"
...	...	הוֹבִישׁוּ דִּהְגָּפִן	...	הַבִּישׁוּ	11
ל בספר	...	מל בע וכול	...	אֲדָרִים	"
ל	...	הבשה כַּת	...	קָצִיר שָׂדֶה	"

MASSORAH PARVA.

JOEL יואל i, 12—i, 20.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARCUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57.
CH. v. i. 12	...	...	...	...	מל
12 12	...	...	...	...	...
12 13	...	...	ב ילדת	...	...
12 14	...	...	...	...	...
12 15	...	...	ל מל	...	...
12 16	ל	...	...	...	...
12 17	...	...	ג	ג בלי	...
12 18	...	...	...	...	...
12 19	...	מבני ק	ר דם	ד בלי	יסמי וכל דה במו
12 20	...	...	...	...	...
13	...	...	...	...	...
13 1	...	...	ל	...	...
13 2	...	...	...	...	...
13 3	...	...	...	...	...
13 4	...	...	ל	ל	...
13 5	ג	ג	ג	ג	ת
13 6	...	...	ב	כ	ג
13 7	...	...	...	...	...
13 8	...	...	...	...	...
13 9	...	...	...	...	...
13 10	...	...	...	...	...
13 11	ב	...	ב	ב בתרי ליש	ב ליש
13 12	ל	...	ל	...	...
13 13	ל	...	...	...	...
13 14	...	...	...	חוביש ה כתי בן	...
13 15	...	...	ב	...	...
13 16	...	...	...	ק	...
13 17	...	...	...	...	...
13 18	...	...	ג	ג	...
13 19	...	ל	...	...	...
13 20	ג ב חס וא מל	ג ב חס וא מל	ג ב חס וחד מל	ג ד מכ	חס וחד מכ

MASSORAH PARVA.

JOEL יואל i, 12—i, 20.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. i. 12
...	...	מל	ל מל	הוֹבִיטָה	...
...	...	...	ב	וְהִתְאַנָּה	...
...	...	...	...	אִמְלֶלָה	...
ל	...	...	...	וְהִתְאַנָּה אִמְלֶלָה	...
...	...	...	...	רִמּוֹן	...
...	...	...	...	תִּמְרֹת וְתַפְּוִת	...
ג ב מל וא } ובתל ליש }	נ א שום קרת	...	נ בתלת ליש	וְתַפְּוִת	...
...	...	כל עצי ק בסוף } מונ }	...	וְקֹל-עֲצֵי (B)	...
...	מבני ק	מבני ק	ר	מִן-בְּנֵי	...
...	...	...	ט דסמי	בְּנֵי אֲדָם	...
...	...	ל	...	בָּאוּ לִינוּ	13
...	...	...	...	מִשְׁרָתִי מִזֶּבֶחַ	...
...	...	ל	...	מִשְׁרָתִי אֱלֹהִי	...
...	...	הלין דק	...	וּמִנְחָה וְנֶסֶךְ	...
...	...	...	...	וְנֶסֶךְ	...
ג	ג	ג {	נ פתח וסי אולו } רעיא וקדישא }	וְזֻעָקִי	14
...	...	...	כ דגשי	לִיזִם	15
...	...	...	דישעיה כשר	וְכִשְׁרֹ	...
ג	...	...	...	מִשְׁרָדִי	...
...	...	...	...	עִינֵינוּ	16
ל	...	...	...	אֶבֶל נִבְרָת	...
ל	...	ל	ל	עֲבִשׁוּ	17
ל	ב	...	ב בב ליש	בְּרֹדוֹת	...
וסגו המם	...	ל חס וו	ל	מִנְרֶפְתִּיהֶם	...
...	...	...	ל וככ	מִמְנוֹרוֹת	...
...	...	חס כת	...	הַבִּישׁ	...
...	...	...	ב	נֶאֱנָחָה	18
ב	...	...	ל חס	נִבְכְּנוּ	...
...	...	ל	...	נֶאֱשָׁמוּ	...
ב	...	...	ב	וְלִקְבָּה	19
...	ל	חס	...	לִקְטָה	...
ג	...	ג	ג ב חס וחד מל	תַּעֲרוֹן	20

MASSORAH PARVA.

JOEL יוֹאֵל i, 20—ii, 6.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57.
CH. v. i. 20	...	...	ך וכל דבו במב	ך	...
33 33	...	נ בטע	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
ii. 1	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	ך	...	ל	ל	...
33 2	...	...	...	...	א פס
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	ב רפי	...	ב	ב	...
33 33	...	...	ל וחם	ל וחם	חם
33 33	ך	ח	ח	ח	...
33 33	ג מל וכל שם אניש	ד מל וכל שום אנש דבו	ג וכל אורי דבו במב	} ג בנבי	...
33 3	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	ערו כל	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 4	...	...	כמראח כל	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	ך מז	...
33 5	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	ב	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	ה	ה	...
33 33	ך	...	ל	ך	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	ל	ך	...
33 6	ב	...	ב	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	לקא	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JOEL יואל i, 20—ii, 6.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. i. 20
ך	...	ך זק קמ	ך	מִים	...
...	ג בטע	...	...	וְאֵשׁ	...
ל וא נאות מ	...	...	...	נָאוֹת הַמִּדְבָּר	...
...	...	ל	...	תִּקְעוּ וְהִרְעִי	ii. 1
...	...	...	ל	וְהִרְעִי	...
...	...	...	...	יּוֹם	2
ב	...	...	...	חֶשֶׁךְ וְאֶפְלָה	...
ך	...	ך	ב רפין	בְּשַׁחַר	...
ל וחם	ל חם	חם ובשׂי כת	ל וחם וחד פרם	פָּרִשׁ	...
...	...	...	...	נְהִיָּה	...
{ ... }	{ ד מל וכל שום בר נש דכו }	ד מיום חישך ויאמר יואב וחברו	{ ד מל וכל אורי במב וכל שום בר נש דכו }	יֹסֵף	...
...	...	...	ל	אֶכְלָה אֵשׁ	3
ז	...	...	...	בָּגֵז	...
...	...	...	ב	בְּגֹדֵעֲדָן	...
...	...	...	...	עֲדָן	...
...	...	...	{ ד פסו אית בהון פנים ואחור }	לִפְנֵי וְאַחֲרָיו	...
ל	...	...	...	מִדְּבַר שְׁמָמָה	...
כל ליש מל	...	...	...	פְּלִיטָה	...
...	...	...	...	בְּמִרְאָה	4
...	ך	...	...	וּבְדִבְרֵי שִׁים	...
...	...	...	ל מל	יְרוּצִין	...
...	...	...	י	בְּקֹזֶל	5
...	...	...	ב	יִרְבְּדִין	...
...	...	...	י	בְּקֹזֶל	...
...	...	ה חם	ה	אֶכְלָה	...
ל	...	...	ך	קֵשׁ	...
...	...	...	ל	בָּעֵם עֲצִים	...
שב סנו במ	ל	...	ל	עֲרוּךְ	...
...	...	...	ב	קִבְצוֹ	6
...	...	ג והוא מן מלין דנסבין א במצעו תיבות ולא קריין	{ ... }	פֶּאֶרֶז	...

MASSORAH PARVA.
JOEL יואל ii, 7—ii, 13.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 5.
CH. v. ii. 7	...	...	ד	ד	...
77 77	...	...	...	...	...
77 77	ל	...	ל	ל	...
77 8	...	...	ל	ל	...
77 77	...	...	...	ג	...
77 77	יפה בספ מנה לא	...	...	יב דס לספ בתע ii. ולא }	ii.
77 77	...	...	...	...	...
77 9	...	...	ל	...	...
77 77	...	...	...	...	...
77 77	...	...	...	...	...
77 77	...	...	ג	ג	...
77 10	...	...	ו	ו	...
77 77	...	...	...	...	...
77 11	ו בטע רא פסו	ה בטע	...	...	פס
77 77	...	...	...	...	...
77 77	...	...	...	ג	...
77 77	...	...	ב גבורי	ב	...
77 77	...	...	ז	ח	...
77 77	ל	...	...	...	...
77 12	ה רא פסו	...	...	ה רפ בתע	...
77 77	...	...	...	...	סמי
77 77	...	...	...	...	...
77 77	...	...	...	ק	...
77 13	...	...	ל	...	...
77 77	ח	ח	ח	ח	...
77 77	ף	...	...	ז בלי	...
77 77	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JOEL יואל ii, 7—ii, 13.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. v. ii. 7	
...	...	...	...	פֶּאֱנִישִׁי מִלְחָמָה	7	
...	...	...	ג	וְלָבוּ	"	
ל בשב חב	ל	ל מן אלפ	ל	יַעֲבֹטוּן	"	
...	ל	ל מן אלפ	ל	יִדְחֻקוּן	8	
...	...	...	ג	וְלָבוּ	"	
...	...	...	יפה	לֹא	"	
ל	...	...	...	יִבְצְעוּ	"	
...	...	...	...	יִשְׁקוּ	9	
ו	...	...	...	יִרְצוּ	"	
...	...	ל	...	הַחֲלֻלִים	"	
ג דגש	...	...	ג	בְּגִזָּב	"	
...	...	...	ו	וְכֻזָּבִים	10	
...	...	הלין חס	...	נִנְהָם	"	
ו בטע	ה בטע	...	ו רף בטע	וַיִּהְיֶה	11	
...	...	מל כת	...	קוֹלֹז	"	
...	...	...	...	חִילֹז	"	
ב	...	...	ב	עֲשֵׂה דְבָרֶךָ	"	
...	...	...	ז	וְנוֹדָא	"	
...	...	ל ומל	...	יִכְלֹנוּ	"	
...	ו וכל תרי עשר דכו רא פסו גם בר מן ה }	...	...	וְגַם	12	
...	...	...	...	וְגַם-עֲמָתָה	"	
ה חס	...	...	ח חס בליש	נִשְׁבּוּ	"	
...	...	ל	...	וּבְצֹם וּבְכָבִי	"	
...	...	ל	...	וְאֶל-בְּנֵי דִיקָם	13	
...	...	...	ח	חֲנוּן וְרַחֻם	"	
ו	...	...	קמין	וְנִחָם	"	
ו	...	...	{ ז פתחין ובספרי שהיו לפני מצאתי זה ונחם דמי יודע נקוד קמין ומסור עליו קמין, ושלפניו פתח אבל המסור מונה זה דמי יורע חד מן ו פתחין }		וְנִחָם	"

MASSORAH PARVA.
JOEL יואל ii, 14—ii, 22.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. Harl. 57.
CH. v. ii. 14	...	...	...	...	...
15	...	...	...	...	...
16	יה קמו וכל אתנ וסו פסו דכו }	זי	זי וכל דכו	זי	...
17	...	...	ב	ל	...
18	...	...	ט רפי	ט	...
19	ג ומל	...	ג	ג	...
20	ב בתר ליש	...	ב בתרי ליש	ב בתרי ליש למל	ב: ליש
21	יא	...	יא	יא	...
22	...	...	מל	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JOEL יואל ii, 14—ii, 22.

DGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
ב	...	ב ספ	...	מנחה ונקד	CH. V ii. 14
ב	...	...	...	קראו עצה	" 15
... {	יא קמ וכל סו פסו	...	יז	עם	" 16
...	...	ב	ב	קבצו	" "
ל	...	...	...	אספו עוללים	" "
ל	...	...	...	מחרדו	" "
ל	...	...	...	מחפתה	" "
...	...	...	ב ויקם את החצר	ולמנבם	" 17
...	...	ב בע	...	יבכו	" "
ל	...	...	...	יבכו הפתנים	" "
...	...	ט	ט רפין	ויאמרו	" "
כל כתי בן	...	...	...	חוסה	" "
...	...	...	ג	ואל-תתן	" "
...	...	ל	...	יאמרו בעמים	" "
כל ליש חס	...	...	...	ניחמל	" 18
...	ה	...	ה	על-עמז	" "
...	...	...	ג מל	והתירוט	" 19
...	...	...	...	ולא-תמן	" "
ב א מל וי	ל	ב {	ב בתרי ליש בני גר למיטפחתם	הצפוני	" 20
...	...	...	...	והדחתיו	" "
...	...	...	...	וישממה	" "
...	ג חס	...	ג חס	הקדמני	" "
ל	...	...	...	וספו	" "
ל	...	...	...	באשז	" "
ל	...	ק	...	ותעל	" "
יא	...	...	יא	צחנתו	" "
...	...	...	...	אדמה	" 21
...	...	...	...	וישמחי	" "
...	...	...	...	בהמות	" 22
ג	...	...	...	בהמות שדי	" "
...	...	שדה שדי ק	...	שדי	" "

MASSORAH PARVA.

JOEL יואל ii, 22—iii, 2.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HABL. 2.
CH. V. ii. 22	...	...	ל	ל	...
22 22	ל	...	ל	ל	...
22 23	...	...	ל	...	...
22 23	...	...	...	...	...
22 23	ו	...	ו ה מל וא חס	ו ה מל	...
22 22	...	...	...	...	...
22 24	ב	...	ב	ב	...
22 22	...	קד סימן ברוי דיוסף פרוי דבלק קרוי דבלעם קמצי	...	...	...
22 22	...	...	ל	ל	...
22 22	...	...	...	...	...
22 25	...	...	...	...	...
22 22	...	...	ל	ל	...
22 22	...	...	ג	ג	...
22 26	י מל	י מל	י מל	...	...
22 22	...	...	ג	...	...
22 22	...	...	...	ל	...
22 22	...	...	...	...	...
22 22	...	...	ב	...	...
22 22	...	...	...	...	...
22 27	...	...	...	...	...
22 22	...	...	ב	...	...
iii. 1	ד מל	...	ד	ד מל	...
22 22	...	...	ב	ב	...
22 22	...	...	...	...	...
22 22	...	...	...	...	...
22 22	...	...	ל	ל	...
22 22	...	...	...	...	...
22 2	ד רא פסו	...	...	...	...
22 22	ח	ח	ח דסמיו	ח	מי
22 22	...	...	יב	...	...
22 22	...	...	ד מל	ד מר	...

MASSORAH PARVA.
JOEL יואל ii, 22—iii, 2.

EDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. ii. 22
ל	...	...	ל	דָּשָׂאוּ	" "
ל	...	ל	ל	וְנָפְזוּ	" "
...	...	...	ל	וּבְגֵי צִיּוֹן	" 23
כל ליש מל	...	...	...	הַמִּזְרָה	" "
...	...	...	ו	וַיִּזְרַד	" "
...	...	...	...	בְּרֹאשׁוֹן	" "
...	...	...	ב והמה שוסים	הַנִּזְנוֹת	" 24
...	...	...	...	בָּר	" "
...	...	ל	...	וְהִשִּׁיקוּ	" "
...	...	מל	...	תִּירֹשׁ	" "
החסיל ל	...	...	...	הָאֲרָבָה הַיָּלֵק וְהַחֲסִיל	" 25
...	...	...	...	וְהַחֲסִיל	" "
ג	...	מל	ג	חִלִּי	" "
י מל	י מל	...	י מל	אָכּוֹל	" 26
...	...	ב	...	וְשָׂבוּעַ	" "
...	...	...	ל וכל קריא והחלתם }	וְהִלָּלְתֶּם	" "
...	...	...	ה בליש	נֶשֶׁם יְהוָה	" "
...	ב	...	...	וְלֹא־יִבְשׁוּ	" "
כל מל במ	...	...	...	לְעוֹלָם	" "
...	...	...	ב	וְאֲנִי יְהוָה	" 27
...	...	...	...	וְאִין עוֹד	" "
...	...	מל	ד מל	אֲשַׁפּוּד	iii. 1
...	...	...	ב	עַל־כֵּל־בָּשָׂר	" "
ל	...	...	...	וְנִבְּאוּ	" "
...	...	...	...	בְּנִיכֶם וּבְנֹתֵיכֶם	" "
ל	ל	ד וחם	ל וחד יהלמון	יְחַלְמוּן	" "
ל	...	...	ד חם בליש	חִזְיוֹת	" "
...	...	...	...	וְגַם	" 2
...	...	ט	ח	בְּיָמִים תִּחַמָּה	" "
...	...	...	יב	תִּחַמָּה	" "
...	...	...	...	אֲשַׁפּוּד	" "

MASSORAH PARVA.
JOEL יואל iii, 3—iv, 4.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL.
CH. V. iii. 3	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	ל ומל	ג מל י בלי	ל
33 4	...	...	ב	ב	...
33 33	...	...	ב	ב	...
33 33	...	יג מל	...	יג מל	...
33 5	יג	יג מל	יג	יג	...
33 33	...	...	כא	כא	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	ל	ל ומל	...
iv. 1	ח	...	ח דס	ח	חמי
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	חמי
33 33	אשיב ק	אשיב ק	אשיב ק	אשיב ק	ב ב
33 2	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	ל	...	ל ומל	ל	...
33 33	...	...	ג	...	...
33 33	...	...	ל	ל	...
33 33	ל	...	ל	ל	...
33 3	...	...	ל	ל	...
33 33	...	ב ובספ	ג	ג	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	ל	ל	...
33 4	...	...	ה רא פס בס	...	...
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	...	...	ל	...	ומי
33 33	...	...	...	...	...
33 33	ל זקף	...	...	ל	בוק כא פס דאית בהון ב קדמו קמו תני
33 33	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JOEL יואל iii, 3—iv, 4.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. iii. 2
כל ליש כת במב	...	...	...	מזפתים	...
...	...	...	ב	דס ואש	...
...	...	...	...	ואש	...
...	...	ל	ל ומל	ותימרות	...
...	...	...	...	יהפך	4
...	...	...	...	לחשך	...
...	יג מל	...	יג מל	בזא	...
יג	...	יג	יג	יפולט	5
...	...	...	כא	ובירוטלם	...
כל ליש מל	...	...	...	פליטה	...
...	...	...	ל ומל	ובשרידים	...
...	ח	ט	ח	בנימים ההמה	iv. 1
...	...	...	יב	ההמה	...
...	...	...	...	ובעת החיא	...
אשיב ק	...	...	אשיב ק	אשוב	...
כל ליש כת במב	...	...	...	הגזים	2
...	...	ל ומל	...	והזרתים	...
...	...	...	ג	ונחלתי	...
...	...	...	ל	ואת-ארצי	...
...	...	ל	ל	חלקי	...
...	...	...	...	ואל-עמי	3
ב	ב ובספ	...	ב	ידו	...
...	...	...	ל	בזונה	...
ל	...	ל וה הילדה	ל וחר הילדה	ותילדה	...
...	...	...	...	ונם	4
כל ליש חס מל	...	...	...	צר	...
...	...	...	...	וכל גלילות	...
...	...	ל	...	פלישת	...
...	...	למן אלפ	ל זקה קמין	עלי	...
...	...	...	ב	גמלים	...

MASSORAH PARVA.
JOEL יואל iv, 4—iv, 14.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 5.
CH. v. iv. 4	...	...	ב וחם	...	ז בליש
5	...	...	ל	...	...
6	...	ה חם בליש	ל חם	ל חם	...
7	...	...	ג	ג	...
8	...	...	...	ל	...
9	...	...	...	...	...
10	...	...	ל	...	...
11	...	...	ל	...	...
12	...	ב וחם	ב וחם	ו חם בלי	...
13	לשבאים נא לשבאים }	...	ל	ל	...
14	...	...	...	...	...
15	...	...	ז מל	ז מל	...
16	...	...	ל	ל	...
17	ל	...	ל	ד	...
18	...	...	...	...	...
19	...	...	ל	...	...
20	ל	...	ל	...	...
21	...	ג	ג	ג	...
22	...	ל	ב א וא	ב ל	...
23	...	...	ג	ד ל מל	...
24	ג רפי	...	ג רפי	ג	...
25	...	...	...	...	...
26	ב קמ	ב	ך	ב	...
27	...	...	...	...	...
28	...	...	ל	ל	...
29	ב בפסו	...	ב ובפס	...	...
30	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JOEL יואל iv, 4—iv, 14.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. iv. 4
...	ב חס	חס בע	ב וחס ובענין	יְמַלְכֶם	" 5
ל	...	...	ל	וּמִחֲמֹדֵי	" "
...	ה חס בליש	...	...	הַפָּבִים	" "
...	...	...	ג	הַבְּאֲתָם	" "
...	...	...	...	לְהִיכָלְכֶם	" "
...	...	...	יב רף	וּבְגִי	" 6
...	ל	ל	ל	הַיְּנֻגִים	" "
...	...	...	ל	הַרְחִיקֶם	" "
...	...	...	...	מַעֲיָרָם	" 7
...	...	שם ק	...	יִשְׁמָחַה	" "
ו חס בליש	...	...	ב וחס	יְמַלְכֶם	" "
ל	ל	ל	ל	לְשִׁבְאִים	" 8
ל	...	...	...	קָרְאוּ-וְאֵת	" 9
...	ז מל	...	ז מל	הַגְּבֻזִים	" "
ל	...	ל	...	יִנְיָשׁוּ יַעֲלֶוּ	" "
ל	...	...	ל	פָּתוּ	" 10
ל	...	...	ל	אֲתֵיכֶם	" "
...	...	חס וו בע באמל	ל	וּמִן מִרְזֵיכֶם	" "
...	...	...	ל	לְרִקְתֵּיכֶם	" "
...	ל	...	ל	הַחֲלִישׁ	" "
ל וכתי שין	ל	...	ל	עֲוִישׁוּ	" 11
...	...	...	...	וּבְאוּ	" "
...	...	ל וז הז	ל וחד הנחת	הַנֶּחֱת	" "
...	...	...	ג	יַעֲזְרוּ	" 12
...	...	...	ג רפי	וַיַּעֲלֶוּ	" "
ג	...	...	...	שִׁלְחוּ	" 13
...	ב	...	ך	מָגֵל	" "
...	...	ל	...	בְּאוּ דְרוּ	" "
ל וא והשי } היקבים	...	...	ל וחד והשיקו	הַיִּשְׁקוּ	" "
...	...	...	ב בפסוק	הַמְּנִים	" 14
...	...	ל ומל	ל	הַמְּנִים הַמְּנִים	" "

MASSORAH PARVA.
JOEL יואל iv, 14—iv, 21.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57
CH. V. iv. 14	...	...	...	...	...
15	...	ו	ו	ו כז	...
16	...	...	כב	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	כב	...	...
...	...	...	ח רפי בלי וכל אחסה דכו רפי בר מן א	ח רפי בלי	...
...	ב משחו	ב	ב	ב	...
17	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
18	ל	...	ל	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	ל	ג	ג	ג רפי	...
19	...	גִּרְף	ג רא פס	ג רפ	...
...	...	...	...	ל	...
...	...	...	יתיר א יב דכת א בסוף תיב ולא ק	ב כתי כן	תי א
20	ב רא פסו	בִּרְף	...	ב רפ	...
21	...	...	כב	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JOEL יואל iv, 14—iv, 21.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
ב	...	...	...	קְהָרוּיִן	CH. V. iv. 14
...	...	...	ו	וְלִכְבִּים	" 15
ב	...	חס	...	נָגְהֶם	" "
...	...	...	...	וְיִהְיֶה	" 16
...	...	...	...	וְיִשְׁאָג	" "
ז	...	...	...	וּמִיִּדְשָׁלָם וְתֵן	" "
...	...	...	...	וְיִהְיֶה	" "
...	...	...	ט רפי בלי	מִחֲסֶה	" "
...	ב ישועות	...	ב	וּמַעֲזוֹ	" "
ז	...	...	...	וּמַעֲזוֹ לְבָנִי	" "
...	...	ל בנבוי	...	וְיִדְעֶתֶם כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה	" 17
...	...	...	...	אֱלֹהֵיכֶם	" "
...	...	...	י דסמי	אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם	" "
כל שמא דנ } כנ	...	...	...	אֱלֹהֵיכֶם	" "
...	...	חס כת	...	יִשְׁכֹּן	" "
...	...	...	...	וְזָרִים	" "
ז	...	...	ז	יִטְפוּ	" 18
ז	...	...	...	תִּלְבְּנָה חֶלֶב	" "
ז	...	...	ז	וּמַעֲזוֹן	" "
ג וא והשקן	...	ג	ג	וְהִשְׁקָה	" "
...	ג רא פסו	...	...	מַצִּירִים	" 19
...	...	...	...	שְׂמֻמָּה תִּהְיֶה	" "
ד כתי כן	...	ב מל נאבדה	יב יתיר א } בסוף תיבות	נָקִיא	" "
...	...	...	...	וְיִהְיֶה	" 20
...	...	...	...	וְיִהְיֶה	" 21
...	...	חס כת	...	שִׁכֹּן	" "

MASSORAH PARVA.

JONAH יונה i, 1—i, 7.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HABL. 571
CH. V. i. 1	...	...	...	...	...
2	ט רא' פסו'	טרף	ט רא' פס'	ט רפ	ט רא' פס'
3	...	ד	ד	ד	...
4	ו רא פסו בטע	...	ו בטע	ז רפ בטע	ט פס בטע
5	...	ל	ל	ל	...
6	...	ל	ל	ל	...
7	ו בטע	ו בטע רפ	ו בטע רא פס	יב דס לספ בספ	ט פס בטע
8	ו חס	...	ו חס בלי	ו חס בלי	ו חס בלי
9	...	...	...	...	...
10	...	...	...	...	...
11	...	...	...	...	...
12	...	...	...	...	...
13	...	...	...	...	...
14	...	...	...	...	...
15	...	...	...	...	...
16	...	...	...	...	...
17	...	...	...	...	...
18	...	...	...	...	...
19	...	...	...	...	...
20	...	...	...	...	...
21	...	...	...	...	...
22	...	...	...	...	...
23	...	...	...	...	...
24	...	...	...	...	...
25	...	...	...	...	...
26	...	...	...	...	...
27	...	...	...	...	...
28	...	...	...	...	...
29	...	...	...	...	...
30	...	...	...	...	...
31	...	...	...	...	...
32	...	...	...	...	...
33	...	...	...	...	...
34	...	...	...	...	...
35	...	...	...	...	...
36	...	...	...	...	...
37	...	...	...	...	...
38	...	...	...	...	...
39	...	...	...	...	...
40	...	...	...	...	...
41	...	...	...	...	...
42	...	...	...	...	...
43	...	...	...	...	...
44	...	...	...	...	...
45	...	...	...	...	...
46	...	...	...	...	...
47	...	...	...	...	...
48	...	...	...	...	...
49	...	...	...	...	...
50	...	...	...	...	...
51	...	...	...	...	...
52	...	...	...	...	...
53	...	...	...	...	...
54	...	...	...	...	...
55	...	...	...	...	...
56	...	...	...	...	...
57	...	...	...	...	...
58	...	...	...	...	...
59	...	...	...	...	...
60	...	...	...	...	...
61	...	...	...	...	...
62	...	...	...	...	...
63	...	...	...	...	...
64	...	...	...	...	...
65	...	...	...	...	...
66	...	...	...	...	...
67	...	...	...	...	...
68	...	...	...	...	...
69	...	...	...	...	...
70	...	...	...	...	...
71	...	...	...	...	...
72	...	...	...	...	...
73	...	...	...	...	...
74	...	...	...	...	...
75	...	...	...	...	...
76	...	...	...	...	...
77	...	...	...	...	...
78	...	...	...	...	...
79	...	...	...	...	...
80	...	...	...	...	...
81	...	...	...	...	...
82	...	...	...	...	...
83	...	...	...	...	...
84	...	...	...	...	...
85	...	...	...	...	...
86	...	...	...	...	...
87	...	...	...	...	...
88	...	...	...	...	...
89	...	...	...	...	...
90	...	...	...	...	...
91	...	...	...	...	...
92	...	...	...	...	...
93	...	...	...	...	...
94	...	...	...	...	...
95	...	...	...	...	...
96	...	...	...	...	...
97	...	...	...	...	...
98	...	...	...	...	...
99	...	...	...	...	...
100	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JONAH יונה i, 1—i, 7.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. i. 1
כל כתי כן	...	...	...	יונה	1
...	ט רא פסו	...	ט ר"ף	קום	2
...	...	מל	...	הגדולה	"
...	...	...	ד	וקרא	"
ה בליש	...	ה	ר	מְרַשֵּׁיטָה	3
...	...	...	ח	מִלְפָנֵי יְהוָה	"
...	י מלר	...	יא מדרע וכך יחזקאל ומלכים דכו במב	בָּאָה	"
ה	...	ה	...	מְרַשֵּׁיטָה	"
...	...	...	...	מִלְפָנֵי יְהוָה	"
...	...	...	ו בטע רביע	ויהנה	4
...	...	...	ל	והאניה	"
ל	ל	ל	ל	חשבה	"
ל	...	...	ל	להשיבר	"
...	...	ויראו	...	וניראו	5
ל	ל	...	...	המלחים	"
...	...	ויטילו	ל חס	ויטלו	"
ל	...	...	...	להקל מעליהם	"
...	...	...	...	ירדתי	"
...	...	...	ל	הספינה	"
...	...	...	...	וישב	"
ל	ל	ל	ל	וירדס	"
ה	...	ה	ה	ויקרב	6
ל	...	ל	ל	יתעשת	"
...	...	...	...	ולא	"
...	ו בטע ראש פסו	...	ו רפ בטע	ויאמרו	7
ל	...	...	...	ונפילה	"
גדלות	...	...	...	גדלות	"
...	...	...	...	וגדעה	"
ל	...	...	ל	בשילכו	"
ו חס בליש	ל חס	חס בע	ל חס	ויפלו	"
...	...	...	...	"	"
גדלות	...	...	...	גדלות	"

MASSORAH PARVA.

JONAH יונה i, 7—i, 14.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 5711.
CH. V. i. 7	...	...	ל	ל	...
7 8	טו	...	טו	טו	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	ה	...	...	ה	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 9	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	נ	...	...	...
7 7	ו	...	...	ו	דסמי
7 7	...	...	ו	...	דסמי
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 10	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	ח וכל אורי דכו בר מן ב	ח	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 11	ב ובע	...	ב	ב וחס	...
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	יא מל בנבי	נ מל בספ	יא מל בלי	...
7 12	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	ב ואני	...	...
7 7	...	...	ל	...	i. וטילוני ii. חס
7 7	...	...	ב	ב	...
7 7	...	...	ל	ל	...
7 13	...	ל	ל	ל	...
7 7	נ	...	נ	נ	כתו מעבר דרף
7 7	...	...	נ מל בספ	...	...
7 14	נ כת ה	ו כת ה	ו כת ה בלש בקשה	ו כתי ה	כת ה
7 7	...	...	...	...	...
7 7	...	...	נ	נ	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JONAH יונה i, 7—i, 14.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. i. 7
...	...	...	ל	על־יוֹנָה	7
...	...	יד	ה	בְּאִשֶּׁר	8
...	...	ל	...	מִהַ־פְּלֹאכֶתָךְ	...
ה	...	...	ה	וּמֵאֵין	...
...	...	...	...	וְאִי	...
...	...	מל	...	אֲלֵיהֶם	9
ל	ג	...	...	עֲבְרִי אֲנִכִּי	...
...	...	...	ו	וְאֶת־יְהוָה	...
...	...	...	...	יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם	...
...	...	...	ו פסוק ואת	”	...
...	...	...	את ואת	”	...
...	...	מל	...	וַיִּירָאוּ	10
כל ליש בתי	...	...	...	הָאֲנָשִׁים	...
גדלה	...	...	...	גְּדוּלָּה	...
...	...	...	ח	מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה	...
...	...	חם	...	בֶּרֶחַ	...
ב וחסר ובי	...	...	{ ח בלשון עשיה בשופר }	נֶעֱשֶׂה	11
...	...	...	ב ובענין	וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲ	...
...	יא מל בנבי	...	...	וּלְקָדַ	...
...	...	מל	...	אֲלֵיהֶם	12
...	...	...	ב	שְׂאוּנִי	...
...	...	חם כת	ל וכב	וְהִטִּדְנִי	...
...	...	...	ב	וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲ	...
ל	...	...	...	בְּשָׁלִי	...
ל	ל	...	...	וַיַּחֲתֶרּוּ	13
ג	...	ג	ג	וְלֹא יָבִלּוּ	...
הלך	...	...	ו מל	הוֹלֵךְ	...
...	...	אנא	ו כתיב הא	אָנָּה	14
ל	...	...	...	נֹאכְדָה	...
...	...	...	...	וְאֶל־תִּתֶּן	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JONAH יונה i, 14—ii, 9.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57.
CH. V.					
i. 14	...	ב כת א	ב כת א	נקי i. ב כתי כן. ii.	י ת א
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 15	...	...	...	מה	...
" "	ל וחם	ל וחם	ל וחם {	i. ויטילהו. ii. וחם דחם.	ל וחם }
" "	...	...	ל	...	...
" 16	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
ii. 1	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	ל	ל	...	וחם
" "	...	...	ד	ד	...
" 2	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	ל	...	...
" 3	ל בטע מלעי	ל מלעי	ל בטע מלע	ל בטע לעיל	בטע
" 4	...	...	ב א מל וא חם	ב חד ראש וחד סוף	חד רא פם ד סו פם
" "	...	ד	ד	ד	...
" "	...	...	...	i. יסובבני. ii. ב וחם.	...
" 5	ל	...	ל	ל	...
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 6	...	...	...	ד נ מל	...
" "	...	...	...	...	זם בליש
" "	...	ד	ד	ה	...
" 7	...	...	...	ל	...
" "	ל חם יוד דדמו	...	בריחיה ל כת כן	בריחיה ל כתי כן	יחיה ד
" 8	...	...	ב עלי רוחי	ב	יא פם
" "	...	י מל בנבי	י מל בטע וכל כתו דכו בר מן ב חם	ותבא י מל בנבי	מל
" 9	...	ל	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JONAH i יונה i, 14—ii, 9.

RIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V.
...	ב כתי א	i. נקי ii. נקיא	ב יתיר א	נקיא	i. 14
...	...	...	י דמטעי	פאָטער	" "
כלה חסר ב	...	...	דסבי אשר	עשית	" "
...	...	...	...	וישאו	" 15
ויטלהו	ל וחם	...	ל וחם	ויטלהו	" "
...	...	...	...	מועפו	" "
ויראו	...	מל	...	ויראו	" 16
ל	...	...	...	וידרו	" "
...	...	...	ה	וימי	ii. 1
ל	ל	חס	ל וחם	לבלע	" "
...	...	...	ד	שליטה ימים	" "
כלה כתי כ	...	...	...	יונה	" 2
...	...	...	...	הדנה	" "
...	ל מלעי	...	ל בטע מלעי	מקרה	" 3
ב א ראש כ	ב א רא פסו וא	ב א ר פ א ס פ	ב חר חם	ותיילבני	" 4
סו פסו	סו פסו	כי נשאתני	ד	ונקח	" "
...	...	ד	ט חם	יסבבני	" "
יסובבני	...	יסובבני	ל סימן נגרותי	נגרשתי	" 5
...	...	...	קיננו נגרותי	אוסף	" "
אסף	...	...	...	אפפוני	" 6
ד	...	חס	...	יסבבני	" "
...	...	ד	ד	לראשי	" "
ד	...	...	ל	לקצבי	" 7
ד	ל כתי כן	ברחיה	ל כתי כן	ברחיה	" "
ב	...	...	ב	בהתעטף	" 8
ותבא	...	מל	יא מל בנבי	ותבוא	" "
ל	...	ל	ובל כתובים רבו	משמרים	" 9
			במב		

MASSORAH PARVA.
JONAH יונה ii, 9—iii, 10.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 57.
CH. V. ii. 9	...	...	ב	ב	
10	...	ל	ל	ל ומלעי	...
11	...	...	ב באלהים סלה	ב	ירה יהוה ללמד
iii. 2	ט רא פסו	טרף	ט רא פס	ט רב	רא פס
3	...	...	...	...	...
4	ט	ט	ט	ט	ט
5	...	...	...	...	...
6	ט	ט	ט	ט	ט
7	ד	...	ד	ד	ד
8	...	...	ל	ל	ל
9	ל	...	ב ביהוה	ב	ב
10	...	...	ט	ט	ט
11	...	...	ד	ד	ד
12	...	...	ל	ל	ל
13	...	...	ל	ל	ל
14	...	...	ד	ד	ד
15	...	ח רפי	ח	ח	ח
16	...	ו	ו וכל ישעיה דכו	ו	ו
17	...	...	...	...	...
18	...	...	...	...	...
19	...	...	...	...	...
20	...	...	...	ה לעיל	ה לעיל

MASSORAH PARVA.

JONAH ii, 9—iii, 10.

EDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. ii. 9
ב	...	ב	ב	הַבְּלִיַּשָּׁא	9
...	ל	...	ל	אִשְׁלָמָה	10
כל ליש מל	...	ב	ב	יִשׁוּעָתָה	11
...	...	{	{ ה בליש ויאמר יהוה לפלוני	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה	11
...	...	ל	ל	וַיָּקֵא	2
...	ט רא פסו	...	ט רף	קום	iii. 2
כל כתי כן	...	...	...	הָעִיר	11
...	...	...	ד	וַיִּקְרָא	11
...	{	{ ל בתר קדמ וקרא עליה	{	וַיִּקְרָא אֵלֶיהָ	11
...	...	...	ל	הַקְרִיָּאָה	11
ה	...	...	...	כְּדַבֵּר יְהוָה	3
ח ב מנה לע	...	...	ט	וַיַּחֲל	4
...	...	...	...	יוֹם אֶחָד	11
...	...	...	י	וַיִּקְרָא וַיֹּאמֶר	11
...	...	צא	...	וַיֹּאמֶר	11
...	ל	...	ל	נְהַפְכָתָה	11
...	...	...	...	וַיִּמְאִינֻ	5
ט וכל דבר כותי במד	{	ט	ט	וַיַּעֲבֹר	6
...	...	ד	ד	וַיִּזְעַק	7
...	...	...	...	וַיִּגְדְּלוּ	11
...	...	...	...	אֶל-יָרְעֻ	11
ל ורפ במנ	ל רפי	ל	ל רפי	וַיִּתְּבֶסּוּ	8
...	...	...	ל רפי	וַיִּקְרָאוּ	11
...	...	...	ד רפי	בְּתִזְקָה	11
...	ח רפי	...	ח וחם	וַיִּשְׁבּוּ	11
...	...	ז	ו פת	וַנִּחֵם	9
ל	...	...	...	וְלֹא נֹאבֵד	11
...	...	...	ל	וַיִּרָא הָאֱלֹהִים	10
...	...	...	ה בטע	שָׁבוּ	11
...	...	...	...	וַיִּנָּחֵם	11
ל	...	...	...	וַיִּנָּחֵם הָאֱלֹהִים	11

MASSORAH PARVA.

JONAH יונה iii, 10—iv, 7.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL.
CH. v. iii. 10	ה	ה	ה	ה	...
iv. 1	...	...	...	...	...
2	...	...	...	צא	...
3	ו כת ה	...	ו כת ה לש בקשה	ו כתי כן	ת ה
4	...	...	...	...	...
5	...	...	...	...	...
6	...	יג	יג	יג	...
7	...	...	יא	ג	...
8	...	...	ב	ב	...
9	...	...	ד	ד	...
10	...	...	...	...	...
11	...	...	...	...	גל ומלה חרא
12	...	...	לפני נקוד קמין וחרוף הוא	...	ה
13	...	ח	ח	ח	...
14	ונתם	ו	...	בל	...
15	3	...	...	...	...
16	4	...	...	ב	...
17	...	...	...	ג	...
18	5	...	...	...	...
19	...	...	ל	...	...
20	6	...	...	...	...
21	יהוה מתחלף יהוה	...	...	...	...
22	...	...	...	...	ת כן בנבי
23	...	...	...	...	...
24	ל	...	ל	...	...
25	...	...	...	...	...
26	...	...	...	...	...
27	7	...	...	...	...
28	...	...	...	ל בעני	...
29	ה	ה	ה	ה ומל	...
30	...	...	ל	ד	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JONAH יונה iii, 10—iv, 7.

EDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		
ה	...	...	ה	וְלֹא עָשָׂה	CH. v. iii. 10
...	...	מל	...	גְּדוּלָּה	iv. 1
...	...	צא	צא פתח	וַיֹּאמֶר	" 2
...	ו כתי ה	...	ו כתי ה	אָנָּה	" "
ג	...	...	...	אָנָּה יְהוָה	" "
הל	...	...	...	הָלֹא	" "
יג	...	...	יג	דְּבָרִי	" "
ג	...	...	ג	אֲדַמְתִּי	" "
...	...	...	ב בניסף	קִדַּמְתִּי	" "
ו	...	ה	ד	תַּרְשִׁישָׁה	" "
...	...	...	...	כא פס בקרי דאית	" "
...	...	...	...	בהו	" "
מגה	...	...	...	חֲנוּן וְרַחוּם	" "
...	...	...	...	וְרַחוּם	" "
...	ו פת	...	...	וְנֶחֱם	" "
...	...	נז	נז	מִמֶּנִּי	" 3
ב	...	...	ב	הַקִּיטָב	" 4
...	...	...	ב	חָרָה לָךְ	" "
ג	...	...	...	סָבָה	" 5
...	...	...	ל דגש	בָּצֵל	" "
...	...	...	ה	וַיִּמָּן	" 6
...	...	...	...	יְהוָה	" "
...	...	...	ה בנבי	יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים	" "
ה בליש	...	...	...	מִקִּיּוֹן	" "
...	...	ל	ל	מַעַל לְיוֹנָה	" "
ה	...	...	...	הַמִּקִּיּוֹן	" "
גְּדוּלָּה	...	מל	...	גְּדוּלָּה	" "
...	...	...	...	וַיִּמָּן	" 7
ל	...	...	ל וא וַיִּמָּן אֱלֹהִים	וַיִּמָּן הָאֱלֹהִים	" "
בַּעֲלוֹת	...	ה	ה	בַּעֲלוֹת	" "
...	...	...	ל וא לְמַחֲרַת	לְמַחֲרַת	" "

MASSORAH PARVA.

JONAH יונה iv, 6—iv, 11.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARB.
CH. V. iv. 6	...	...	...	...	...
7	...	...	ג ב מל וחד חס	ותיבש ג ב מל	...
8	...	...	ב	ב	...
9	...	...	...	...	...
10	...	...	...	...	...
11	...	...	...	...	...
12	...	...	...	...	...
13	...	...	...	...	...
14	...	...	...	...	...
15	...	...	...	...	...
16	...	...	...	...	...
17	...	...	...	...	...
18	...	...	...	...	...
19	...	...	...	...	...
20	...	...	...	...	...
21	...	...	...	...	...
22	...	...	...	...	...
23	...	...	...	...	...
24	...	...	...	...	...
25	...	...	...	...	...
26	...	...	...	...	...
27	...	...	...	...	...
28	...	...	...	...	...
29	...	...	...	...	...
30	...	...	...	...	...
31	...	...	...	...	...
32	...	...	...	...	...
33	...	...	...	...	...
34	...	...	...	...	...
35	...	...	...	...	...
36	...	...	...	...	...
37	...	...	...	...	...
38	...	...	...	...	...
39	...	...	...	...	...
40	...	...	...	...	...
41	...	...	...	...	...
42	...	...	...	...	...
43	...	...	...	...	...
44	...	...	...	...	...
45	...	...	...	...	...
46	...	...	...	...	...
47	...	...	...	...	...
48	...	...	...	...	...
49	...	...	...	...	...
50	...	...	...	...	...
51	...	...	...	...	...
52	...	...	...	...	...
53	...	...	...	...	...
54	...	...	...	...	...
55	...	...	...	...	...
56	...	...	...	...	...
57	...	...	...	...	...
58	...	...	...	...	...
59	...	...	...	...	...
60	...	...	...	...	...
61	...	...	...	...	...
62	...	...	...	...	...
63	...	...	...	...	...
64	...	...	...	...	...
65	...	...	...	...	...
66	...	...	...	...	...
67	...	...	...	...	...
68	...	...	...	...	...
69	...	...	...	...	...
70	...	...	...	...	...
71	...	...	...	...	...
72	...	...	...	...	...
73	...	...	...	...	...
74	...	...	...	...	...
75	...	...	...	...	...
76	...	...	...	...	...
77	...	...	...	...	...
78	...	...	...	...	...
79	...	...	...	...	...
80	...	...	...	...	...
81	...	...	...	...	...
82	...	...	...	...	...
83	...	...	...	...	...
84	...	...	...	...	...
85	...	...	...	...	...
86	...	...	...	...	...
87	...	...	...	...	...
88	...	...	...	...	...
89	...	...	...	...	...
90	...	...	...	...	...
91	...	...	...	...	...
92	...	...	...	...	...
93	...	...	...	...	...
94	...	...	...	...	...
95	...	...	...	...	...
96	...	...	...	...	...
97	...	...	...	...	...
98	...	...	...	...	...
99	...	...	...	...	...
100	...	...	...	...	...

MASSORAH PARVA.

JONAH יונה iv, 6—iv, 11.

MS. ADD. 455.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V. iv. 6
ה	...	...	...	הקיון	7
...	ג ב מל וא חס	ויבש מל	ג ב מל וחד חס	ויבש	8
...	...	...	ב	בזרח	9
...	...	...	...	ויבש	10
ל	...	...	...	ויבש אלהים	11
...	...	ל מל	ל ומל	חרישית	12
ל	ל	...	ל	ויתעלה	13
ב בעי	...	...	...	מותי מתי	14
...	...	...	כה	ויאמר אלהים	15
...	...	...	ב	הטיב	16
...	...	...	ב	הרהר	17
ה בליש	...	...	...	הקיון	18
...	...	...	כולהון רפי	הרהלי	19
...	ל	ל חס	...	חספ	20
ה בליש	...	...	...	הקיון	21
...	...	...	...	גדלתו	22
ל ואינו בליש }	ל	ל	ז בליש וכל בן	שבו	23
...	...	...	נון רכו	...	24
...	...	...	...	ובי	25
...	...	...	...	ובדללה	26
...	...	...	...	על-מינה	27
ל וחשין	...	...	ל שין רפה	משתים	28
...	ד חס א	ד וא בע	ד חס א	רבו	29

MASSORAH MAGNA.

JONAH יונה i, 2—ii, 1.

	B.M. Add. 15251.	B.M. Add. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. Add. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 571.
CH. v. l. 2	...	...	ט וסימ	...	...
" "	...	...	ד וסימ ווא ותרשישה	...	קרי וסימנהון... ותרשישה
" 3	...	...	ח וסימ וכל אורי דכו במב מפני יהוה וסימ	...	דסמי בקרי ימניהון וכל רי דכו במב פני יהוה ימניהון
" "	יא בטע מלר וסימנהון וכל מלכים ויחזקאל דכו במב	יא בטע מלרע וסימנהון	יא בטע מלרע וכל מלכי ויחזקאל דכו במב	...	...
" 4	...	...	ו בטע וסימ	...	...
" 6	...	...	ה וסימ	...	...
" 7	...	...	...	ה וסימנהון	...
" "	...	...	...	ו חס בליש וסימנהון	חס בליש ימניהון
" "	...	...	ו בטע רי פס וסימ	...	...
" 8	טו וסימנהון	...	טו וסימ	...	בקרי וסימניהון
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" "	...	...	...	ה וסימנהון	...
" 9	...	...	...	ו וסימנהו	...
" "	...	...	...	...	סמי וסימניהון
" "	...	...	...	...	...
" 12	ב וסימנהון	...	...	...	...
" 13	ג וסימנהון	...	ג וסימ	ג וסימ	סמי בקרי ימניהון
" "	...	יא מלאי בגביאי	ג מל בספ וסימ	...	...
" 14	...	וסימנהון	...	ג וסימנהון	...
" "	...	...	ו בת ה בלש בקשה וסימ וכל אנה דארמית דכו בת הא	...	ת: ה בקרי ימניהון
" "	...	...	...	...	...
ii. 1	...	...	ד וסימ	...	...

MASSORAH MAGNA.

JONAH יונה i, 2—ii, 1.

SE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1523.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. v. i. 2
...	...	...	ט רף *	קום	" 2
...	...	חד מן ה וסימנהון	...	מְרִישֵׁה	" "
...	...	...	ח בקריא וסימ... וכל אורי דכו במב וסימ...וכל שאר קריא דכו מפני יהוה	מִלְפָּנֵי יְהוָה	" 3
...	...	...	...	בָּאָה	" "
...	...	...	...	וַיְהִי	" 4
...	...	חד מן ה פת וסימנ	ה פתחין וסימ	וַיִּקְרַב	" 6
...	...	...	ה בקריא וסימ ... וחד פלוגתא	וַיִּגְדַּעַה	" 7
...	...	...	...	וַיִּפְּלוּ	" "
...	...	...	...	וַיֹּאמְרוּ	" "
...	...	...	...	בְּאִשָּׁר	" 8
...	...	יט וסימנ	...	בְּאִשָּׁר וּבְאִשָּׁר	" "
...	...	...	...	וּמֵאִין	" "
...	...	...	ואת את ואת וסימ	ו פסוקין	" 9
...	...	...	...	וְאֵת יְהוָה	" "
...	...	...	...	יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי תִשְׁמַע	" "
...	...	...	...	שְׁאוּנִי	" 12
...	ג וסימנהון	חד מן ג וסימנ	ג בקריא וסימ	וְלֹא יָבִלֻוּ	" 13
...	...	...	...	חולֵּךְ	" "
...	...	...	...	וְאַל־תִּתֵּן	" 14
...	...	...	...	אָנָּה	" "
...	...	...	י דמטעי דסבי אשר בקריא וסימ	בְּאִשָּׁר	" "
...	...	...	...	יִשְׁלָשָׁה יָמִים	ii. 1

MASSORAH MAGNA.

JONAH יונה ii, 4—iv, 2.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HABL. 5
CH. V.					
ii. 4	...	...	ד וסימ	...	...
11 6	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ד וסימ	...	...
11 8	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
11 9	...	...	...	...	סמי בקרי...
11 10	...	...	ב וסימ	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	מן ד בקרי... שאר אל
iii. 2	...	...	ט רא פס וסימ	...	...
11 4	...	...	ט וסימ	ט וסימנהון	...
11 11	...	י וסימנהון	י וסימ	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 5	...	...	ב וסימ	ב וסימנהון	קרי וסימניהון
11 6	...	...	ט וסימ	...	...
11 7	...	...	ד וסימ	ד וסימנהון	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 8	...	...	ד וסימ	ד וסימנהון	...
11 11	...	...	ח רפין וסימ	...	...
11 9	...	...	...	...	...
11 10	ה וסימנהון	...	ה וסימ	ז ה מלעיל ותריין מלרע וסימנהון	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
iv. 2	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	יג וסימנהון	יג וסימ	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	קריה מניהון
11 11	...	...	ד וסימ	...	...

MASSORAH MAGNA.

JONAH יונה ii, 4—iv, 2.

MS. ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1523.	BABYLONIAN CODEX.	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V.
ד וסימנר	ד וסימנהון	חד מן ד וסימנ	...	וְנָקָר	ii. 4
ד וסימנה	...	...	...	אֶפְפֹּנִי	" 6
...	...	חד מן ד וסימנהון	ד בקרי וסי	לְרֹאשִׁי	" "
...	...	...	...	בְּהִתְעַטֵּף	" 8
...	...	...	...	הַבִּלְיָשׁוּא	" 9
...	...	חד מן ב וסימנהון	...	יִשְׁוּעָתָה	" 10
...	...	...	...	אֲמִירָה יְהִנֶּה לְלַמֵּד	" 11
...	...	...	ט רף וסי	קוּם	iii. 2
...	...	...	...	וְנָחַל	" 4
...	...	...	...	יוֹם אֶחָד	" "
...	...	...	י פסוקי *	וַיִּקְרָא וַיֹּאמֶר	" "
...	...	...	...	וַיֹּאמִינוּ	" 5
ט וסימנו	...	...	ט *	וַיַּעֲבֹר	" 6
...	...	חד מן ד וסימנהון	ד *	וַיִּזְעַק	" 7
...	...	...	...	אֶל־יָרְעוּ	" "
...	...	...	...	בְּחִזָּקָה	" 8
...	...	...	ה רפין וחם *	וַיִּשְׁבּוּ	" "
...	...	נחם ונחם חד	...	וְנָחַם	" 9
...	...	{ מן פת וסימנ וכל ישעיה כוו }	...	וַיִּנְחָם	" 10
...	...	...	...	וְלֹא עָשָׂה	" "
...	...	...	ו כתיב ה בליש	אָנָּה	iv. 2
...	...	...	{ בקשה בקריאה וסימ }	"	" "
...	...	...	...	דְּבָרִי	" "
...	...	...	ג בקריאה וסי	אֲדָמָתִי	" "
...	...	...	...	מִלְשִׁישָׁה	" "

MASSORAH MAGNA.

JONAH יונה iv, 4—iv, 10.

	B.M. ADD. 15251.	B.M. ADD. 15250.	ARUNDEL ORIENT. 16.	B.M. ADD. 9399.	B.M. HARL. 5.
CH. V. iv. 4	ב וסימנהון	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	זמי בקרי
11 11	...	...	...	...	ניהון
11 6	...	...	...	...	רי וסימניהון
11 11	...	...	כל נביא אדני אלהים כת במה יהוה אלהים וסימ ... וכל אורי וכת דכו במה דכת אדני יהוה ...	...	...
11 7	ה וסימנהון	...	ה וסימ	...	...
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	ג ב מל וא חס וסימנהון	...	...	...	...
11 10	...	...	...	...	בן ובן ד בקרי ניהון
11 11	...	...	...	...	...
11 11	...	...	ד חס א וסימ	ד חס א וסימנהון	...



MASSORAH MAGNA.

JONAH יונה iv, 4—iv, 10.

BRIDGE ADD. 465.	B.M. HARL. 1528.	BABYLONIAN CODEX	PRINTED MASSORAH.		CH. V.
...	...	...	...	הֵהִיטָב	iv. 4
...	...	...	ב וסי	תָּרַח-לָךְ	" "
...	...	...	...	"	" "
...	...	...	{ ה ד מנהון בסיפ וסימ }	וַיִּמָּן	" 6
...	...	...	...	יְהִי-חַיֵּהֶם	" "
...	...	...	...	בַּעֲלֹת	" 7
קִיּוּן הַקִּי וְסִימָנָהוֹן }	...	...	...	קִיּוּן	" "
...	...	...	{ ג ב מל וא חס וסי }	וַיִּבָּשׁ	" "
ג בליש וסי	...	...	{ ז בליש וסימ ד מנהון חס }	נֶשְׁבִּי	" 10
...	...	{ אלפבית מן חד וחד ש בריש תיב }	...	"	" "
...	...	...	...	רָבָן	" "

[Additional Notes will be given in Vol. VI, Part 1.]



THE TENNO-SAMA, OR MIKOSHI; ARK-SHRINES OF JAPAN.

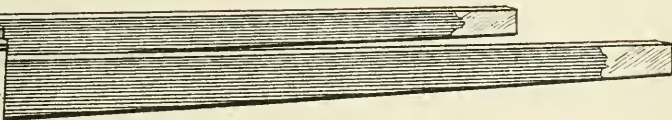
BY WILLIAM SIMPSON.

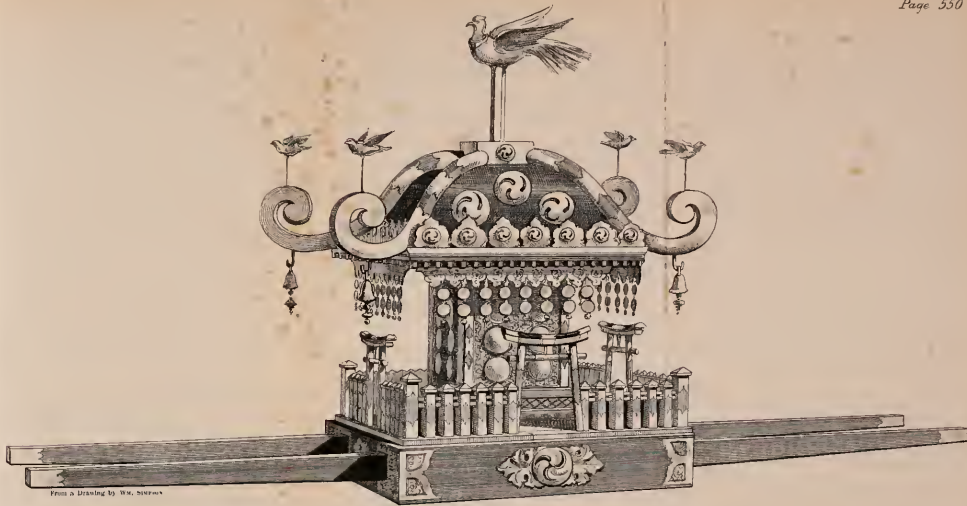
Read 6th March, 1877.

WHEN in Japan in 1873, I chanced to become acquainted with the curious fact that in some of the religious ceremonies of the country a shrine is used, which is carried by means of staves on men's shoulders, in the same manner as the Ark of the Covenant is described to have been. As these shrines have many points of resemblance to the Ark of the Jewish Tabernacle, and as they do not seem to have been yet described, a short account of them may be of value to Biblical scholars.

The name given to them is *Tenno-Sama*, which may be translated "Heaven's Lord"; they are also called *Mikoshi*; *mi*, is "precious" or "honourable," *koshi*, is seat.

In construction these shrines are miniatures of a Japanese temple; there is a small square cella, with a large overhanging roof; the cella has folding doors on each of its four sides; round the whole is a miniature wooden fence, through which there is a gate of approach to each door. Temples in Japan are all made of wood, and a particular kind of tree is sacred for this purpose, and I understood that this wood was also used for the construction of the *Tenno-Samas*. The temple of Solomon was built principally of wood and bronze, the early Greek buildings were also of the same materials, and this condition of architecture is still to be found in Japan to-day, and many of the temples are very beautiful specimens of work. Brass or bronze is largely used for binding the wood together, as well as for ornament.





From a Drawing by Wm. Simpson

Tenno-Sama, or Mikoshi: Ark-Shrine of Japan.

Some of these arks have small figures of a deity within them, and they no doubt belong to the Buddhist faith. The primitive religion of Japan is Shintoism, and its temples are marked by the absence of idolatrous images. Lately Buddhism has undergone something like dis-establishment, and Shintoism is now proclaimed as the only religion authorized by the State. There are three emblems which are common to a Shinto temple: these are a Mirror, a Sword, and a Jewel; some accounts make it a Casket instead of the last-named article, but the Casket contains the Jewel; as the Mikado as Emperor is *ex-officio* a god, the Tenno-Samas sacred to him contain these three symbols: they are the insignia of his rank; they are called *Mitakara*. *Mi*, is rendered as "three," and *takara*, as "precious things." Satow's translation is very slightly different; he puts it, "*Mité-gura* is compound of the honorific *mi*, corresponding in meaning to the Chinese *go*, *te*, a contraction of *taë*, an archaic word for cloth. This is the derivation given in the *Wakunkan*." This word also means the *Gohei*, and the *Gohei* is also at times rendered the Jewel; but the *Gohei* is not a "Jewel" in our sense of the word; it is a slender wand set up on end, to which is attached a piece of cut paper, which hangs down symmetrically on each side. This emblem is frequently the only object to be found in the sanctum of Japanese temples. This curious symbol of worship is said to represent cloth or clothes, and that hemp was one of the primitive offerings of an early age, and the paper now stands for the hemp. The Mirror, one of "Three Precious Things," is always round, and is, according to Japanese authorities, a symbol of the sun. There is a legend that the first mirror was made by a mythic blacksmith, the counterpart of Vulcan no doubt, and iron from the mines in Heaven was procured for the purpose. In addition to the mirror in the cella, there are twenty-four small round mirrors on the outside; they are placed on the folding doors, three on each side, one above the other.

The corner ridges of the roof are elongated, and turned into what might be termed the horns of the altar, from each is suspended a small bell, as in Chinese bells on temples, there is a piece of thin flat wood suspended, which is moved

when the wind blows, causing the clappers to strike, thus producing an agreeable effect when there is a number of them. On the upper side a small bird is perched on each; these are not unlike doves; quails are favourite birds with the people of that country, and it may be these birds which are intended. Kaempfer describes these shrines as having "a gilt crane on the top," but those I have seen were surmounted by a cock. This is explained from Shintoism being founded on sun-worship, and the cock is a worthy worshipper, being usually the first to announce the early dawn of morning.

The outer gateways are a very important feature in all Japanese temples, both Buddhist and Shinto; they are erected on the approaches to temples as something honorific, at wealthy and well frequented shrines numbers of these peculiar gateways have been erected, it will be seen from the drawing that they bear a strong family likeness to the Pailows of the Chinese. They are called *Torii*, which is said to mean "Bird Rest," and that they were so called from a dove resting on the first one which was constructed. Their original signification is difficult to arrive at, for they are no doubt very ancient, and many ideas are now connected with them, and their supposed power of conferring purification on those who pass through is too remarkable to be omitted; on this account it is considered necessary to wash the hands with water before doing so. One of the brass ornaments, and which is repeated many times on this ark, is a circle, containing what might be described as three notes of interrogation, or a trefoil of decorated Gothic. It is called *mitz-tomoye*, or the three *tomoyes*; but what *tomoye* means I have not yet been able to discover. It bears such a strong resemblance to the Chinese *Yin-Yang*, that although the one is a dual symbol, and the other triple, I can hardly doubt but there must be some connection.

It was not my good fortune to see any of the ceremonies with these arks, but I have seen a picture where one is carried on men's shoulders, and a surging crowd around, evidently pushing, while the shrine sways heavily to one side, and the crowd are throwing what seems to be pieces of

paper in the air, banners are being carried, and numerous hands are holding up fans, which are being waved towards the sacred object.

There are seven of these shrines in the temple of Hachiman at Kamakura; they are said by some to be State *Norimans*, but as these shrines are connected with the deified Mikado, they are most probably *Tenno-Samas*, or *Mikoshis*, as well as *Norimans*. This is confirmed by a statement of Kaempfer's; he says, "The *Mikoshi* themselves being eight." From this it is evident that a certain number, it may be eight as Kaempfer puts it, or seven as they are stated to be at the temple of Hachiman, are connected with the peculiar rites and ceremonies which belong to them.

I may also mention that I found a toy shop in Yokohama where small ones were sold as toys for children. I also found that small models could be got, and I brought home two of these. One, a very beautiful model, I got made at the request of the Rev. W. D. Parish, Rector of Selmeston, Suffolk, in whose possession it is; and the other is in the Museum of the Andersonian University, Glasgow.

The many points of resemblance between these *Tenno-Samas* and the Ark of the Hebrew Temple are so evident that they require no insisting upon. I cannot pretend to explain how such resemblances have come into existence. The geographical space between Palestine and Japan adds much to the difficulties of the problem. The question of race is also another of the knotty considerations involved. I would suggest that the subject is worthy of further consideration, and I would refer readers to Bellev's Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857, p. 49, where he will find an account from one of the Afghan *Tawarickhs*, or histories, which recounts how a tribe called Bani-Israel has an ark called the *Tabut-i-Sakina*, made of Shamshad wood; on it were figured all the prophets of God, and it was the oracle of the tribe. I would also refer to an article written by myself, descriptive of what I saw, and published in Good Words, in September, 1866, which describes some very curious ceremonies in the Himalayas, where an ark-like shrine was carried with staves on men's shoulders, round which the

people danced with music, and to which offerings were made, and they called this shrine their *Khuda* or "god." Afghanistan and the Himalayas are a long way from Japan, still these ceremonies will show that portable shrines or temples had a very extended acceptance in the ancient world, relics of which only exist now in out of the way quarters.



THE STÈLE C 14 OF THE LOUVRE.

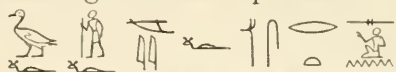
BY G. MASPERO.

Read 1st May, 1877.

THE stèle C 14, published by Lepsius (Auswahl, taf. ix), and Prisse d'Avennes (Monuments Egyptiens, pl. vii), has been often alluded to, but never translated. It was found in Abydos by Thédénat du Vent, sold to Cousinéry, and then to the Louvre. Champollion, struck by the conformity of style which it offers to the stèle 45 in Turin, ascribed it to the XXIst Dynasty, and tried to discover on it the names of king Smendes and king Psousennes (Lettres à M. le duc de Blacas, deuxième Lettre, pp. 114–118). De Rougé thought "it might be considered on the whole as being one of the master-pieces of Egyptian sculpture" (Catalogue des Monuments Égyptiens de la Salle du Rez-de-chaussée, 1849, p. 47, and Rapport adressé à M. le Directeur-général des Musées Nationaux, 1851, p. 17), and his opinion was fully re-echoed by Orcurti. The fact is, the first draught of the hieroglyphics, which was done in red ink, and remains to this day visible, is exceedingly fine, but the carving, although very elaborate, is by no means excellent.

C 14 was erected for a certain  |  Iritisen, in the reign of Mentuhotep, *Rā-neb-kheru* (XIth Dynasty). Iritisen and his wife                         

liquor, thousands of loaves, liquors, oxen, geese, all good and pure things, to the pious Iritisen; his pious wife who loves him, Hapu." In the middle register, they are represented standing. Iritisen holds in the left hand the long stick of elders and noblemen, in the right the  sceptre; both are making front to a procession of their own family.

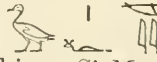


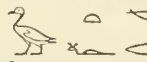
"His son, his eldest,

who loves him, *Usortesen*" heads it; then follow—



"His son, who loves

him, *Mentuhotep*," and  "his son, who loves him, *Si-Mentu*"; immediately after

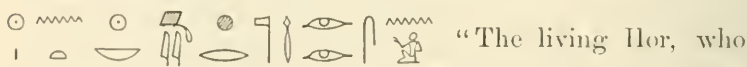
whom we find a lady  (sic for ) "his daughter, who loves him, *Qim*," and

 "her son, who loves her, *Temnen*."

There is every reason to think that *Si-Mentu* had married his sister, and that *Temnen* was his as well as *Qim*'s child.

Usortesen is about to sacrifice a goose to his father, according to rite, and *Mentuhotep* bears an ox-thigh.

The inscription begins with—



"The living Hor, who

unites both lands, the lord of diadems, who unites both

lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt (son of Rā, *Mentu-*

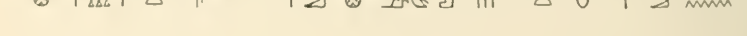
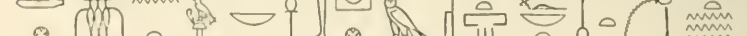
hotep), everliving;—his true servant, who is in the inmost

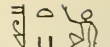
recess of his heart, and makes his pleasure all the day long,

the devout unto the great god, *Iritisen*."

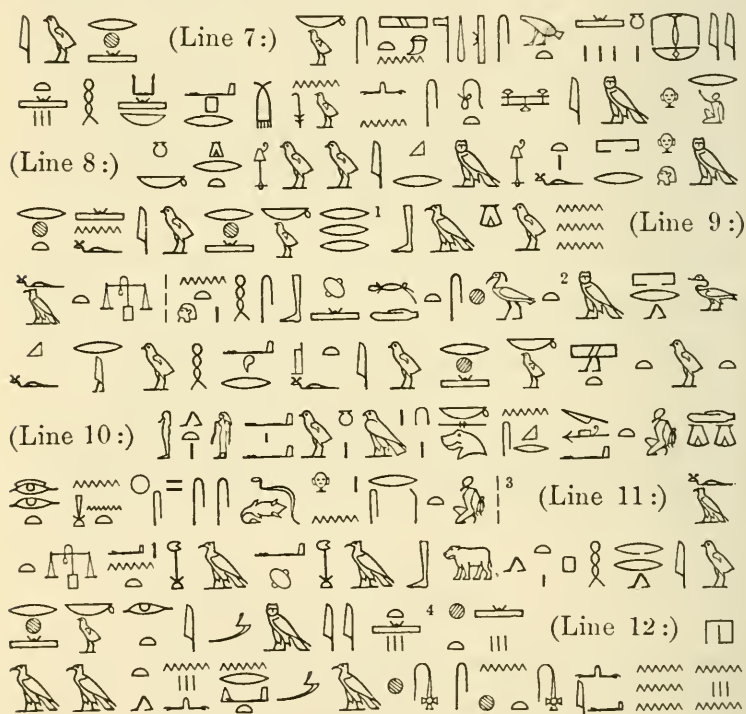
The formula of proseynem contains some uncommon

variations of the usual text. (Line 3:)



will carve in his tomb." Iritisen was more than ; he drew or painted, , as well as carved, , and gave himself in consequence the title of  , "scribe-carver," or more properly "draughtsman and sculptor." He was very proud of his skill, and not shy of praising himself.

The last ten lines of the inscription are filled with an enumeration of his own virtues, and to this vanity we are indebted for the knowledge of what was required then from an Egyptian artist.



¹ See on the form, Le Page Renouf, Grammar, p. 24-27.

² There is before  the sign which has been explained in note 4, p. 557.

³ Mistake of the scribe for 

⁴ Mistake of the scribe for 



Iritisen begins by telling "that he knows the mystery of the divine word," and that "he is an artist skilled in his art." The three following verses are intended to support this general assertion of excellency. "I know," saith he, "what belongs to it, the sinking waters, the weighings done for the reckoning of accounts, how to produce the form of issuing forth and coming in, so that the member go to its place." Every word, when strictly analysed, seems to yield two different meanings. In a material sense, Iritisen is only thinking of his personal ability in drawing scenes of civil and domestic life, the rising and sinking of inundation such as is often represented on the walls of tombs, the weighing by scribes of tributes brought by townspeople or husbandmen, the motion of a man through the various stages of walking, so that each individual member be not out of line, but sit well in its place. In a mystical sense, the whole is an allusion to various chapters in the Book of the Dead. Chapter cx, for instance, is a picture of the Egyptian Elysium, with its fields of wheat and barley, its canals and pools of fresh water filled by the celestial Nile. Chapter cxxv has a description of how they weigh the heart of man and reckon human deeds before the infernal jury. The



"performing of rites which cause the dead to issue forth and come in, and make every member go to its place," is a summary of more than twenty chapters (xxi-xxx, lxiv-lxxvi,

exvii-xxxvii, &c.), in which the Osiris is ordered to enter several places and to come out of them at his liking, and has the use of his members given back to him, so that every one of them be not taken away from him, but "go to its place."

"I know the walking of an image of man, the carriage of a woman, the two arms of Hor, the twelve *circles* (*cerchi*) of the blasphemers, the contemplating the eye without a second which affrights the wicked, the poisoning of arm to bring the hippopotamus low, the going of the runner." If we take the material sense, this second verse is only the continuation and development of the last sentence in the first. Iritsen tries to particularise some of the shapes he was able to give his figures, the peculiar bearing of a standing statue  , the carriage of a walking woman .

Then, passing to divine subjects, he could make the two arms of Horus, paint the twelve circles of the Egyptian Hades, through which Rā has to sail during the night, from the moment he disappears into the Ro-Pequer (    or    ) , west of Abydos, to the moment he arises again in the east, represent the scenes of adoration to Rā, in which the actors were spirits in human shapes, with heads of hawks or jackals, and cynocephali. The last two mentioned would refer to hunters pursuing the hippopotamus and to running men, or to Horus poisoning the javelin before killing the hippopotamus, and to Rā, "the runner which no one is able to catch in the morning of his births." If we take the mystical sense, we must apply for interpretation to the funeral papyri which bear the title of "Book of knowing what there is in the Lower World," good specimens of which have been translated or published by Dr. Birch and M. Pierret. Then the "walking of an image," the "carriage of a woman," and the "two arms of Hor," would be the transcription in words of the picture which represents two human arms belonging to an invisible body, and holding various figures, the most conspicuous of which are a standing mummy  , and a woman . The twelve hours of night, the adora-

tions of Rā by Osiris, would be alluded to in what follows. $\Delta \overset{\circ}{\underset{1}{\square}} \text{X} \overset{\circ}{\underset{\text{X}}{\Delta}}$ would be referred to the Sun, as in the first interpretation.

For the last verse, "I know the making of amulets [which enable] us to go without any fire giving its flame, and without our being washed away by water," we could suppose that Iritisen praises his skill in devising real amulets to preserve the living from real flames and water, or pretends to know the charms that save the dead from the flames and waters of the underworld.

Both meanings being admissible, I think that both meanings must be admitted at once. I have often remarked that Egyptian writers delight in ambiguities of diction. They were fond of putting words that could be interpreted in two different ways or more, and took care that every sentence following these words might be construed with one of the meanings as well as the other one. Iritisen tells us at the beginning that he is initiated "to the mystery of the divine word," and that he is an artist: the same words are used all through the inscriptions to express both facts. I have tried to transfer the double meaning of the original in our modern tongues, and to give a translation which may be interpreted both ways.

"I know the mystery of the divine Word, the ordinances of the religious feasts, every rite of which they are fraught, I never strayed from them; I, indeed, am an artist wise in his art, a man standing above [all men] by his learning.

1. "I know what belongs to it, the sinking waters, the weighings done for the reckoning of accounts, how to produce the form of issuing forth and coming in, so that a member go to its place.
2. "I know the walking of an image of man, the carriage of a woman, the two arms of Hor, the twelve circles of the blasphemers, the contemplating the eye without a second that affrights the wicked, the poisoning of arm to bring the hippopotamus low, the going of the runner.

3. "I know the making of amulets, that we may go without any fire giving its flame, or without our being washed away by water!
- "Lo! there is no man excels by it but I alone and my eldest legitimate son: God has decreed him to be excellent in it; and I have seen the perfections of his hands in his work of chief-artist in every kind of precious stones, from gold and silver even to ivory and ebony!
- "Funereal meal of bread and liquors! Thousands of wine, loaves, oxen, geese, linen, clothes, all good and pure things, to the devout Iritisen-the-wise, son of dame Ad."



SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

CONDENSED REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS DURING THE FOURTH SESSION, NOVEMBER, 1875, TO JULY, 1876.

Tuesday, November 2, 1875.

S. BIRCH, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next meeting.—H. Syer Cuming, F.R.G.S.; H. B. Edwards; W. Golenischeff (St. Petersburg); Rev. Isaac Hall (Beirut); A. C. Hamilton (Tunbridge Wells); Rev. Prebendary Huxtable, M.A.; Mrs. Lowe, Richmond Gardens, W.; Rev. Edmund McClure; Mrs. William Morris; Geo. St. Clair, F.R.G.S.; Geo. Fyde Rowley (Brighton); Rev. W. Turner (Edinburgh); W. Woodman (Morpeth); Henry Wright (Stafford House).

The President next offered some introductory remarks. Dr. Birch said the Society now numbered 400 members, and that its success was due to the energy of the Society and the part it played in public education, especially by its energy in an age of universal education. He stated that great attention was paid to primary education, greater to secondary education, and some to what he would call tertiary education, not only the diffusion of what was known, but researches into the unknown. The Society had assumed a high position, its Transactions being not only enriched by English but Foreign contributors. He spoke also of the good it had done by patronising the Records of the Past, and that it had fulfilled to a great degree a function only performed abroad by official assistance, the zeal of private individuals having been seconded by the Professors, who had given gratuitous instruction to young persons desirous of learning the Egyptian and Assyrian languages, while the general public had placed before them the Records of the Past, published under the auspices of the Society. In conclusion, he urged on the Society to increase its numbers, as it would then be able to publish a quarterly journal, and give the valuable papers contributed to its Transactions at an earlier period.

The following papers were then read:—

I. *On the Egyptian Mummy in the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Sutherland.* By S. Birch, LL.D., F.S.A.—Dr. Birch gave an account of the different processes of embalming, and the prevalent ornaments of coffins and cartonages or outer wraps of mummies, which appear to have come into use at a later period of the art, and to have superseded the more elaborate decorations of wooden coffins. The cartonnage of the Duke of Sutherland's mummy and its decorations were treated mythologically, and some explanation given of the short inscriptions which accompanied its representations. Some account was also given of the bandages of the mummy, which was referred to a late age, on account of the manner in which the paintings and inscriptions were executed, rendering it probable that the body was embalmed long after the XXth Dynasty. A tracing of the cartonnage made by Mr. Bonomi accompanied the paper and description.

II. *Some Osteological Notes on the same Mummy.* By Professor Flower, F.R.S.—This paper was a detailed report by the eminent osteologist of the condition of the skeleton of the mummy described by Dr. Birch, from which it was shown to have been the skeleton of a man in advanced years, of short

stature, *i.e.*, 5 feet 4 inches; the left ulna had been fractured near its lower end at some period long before death; the bones of the trunk and legs showed traces of chronic rheumatic disease, the lumbar vertebræ being partly ankylosed; what teeth remained were in good condition, and the shoulders were distinguished by that remarkable squareness of form which was characteristic of the Egyptian race.

III. *Observations on the proportions of the above Skeleton.* By Joseph Bonomi.—Mr. Bonomi made some observations on the remarkable characteristics of this Egyptian specimen; amongst these is the measurement of the shoulders, which he found to be one inch and three quarters wider than in any other skeleton of the same height in the collection of the College of Surgeons.

IV. *On some Fragments of the Babylonian Account of the Creation.* By Mr. George Smith.—Owing to the pressure of his many engagements prior to his departure for Mesopotamia, the subject of this paper was verbally delivered. The text of the tablets had been set up, with a short account of the same, and they will appear in the next part of the Transactions of the Society, Vol. IV, Part 2.

Tuesday, December 7, 1875.

S. BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following candidates were nominated for election:—Rev. J. Edlin Carpenter; Rev. George Crewdson, Kendal; Rev. Joseph Cockran, Tyldesley; Rev. J. E. Davis, Malvern; W. J. Haywood; Mrs. Hussey, Hurst-green; R. F. Hutchinson, M.D.; H. C. Levander, University College, W.C.; Joseph Smith; D. Marshall; J. N. Fownes Wise, M.D., Bengal; E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.

Mr. Bonomi exhibited a fine cluster of Dates from Egypt, and gave some account of the Date Palm, *Phoenix Dactylifera*, and drew some sketches showing the method adopted by the fellaheen of climbing up and trimming the trees. Mr. Bonomi's remarks were further illustrated by a coloured drawing of the Palm in fruit, contributed by Professor Donaldson.

The following papers were then read:—

I. *On some new Hamathite Inscriptions at Ibreez, near Karamania.* By Rev. J. E. Davis, H.B.M. Consular Chaplain at Alexandria.—The inscriptions which formed the subject of this paper are carved on the side of a rock by the shore of the river Ibreez, and they form part of two large bas-reliefs, in the style of Sassanian or Assyrian art. The subject of the first bas-relief is a royal male figure, vested in a fringed and embroidered garment, and wearing a conical horned head-dress; in his left hand he holds a tall mass of wheat, and his right rests on his hip, a large grape vine laden with clusters of fruit is twined around his body, and the stem of the plant appears to issue from the ground a little behind the right leg, which partly conceals it. The other bas-relief represents a smaller and nearly similarly attired male figure, having one arm and hand up-raised in an attitude of praise or veneration. The dress of both the figures is elaborately ornamented, and presents many peculiar details of ornamentation. The inscriptions which accompany these ancient sculptures are nearly illegible from the action of time and exposure to rain and damp.

II. *Notice of a very Ancient Comet, from a Chaldean Tablet.* By H. Fox Talbot, F.R.S.—The learned Assyriologist considered that the Comet, which formed the subject of his paper, appeared in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, about B.C. 1150; the following is a translation of the inscription which describes it:—

- “1. The star is hairy; its orb is like a shining light,
2. and it has a tail receding from it like a creeping scorpion,
3. a great star from the northern horizon
4. unto the southern horizon,
5. extends its measure like a creeping (scorpion's tail.)
6. This on the face of the tablet (was written)
7. At the time when Nebuchadnezzar had marched into the land of Elam.”

III. *On Babylonian Augury, by Figures and Geometrical Signs.* By Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.—Just as astrology implies a science of astronomy, so a system of augury based upon geometrical figures implies a science of geometry. In this paper texts were given, with transliterations and translations, of two cuneiform tablets, originally it would seem written in the Accadian language, which furnish the augural explanations of certain geometrical figures. One of these tablets has been published by M. Lenormant, the other and longer one was now given for the first time. The author of the paper referred to the similar pseudo-science which still flourishes among the Chinese, and inferred that a superstition prevailed among the Accadians like that called *fung-shui* by the Chinese, which assumes an inherent good or bad luck in a place or situation. He also suggested that the Greek belief in the magical properties of numbers and geometrical figures, found for instance in the fragments of Philolaus and among the Therapeutæ, went back to a Babylonian origin; and determined for the first time the Assyrian ideographs for *geometrical figure, line, and arc*. Some of the figures were probably derived from the measurement of the sky. It is probable that the “*Babylonios numeros*” of Horace referred to geometry as well as to arithmetic. At the end of the paper translations were given of the Accadian tables of square and cube roots from Senkereh, remarks made upon the sexagesimal system of the Chaldeans, and notice taken of Professor Cantor’s discovery that the Assyrians had formulated $\pi = 3$.

IV. *On the Assyrian Belief in the Immortality of the Soul, as Illustrated by the 12th Izdubar Tablet.* By William Boscawen.—In this paper the author gave translations of the *twelfth Izdubar legend* and other texts, showing the existence of the belief in the immortality of the soul amongst the Assyrians. The *good* having their reward in the *happy fields*, the “place of the heroes,” the “resting place of Nergal” (the war god), “reclining on couches,” “drinking pure liquors,” and “feeding on rich foods.” The warrior was there surrounded with all the spoil which he had gained in battle, and his captives were paraded before him. The wicked were consigned to the “land of no return,” the dwelling of Ninkigal, “the house whose entrance has no exit,” where “much dust is their food, their nourishment mud,” where they “dwell in darkness.” Mr. Boscawen compared these accounts with the Greek *Elysian fields*, and with *Aides*, and showed the *Eastern* influence in their conception. He also pointed out the curious parallel between the raising of the soul of *Heabani*, the seer of *Izdubar*, and the raising of *Samuel* by the witch of *Endor*. In the appendix were given some hymns to *Marduk the demi-urgus*, and philological notes.

V. *On the First Sallier Papyrus.* By Prof. E. S. Lushington, B.A.—This paper contained a careful examination of the text of the papyrus in question, and it will appear, together with exegetical notes, in the next number of the *Transactions of the Society*.

VI. *On Two Ancient Maps of the Holy Land.* By S. M. Drach, M.A., F.R.A.S.—One of the maps is a black block print, with the names of the Jewish patriarchs, *doctors of the law, prophets, &c.*, arranged in an architectural plan around a supposed representation of Solomon’s temple, apparently for a Mizrach or “East” *Kiblah*, as used in all Jewish houses. The other is a far more elaborate MS. in colours, with explanations in the square and Jarchi-script Hebrew, similar to many mediæval maps, with large views of the principal towns, tombs of saints, doctors, &c., and bordered with Scripture phrases, purporting to have been drawn up by one *Luria* (query of the famous sixteenth century Cabalist family) after the earthquake at Sephat. Mr. Drach recognized this map as similar to that printed upon sundry canary-colored handkerchiefs bought by him two years ago at Berlin, which were probably prepared for the use of the Polish Jews. The authenticity of the sites on these maps is of course questionable; but even the dome and spires of the Christian Holy Sepulchre are prominently exhibited. The two maps were lent for exhibition by the Rev. Greville Chester, who purchased them at Tunis.

Tuesday, January 4, 1876.

S. BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following Candidates were nominated for election:—William Bevan; Archibald Hamilton, Bromley, Kent; Rev. W. Mead Jones, Mill Yard; Rev. Edward White.

The Council and Officers of the Society for the ensuing session were duly elected.

The Laws of the Society, as prepared and revised for the fourth time by the Committee of Laws, were presented, confirmed, and ordered to be issued.

The Secretary read a report of the condition of the Society, showing an increase of eighty-three members during the past year.

The President delivered a short anniversary address, in the course of which he announced that the *Assyrian and Egyptian Classes* would be resumed, in February, at the Rooms of the Society, the Rev. A. H. Sayce taking the Assyrian class, and Mr. P. Le Page Renouf the Egyptian, while he would himself give a series of analytical lectures on "The Ritual of the Dead." Admission free by tickets, as before.

A letter from Mr. Fox Talbot, giving an account of Prof. Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke*, with a translation of the preface to the same, was read by the President.

I. *On an Ancient Inscription discovered at Ephesus.* By C. T. Newton, C.B., D.C.L.—This inscription was found incised upon a curved stone, which had apparently formed the base of one of the pillars of the most ancient Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The characters belonged to an alphabet which is at present unknown, but which presented some resemblances to the Phœnician, and which was evidently one of the many local alphabets of Asia Minor at the time of Cræsus.

II. *On a New Cypriote Inscription.* By D. Pierides.—This new text is a very short one, consisting of thirteen letters. It is engraved on two golden armlets which were recently discovered at Kurion, and which, in the opinion of M. Pierides, date from the 5th century B.C. The following is a Latin translation of the inscription: "Etcandri Regis Paphi."

III. *On the Creation Tablets and the First Institution of the Sabbath.* By H. Fox Talbot, F.R.S.—This interesting paper was a translation with notes of two of the newly-discovered tablets which now go by the name of the Creation Tablets, and of which the text was presented to the Society by Mr. Geo. Smith in November last, previously to his departure for Mesopotamia. Mr. Talbot's translation differs somewhat from that given by Mr. Smith in his Babylonian account of Genesis, and it is as follows:—

TABLET I.

1. When the upper region was not yet called Heaven,
2. and the lower region was not yet called Earth,
3. and the Abyss of Hades had not yet opened its arms,
4. then the chaos of waters gave birth to all of them.
5. And the waters were gathered into one place.
6. No men yet dwelt together, no animals yet wandered about,
7. none of the gods had yet been born,
8. their names were not spoken, their attributes were not known.
9. Then the eldest of the gods,
10. Lakhmu and Lakhamu, were born,
11. and grew up
12. Assur and Kissur were born next,
13. and lived through long periods.
14. Anu

TABLET V.

1. He constructed dwellings for the great gods.
2. He fixed up constellations, whose figures were like animals.
3. He made the Year, into four quarters he divided it,
4. twelve months he established, with their constellations three by three.
5. And for the days of the year he appointed festivals.
6. He made dwellings for the planets, for their rising and setting ;
7. And that nothing should go amiss, and that the course of none should be retarded,
8. he placed with them the dwellings of Bel and Hea.
9. He opened great gates on every side.
10. He made strong the portals on the left hand and on the right.
11. In the centre he placed luminaries.
12. The moon he appointed to rule the night,
13. and to wander through the night until the dawn of day.
14. Every month without fail he made *holy assembly* days.
15. In the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night,
16. it shot forth its horns to illuminate the heavens.
17. On the *seventh day* he appointed a holy day,
18. and to cease from all business he commanded.
19. Then arose the sun in the horizon of heaven in (glory).

The translation was accompanied with notes, and it will appear together with a critical analysis of the text in due course in the Transactions of the Society.

IV. *On the Numbers of the Jews in all Ages.* By the Rev. Josiah Miller, M.A.—This paper traced the varying numbers of the Jews by the light of the ancient Bible testimony, as given in fragmentary statements and in censuses and enumerations of countries occupied in the time of Abraham, the sojourn in Egypt, the Exodus, the Kings, the Captivity and Return, some statistical difficulties in the sacred narrative being met in the course of the argument. Later statistical facts to the beginning of the Christian era were given from Josephus, Philo, Dion Cassius, Strabo, and the New Testament. For further particulars reference was made to Moses of Chorene ; the doubtful statements of Tacitus, Diodorus Siculus, and Benjamin of Tudela were criticised, and use was made of Basnage, Gibbon, and other historians. Some peculiarities of Jewish statistics were given, with proofs from the modern authorities, and also tables from census returns, and inquiries when visiting the countries, showing the present numbers of the Jews in all places—with the total a little over seven millions. In conclusion reference was made to the present rapid increase of the Jews, and the difficulty of accounting for their fewness.

V. *On a Grammar of the Himyaritic Language.* By Capt. W. F. Prideaux, R.E.—This elaborate paper was practically a complete grammar of the Himyaritic language, which had been compiled by the learned author from the studies of MM. Osiander, Ewald, Levy, and Gildermcister, and which he had corrected and supplemented by his own researches into the various published and unpublished Sabean inscriptions, which amount to many hundreds in number. A full syllabary of the Himyaritic characters was given, together with an analysis and Translation of many new texts, which will appear in the Transactions of the Society.

VI. *On the Chaldean Account of the Tower of Babel.* By W. St. Chad Boscawen.—In this paper the author gave a translation of the interesting fragment discovered by Mr. George Smith, and pointed out its importance as illustrating the Biblical legend. The most important portion of the inscription reads:—

His heart was evil.
 The father of all the gods he turned from.
 His heart was evil.
 Babylon corruptly to sin went.
 Small and great he mingled on the mound.
 Babylon corruptly to sin went.

Small and great he mingled on the mound.
 Their stronghold (tower) each day they founded.
 Their stronghold in the night
 entirely he made an end.
 In his anger also a command, an oath he poured forth
 to scatter abroad he set his face.
 He gave a command : make thou stormy their council.
 The progress he impeded.

The inscription then relates the overthrow of the tower by violent winds, and the lamentations of the Babylonians. The paper was accompanied by the cuneiform text and philological notes on the inscriptions.

VII. *Remarks upon a Hieroglyphic Inscription of Darius at El-Khargeh.* By S. Birch, LL.D.—This inscription, consisting of forty-six lines of hieroglyphs, has been found amongst the papers of the late Mr. Hay, of Linplum. It was copied by him from the south-west wall of the second chamber of the temple, and consists of the adoration of the male and female genii or personifications of the four elements to the god Amen Ra, lord of *Hab*, on the Oasis of Ammon. The inscription chiefly turns on the various qualities, types, and characters of Amen Ra as the chief and principal god, there being, unfortunately, no particulars given of historical importance, although the name of Darius, probably the first, is several times mentioned. It is, however, a great addition to the hymns of Amen already known.

VIII. *Note on the Obelisk at Xanthus.* By S. Birch, LL.D.—The paper on this subject referred to the Greek and Lycian inscription on the northern face of the obelisk, published by the late Sir C. Fellowes and Moritz Schmidt. The northern face was considered to be justly placed last by Schmidt, as from the fragments discovered since that publication it is clear that the inscription really commenced with the southern face, which has *abun[u prinafu prinafutu]* *Arppagohe tedeeme*, "This tomb made son of Arpagus." The north side is consequently the end of that inscription, the first twenty lines of it closing the Lycian portion, and states that the 'stele,' in Lycian, *sttala*, was 'erected,' *sttate*, by the son of Harpagus, who is styled, amongst his other titles, *se-Parza : go-wede*, 'and a Persian lord,' as well as *Musefehe : ame : se go-wede*, 'governor of Mysia and lord.' The twelve hexameter lines of Greek which follow are supposed to be an addition to the Lycian after its termination, and are from line 21 to 32 inclusive. The new point of importance in the present paper is the discovery that the following thirty-four lines of Lycian are a paraphrase or translation of the twelve lines of Greek. This is proved from the following considerations: first, that these thirty-four lines have been divided into twelve portions by a curved line, thus, **⌋**. Eleven of these divisions remain, and the last word of the Lycian, *ebemasa*, of course, required no such **⌋**, as it terminated the whole. The additional proof is found by comparing the Greek tenth line: "He killed seven heavy-armed soldiers (*ὀπλίτας*, *hoplitas*) in a day." These have been restored as *Arcadians* by Boeckh and Schmidt. The Lycian lines 58-59 end, *towores : oplesez : sekatēse : Arppagos : ute : tapēfute*, where the word *oplesez* is evidently the Lycian transcription of *hoplitas*. The whole is consequently a paraphrase, not a literal translation, nearly three lines of Lycian being required to explain one Greek, and the genius of the language requiring the name of Harpagos, mentioned in line 25 of the Greek, to be inserted here; if, indeed, the Greek does read *Arkadas*, which does not scan, and although the Greek is restored **ΕΠΤΑΔΕ ΟΠΛΙΤΑΣ ΚΤΕΙΝΕΝ ΕΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ ΑΡΚΑΔΑΣ ΑΝ[ΔΡΑΣ]**, there is not room enough for *andras* at the end.

Tuesday, February 1, 1876.

S. BIRCH, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The following Candidates were duly nominated for election in March:—Samuel A. Binion; Rev. C. Carruthers; Miss Freeman; Russell Martineau, M.A.; Hon. H. Noel Waldegrave; Rev. G. W. Wrightson, M.A.

His Excellency Savfhet Pasha, of Constantinople, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

Signor Ruggero Bonghi presented to the Society, on the part of the Italian Government, a number of stampings of Assyrian Inscriptions belonging to the reigns of Assur-nazir-pal and Sennacherib, from tablets in the Vatican and Roman Museums.

The following papers were then read :—

I. *The Revolt in Heaven translated from a Cuneiform Tablet.* By H. Fox Talbot, F.R.S.—This valuable and singular mythological text is one of those which has just been published by Prof. Delitzsch in his *Lesestücke*, and it presents a remarkable analogy to the war of the Dragon described in the Book of Revelations, and to certain passages in the Book of Job and the apocryphal work called the Book of Enoch. The learned author of the following translation accompanied his paper with a number of philological observations and an interlineation of the cuneiform text with appendices annexed.

(The first four lines, and probably several more, are broken. They related, no doubt, that a Festival of Praise and Thanksgiving was being held in Heaven, when this rebellion took place).

5. The Divine Being spoke three times the commencement of a Psalm.
6. The god of holy songs, lord of religion and worship
7. Seated a thousand singers and musicians : and established a choral band
8. who to his hymn were to respond in multitudes
9. With a loud cry of contempt they broke up his holy song
10. Spoiling, confusing, confounding, his hymn of praise.
11. The god of the bright crown resolved to frustrate the rebellion
12. sounded a trumpet blast which would wake the dead,
13. which to those rebel angels prohibited return,
14. He stopped their service, and sent them to the gods who were His enemies.
15. In their room he created Mankind.
16. The first who received life, dwelt along with him.
17. May he give them strength, never to neglect his word,
18. following the Serpent's voice, whom his hands had made.
19. And may the god of divine speech expel from his five thousand that wicked
Thousand
20. who in the midst of his heavenly Song, had shouted evil blasphemies !
21. The god Ashur, who had seen the malice of those gods who deserted their
allegiance
22. to raise a rebellion, refused to go forth with them.

The remainder of the tablet (9 or 10 lines more) is too much broken for translation.

II. *Key to the Genealogic Table of the First Patriarchs in Genesis, and the Chronology of the Septuagint.* By Victor Rydberg. From *L. L. H. Combertigue's French MS. Translation of the original Swedish Brochure and Notes.* By S. M. Drach.—M. Rydberg believes in no reliable Hebrew chronology before King Solomon and post-regnal periods. For subsequent reasons he takes the Hebrew MS as the more primitive document : deems the Cainite and Sethite genealogies identical, throws out Seth and Enos, thus making the antediluvian period 1461 years (Sothic) ; at the end of which the Nile-dwellers feared a national Divine retribution for good or bad through the height of the Nile-flood and intensity of epidemics, being taught that the course of Sirius in Egypt's vague year would indicate the interval. Thus the pyramids were built by giant extortionate Pharaohs, glorifying their own ashes and neglecting agriculture : the disastrous end of their Sothic period, rebuked their successors to directing the inundation by irrigating channels. Moses appeared also near the end of one of these Sothic periods, thereby predicting the compressed disasters (plagues). M. Rydberg tries to prove that the after life of these eight patriarchs equals 4927 lunar years, or 4800 solar years (ratio of 618 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 600), known to Chaldeans and Turanians ; also 1461 plus 4927, or 6408, is one fourth of Annus Magnus (precession at 50''). He thus places the exile of Adam 3892 B.C., exactly where Manetho places the first

human Pharaoh Menes: shows that Enoch was the first practical astronomer. He then states the Alexandrian Jews rivalled the Greeks in wealth, influence, in thirst of knowledge; the priests let them all (like Manetho) learn their hieroglyphic secrets; that in order to keep up their paternal religion in their Hebrew-forgetting offspring, these Jews got the Sanhedrim deputation to translate the Bible in Greek. But that these LXX pious Rabbis, finding that the advent of Joseph to the Mosaic exodus was *purposely* absent from the Egyptian records; and fearing the vile calumny of the Jews being an outcast race of lepers headed by a renegade priest, *wilfully* added 100 years to each patriarch's life; making the advent of Joseph and Jacob in the time of the native-respected Palestine Hyescos shepherd-kings of Heber's race, which dynasty was expelled *after* Joseph's death by a *native* patriot, who then condemned the Hyescos' Hebrew kindred to slavery's rigorous labours. Thus the Alexandrian Jew could point to the envious Greeks their own glory of old on the Nile. M. Rydberg fixes Enoch's date about 3400 B.C., and takes Bunsen's Egypt as his text book; there is a long extract from Biot.

III. *Why is Forty-three a Basal Biblical Number?* By S. M. Drach, F.R.A.S.—The Biblical frequency of the number 43, and of its multiples (430, 215, 65, 301), also of 427, or $\frac{10}{9}$ of 299, led me to compare these luni-solar synodicals. Now 43 times $365^d 5^h 49^m 12^s$ are $15,705^d 10^h 15^m 36^s$; and $531\frac{2}{3}$ times $29^d 12^h 41^m 2^s 88$, are $15,705^d 9^h 4^m 30^s$, which solar excess of 4266 seconds is eight seconds per lunation. Also 427 years are $155,958^d 13^h 8^m 24^s$; and $5281\frac{1}{4}$ lunations $155,958^d 16^h 28^m 40^s$, or a lunar excess of $3^h 20^m 16^s$; add thrice first to second, $129 + 427$ or 556 years ($\frac{-16.6.8.}{3.}$) is $203,074^d 19^h 55^m 12^s$; $1595\frac{1}{2} + 5281\frac{1}{4}$ or $6876\frac{3}{4}$ lunations ($573 \frac{1}{16}$ lunar years), $203,074^d 19^h 42^m 10^s$. Solar excess of $13^m 02^s$ is $\frac{9}{10}$ seconds per lunation. Note 532 is 19×28 ; 5000π is 15,708; $5281\frac{1}{4}$ is $\frac{5}{4}$ of 65 square; 573 is tenfold radius in degrees of circle. Hekekyan Bey (Eg. Chron. xxxiii) stated 4004 times 365 less 7 times 70 days, or 1,460,970, is 4000 years of $365^d 5^h 49^m 12^s$. M. Rydberg's deduction of 195.6 years, or $200 \frac{3}{5} \pm$ to $202 \frac{1}{4.0.0}$ lunar years, is 2424 months, or acts as 300 years on the eight patriarchal 800 years plus 24. Remark the super-pointed Deut. xxix, 29, "and the revealed thing" is numerically (2) 310 or 1450 B.C., the Rabbino-Usher death-date of Moses; that *tohu bohü* (Gen. i, 2) is 411 plus 19, or 430; that *Vayshokehu* (Gen. xxxiii, 4), super-pointed is 427. M. Rydberg's 6408 is $8 \times 9 \times 89$; his 4800 : 4947 is 1600 : 1649 or is 40 square plus 7 square. Perhaps these numbers may unravel themselves to the experts of Archaic writings.

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Birch, George Smith, Rev. Dr. Rule, J. Park Harrison, Richard Cull, Rev. J. M. Rodwell, S. M. Drach, Rev. T. M. Gorman.

Tuesday, March 7, 1876.

S. BIRCH, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The following candidates were duly nominated for election in April:—Miss Gertrude Austin (Wotton-under-Edge); His Excellency Sir William Gregory, G.C.S.I., C.B. (Colombo); Rev. Herbert James; Rev. A. V. Millingen (Constantinople); C. Rohart (Paris); Sam. Gurney Sheppard; Rev. A. W. Streane, M.A. (Corp. Chris. Coll. Camb.); Rev. J. E. Somerville, M.A., B.D. (Broughty Ferry); Rev. E. N. Willson.

M. Edouard Naville of Geneva, and M. Paul Pierret, Conservateur Adjoint du Musée de Louvre, were elected Honorary Members of the Society.

The Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg presented a complete set of the new series of its Transactions to the Library of the Society.

The following papers were then read:—

I. *On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Monuments*; (Part I). *Domestic Mammals*. By Rev. William Houghton, M.A., F.L.S.—In this paper the author, after alluding to the interest of the subject, spoke also of its difficulty, for names

alone often failed to convey a definite meaning. Animals may be represented in three ways:—1. By pictorial or sculptural representation; 2. By description; 3. By picture and description combined.

Applying his remarks to the animals figured or mentioned on the Assyrian monuments, he stated that the pictorial or sculptural representations were so good as in most cases to speak for themselves. Of representations of animals and description founded on a zoological basis, the monuments afford no instance. There may have been Assyrian Aristotles who wrote on natural history, but their works have not been preserved. The bilingual tablets containing the names of animals, trees, stones, &c., show a sort of natural order, which the scribe observed for convenience sake; but these tablets were only part and parcel of Assurbanipal's grand idea of forming a complete comparative dictionary and grammar of the Assyrian and Accadian languages. Mr. Houghton referred to the prevalent custom amongst the Accadians of naming animals from the countries from which they came; thus the horse was the "animal from the East"; the wolf, "that from the highlands." The third method of representing animals by sculpture and description combined—the most certain of all—though frequently to be seen in the hieroglyphic system of the ancient Egyptians, was not adopted by the Assyrians.

In all attempts to discover the name of any particular animal, the Assyrian word must be compared with some similar word in Hebrew or other cognate Semitic language, since an identity of word often implies identity of meaning. Sometimes again the context would afford a clue. In the bilingual lists the Accadian equivalent to the Assyrian name often threw much light; but unfortunately these tablets were often broken.

The domestic animals known to, or employed by, the Assyrians, were oxen, sheep, goats, camels (both the Arabian and Bactrian species), asses, horses, mules, and dogs; on each of these subjects Mr. Houghton spoke at some length. Only two kinds of dog appear on the sculptures—the large mastiff used in the chase of the lion, wild bull (the *rém* of the Hebrew Bible, *rimu* in Assyrian), wild asses, &c., and the greyhound. On the question as to the domestic cat being known or used by the Assyrians, Mr. Houghton, in his own mind, was satisfied a negative answer should be given. As there was an intercourse between the Assyrians and Egyptians, from early times, he admitted there was no *à priori* objection to the belief that the Egyptian cat, which he considered the origin of domestic cats wherever found, might have been introduced into Assyria, but Mr. Houghton thought it improbable that the cat was domesticated, seeing that in other countries it was long before it was introduced. The Egyptians preferred to keep their cats to themselves, to nourish them when alive, and to embalm their sacred bodies at Bubastis or elsewhere when dead. "The Wild Animals of the Assyrian Monuments" will form the subject of another paper by the same gentleman.

II. *The Fight between Bel and the Dragon, and the Flaming Sword which turned every way* (Gen. iii, 24). Translated from a Chaldean tablet by H. Fox Talbot, F.R.S.—This is one of the most striking narratives of the Chaldean mythology. It is found on a Cuneiform tablet which is much broken, and of which the translation is as follows:—

1. [broken.]
2. and with it his right hand he armed.
3. His flaming sword he raised in his hand.
4. He brandished his lightnings before him.
5. A curved scymitar he carried on his body.
6. And he made a sword to destroy the dragon,
7. which turned four ways; so that none could avoid its rapid blows.
8. It turned to the South, to the North, to the East, and to the West.
9. Near to his sabre he placed the Bow of his father Anu.
10. He made a whirling thunderbolt, and a bolt with double flames, impossible to extinguish:
11. And a quadruple bolt, and a septuple bolt, and a bolt, and a bolt of crooked fire.

12. He took the thunderbolts which he had made, and there were seven of them
13. to be shot at the dragon, and he put them into his quiver behind him.
14. Then the lord of the storm raised his great sword ;
15. He mounted his Chariot, whose name was " Destroyer of the Impious,"
16. he took his place, and lifted the four reins in his hand.

[The rest of this portion of the inscription is broken off.]

Bel now offers to the Dragon to decide their quarrel by single combat, which offer the Dragon accepts.

1. [*Why seekest thou thus*] to irritate me with blasphemies ?
2. Let thy army withdraw : let thy chiefs stand aside :
3. Then I and thou (alone) we will finish this quarrel.
4. When the Dragon heard this,
5. Stand back ! she said, and repeated her command.
6. Then the tempter rose watchfully on high.
7. Turning and twisting, she shifted her standing point,
8. She watched his lightnings : she provided for retreat.
9. The warrior angels sheathed their swords.
10. Then the Dragon attacked the just prince of the gods.
11. Strongly she joined in the trial of battle,
12. The King drew his sword, and dealt rapid blows.
13. Then he took his whirling thunderbolt, and looked well behind and before him :
14. And when the Dragon opened her mouth to swallow him,
15. He flung the bolt into her, before she could shut her lips.
16. The blazing lightning burned up her inside.
17. He pulled out her heart ; her mouth he rent open ;
18. He drew his *falchion*, and cut open her belly.
19. he cut into her chest and extracted her heart,
20. he put an end to her, and destroyed her life.
21. When he knew she was dead, he boasted over her.
22. After that the Dragon their Leader was slain
23. her troops took to flight : her army was scattered abroad,
24. and the angels her allies, who had come to help her,
25. retreated, grew quiet, and went away.
26. They fled from thence, fearing for their own lives,
27. and saved themselves, flying to places beyond pursuit.
28. He followed them, their weapons he collected :
29. They were gathered up like a harvest : in great heaps [*they were stored.*]
30. A crowd of people full of astonishment
31. its remains lifted up, and on their shoulders hoisted.
32. And the eleven tribes, after the battle,
33. in great multitudes, coming to see,
34. gazed at the monstrous serpent
35.
36. And the god Bel

(The rest of the tablet is lost.)

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued :—Rev. Albt. Löwy ; Prof. Donaldson ; Rev. Dr. Currey ; Rev. W. Houghton ; and the President.

Tuesday, April 4, 1876.

S. BIRCH, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The following Candidates were duly nominated for election in May :—Dr. J. E. Cranage ; W. H. Eddie, J.P. ; Herbert Freeman, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.A. ; A. Hymen Joseph ; Rev. Prebendary Searth, M.A., F.S.A. ; Rev. Canon Ridgeway, M.A. ; Joseph Sidebotham, F.R.A.S., Bowdon ; Miss Tucker, Bedford.

The following papers were then read :—

I. *Ishtar and Izdubar: being the Sixth Tablet of the Izdubar Series.* Translated by H. F. Talbot, F.R.S.—The fifth Izdubar tablet appears to be mostly lost, but the end of its story occupies the first few lines of the sixth tablet, and therefore it is necessary briefly to advert to it.

One of the adventures of Odysseus related by Homer is his return to Ithaca disguised as a beggar. Izdubar, whose wanderings recall those of Odysseus, seems to have adopted some similar disguise, which he now throws off and resumes his royal rank.

1. he had thrown off his tattered garments :
2. His pack of goods he had laid down from his back :
3. [*he had flung off*] his rags of poverty : and clothed himself in a dress of honour :
4. [*with a royal robe*] he covered himself :
5. and he bound a diadem on his brow.
6. Then Ishtar the queen lifted up her eyes to the throne of Izdubar :
7. Kiss me, Izdubar ! she said : for I will marry thee !
8. Let us live together, I and Thou, in one place :
9. thou shalt be my husband, and I will be thy wife.
10. Thou shalt ride in a Chariot of lapis lazuli and gold
11. whose wheels are golden and its pole resplendent.
12. Shining bracelets thou shalt wear every day.
13. By our house the Cedar trees in green vigour shall grow :
14. and when thou shalt enter it
15. [*suppliant*] crowds shall kiss thy feet !
16. Kings, lords, and princes shall bow down before thee !
17. The tribute of hills and plains they shall bring to thee as offerings :
18. Thy flocks and thy herds shall all bear twins :
19. Thy race of mules shall be magnificent :
20. Thy [*triumphs*] in the chariot race shall be proclaimed without ceasing,
21. and among the chiefs thou shalt never have an equal !

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22. [*Then Izdubar*] opened his mouth and spoke,
 23. [*and said*] to Ishtar the Queen
 24. [*Lady ! full well*] I know thee by experience !
 25. Sad and funereal [*is thy dwelling place :*]
 26. Sickness and Famine [*surround thy path :*]
 27. [*False and*] treacherous is thy crown of divinity !
 28. [*Poor and worthless*] is thy crown of royalty !

The meaning of all this, (as appears quite plainly from the Second Column) is that Ishtar was, like Hecate in the Greek mythology, the queen of witchcraft, the cruel, the merciless.

In Column II Izdubar goes on with his reproaches. "All that ever you have loved, you have next hated and destroyed : poisoned and bewitched ! And were I to marry you, you would treat me just as you have treated them !"

1. Wailings thou didst make
2. for Tarzi thy husband
3. (and yet) year after year with thy cups thou didst poison him !
4. Thou hadst a favourite high-flying Eagle :
5. thou didst strike him (with thy wand), and didst break his wings :
6. Then he stood fast in the forest only fluttering his wings.
7. Thou hadst a favourite Lion, full of vigour :
8. thou didst pull out his teeth, seven at a time !
9. Thou hadst a favourite Horse, renowned in war :
10. He drank a draught, and with fever thou didst poison him !
11. Twice seven hours without ceasing
12. with burning fever and thirst thou didst poison him !
13. His mother the goddess Silili with thy cups thou didst poison.
14. Thou didst love the King of the Land

15. whom continually thou didst render ill with thy drugs
16. though every day he offered libations and sacrifices.
17. Thou didst strike him (with thy wand), and didst change him into Leopard!
18. The people of his own City drove him out from it,
19. and his own dogs tore him to pieces
20. Thou didst love a Workman—a rude man of no instruction,
21. who constantly received his daily wages from thee
22. and every day made bright thy vessels.
23. In thy pot a savoury mess thou didst boil for him
24. (saying) "Come, my servant, and eat with us on the Feast-Day
25. and give thy judgment on the goodness of our potherbs"!
26. The workman replied to thee
27. Why dost thou desire to destroy me?
28. Mother! thou art not cooking!—I will not eat!
29. For, I should eat food bad and accursed
30. and the thousand unclean things thou hast poisoned it with.
31. Thou didst hear that answer [*and wert enraged*]
32. Thou didst strike him (with thy wand), and didst change him into a pillar;
33. and didst place him in the midst of the desert!
34. I have not yet said a crowd of things, many more I have not added!
35. Lady! thou wouldst love ME—as thou hast done the others!

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—W. Boscawen; R. Cull; Rev. Alb. Löwy; Prof. Donaldson; Rev. J. M. Rodwell; Rev. Basil H. Cooper; Rev. T. M. Gorman; John E. Howard; Dr. Birch.

II. *On the Tertiary Race.* By Rev. H. S. Warleigh, M.A.—This paper was controversial, and the following were the author's conclusions:—According to the Geologists, certain works of art are in existence, which prove that man must have been living as far back as the tertiary period of the earth's crust; and Egyptologists affirm, that the advanced state of early civilization and art prove that man was made more than 6000 years ago. On the other hand, some theologians say that man was not in existence till the present era; and that therefore mankind could not have produced these works, nor could they be the subjects of this alleged civilization.

These works of art, however, do exist, and they were made during the tertiary period; but other manufacturers, besides those of the human race, may have produced them.

The Bible mentions a race of intelligent and bodily erect beings, as existing before the tertiary period, who were capable of making these works of art, and who were in circumstances which would call for their production.

The historical fragments which speak of this race are Gen. vi, 4, and Num. xiii, 33. The passages which allude to it are Gen. i, 28, iv, 14-25.

Thus it is evident that a powerful race, not of human origin, existed in the time of Adam, that it was of immense antiquity, and that it was not extinct in the days of Moses.

This race might be called Genus Tertiarium; or it might receive its Biblical appellation, Ha Nephilim—The Nephilim.

This race may have lived in a highly civilized state in the valley of the Nile, and have left the stamp of their power there; and some of them may have emigrated northward and built the giant cities of Bashan. Perhaps some parts of ancient mythology relate to them, and indeed the discovery of such a race throws much light on many obscure subjects of study, and at any rate if proven on one point, support the harmony of Science and the Bible.

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—Dr. Birch; Rev. Alb. Löwy; Prof. Seager; E. B. Tylor; H. H. Howarth; Rev. Jos. Miller; B. G. Jenkins; Mr. Boscawen; Rev. T. M. Gorman; E. R. Hodges; Percy Reed; Rev. H. S. Warleigh.

Tuesday, May 2, 1876.

SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, Bart., M.D., F.S.A., F.R.S.L., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following Candidates were nominated for election in June:—R. Trott-Fisher; T. G. Irvine, C.E.; C. James Lyall, Assist.-Sec. H.M. Government, Calcutta; F. B. Mocatta; Theophilus Pinches; Rev. J. A. I. Roberts, Bothal; Rev. J. Cyprian Rust, Soham.

The following papers were then read:—

I. *The Babylonian Codex of Hosea and Joel, now at St. Petersburg, date 916 A.D., compared with the Masoretic text as now accentuated.* By Rev. C. D. Ginsburg, LL.D.—Dr. Ginsburg shows that this MS. exhibits phenomena which have not been known to exist in MSS. of the Old Testament up to the discovery of this codex. These consist (1) in the disposition and readings of the text and the Massorah; (2) the vowel-points, which are not only different in form, but, unlike those of the ordinary MSS. and the received text, are placed above the letters; and (3) the form and disposition of the tonal accents, which are likewise different from those commonly to be met with in the MSS., and adopted by Jews and Christians in the printed edition of the Hebrew Scriptures. Dr. Ginsburg confines himself in this paper to the phenomena comprised in the first class. He shows that the letters *He*, *Zain*, *Yod*, and final *Nun* are here differently formed, that thick dots are used between the words and otherwise to fill out the line to its proper length, which gives the text the appearance of marking omissions, &c., &c. The sectional divisions of the text are different from those in the received text. Hosea is divided into 18 sections, 11 open and 7 closed, whilst Joel is divided into 5 sections, 3 open and 2 closed. From the Table of Various Readings, Dr. Ginsburg shows that the MS. has 94 variations—63 in Hosea and 31 in Joel, more than refer to the plene and defective mode of writing, and that 27 of these readings have been corrected by a second hand. Of the readings, the following are the most noticeable. Hosea ii, 22 in the Hebrew, ii, 20 in the English Bible is, “and thou shalt know that I am the Lord,” instead of “and thou shalt know the Lord.” Hosea iii, 1, is, “according to the love of the Lord towards the house of Israel,” and not “according to the love of the Lord towards the children of Israel,” as in the received text. Hosea ix, 2, “and the new wine shall deceive them,” instead of “shall fail in her.” Of linguistical interest is the fact that we have here in two passages the old form קרי used for the feminine (Hosea ii, 4; Joel iv, 1), thus affording additional evidence that it was epicene originally, that it was used so throughout the whole Hebrew Scriptures, and that it was only gradually displaced from the prophets and Hagiographa by the later form, קרי, but left in the Pentateuch, which was regarded as peculiarly sacred. From the Massorah Parva, which is given between the two columns and the outer or edge margin of every page, we have several readings not included in the printed Massorah, by the name of *keri* or *kethio*. Thus against the words, “and their staff (וּמִקְלֵהוֹ) declareth unto them” (Hosea iv, 12), the Massorah remarks read, “and from His voice (וּמִקְלֵהוֹ) declared He unto them.” The Massorah on Hosea and Joel contains 31 rubrics; but these contain nothing new; all of them are contained in the printed Massorahs.

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—Rev. Albt. Löwy, J. W. Bosanquet, R. T. Castleleary, Rev. J. M. Rodwell, Sir Chas. Nicholson, J. G. Irvine, W. J. Cockburn Muir, Prof. Seager, and the author of the paper.

Owing to the lateness of the hour, the following papers were then taken as read, and they will appear with illustrations in the July part of the Transactions of the Society.

II. *On the Interpretation of the Hamathite Inscriptions.* By Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.—This paper consisted of a series of conjectural suggestions as to the origin and phonetic values of the Hamathite hieroglyphics found at Hamath and elsewhere. After giving an account of the inscriptions, the author endeav-

voured to identify some of the characters, more particularly one which seems to be a determinative prefix of countries and cities. He also attempted to refer the invention of the Hamathite writing to the Hittites, from whom it was borrowed by the neighbouring Semitic tribes; the Hittites themselves, according to the testimony of their proper names as found on the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, being a non-Semitic race. He further compared the characters of the Kypriote syllabary with the Hamathite hieroglyphics, and came to the conclusion that the former were derived from the latter. A list of the Hamathite hieroglyphics drawn up by Dr. Hayes Ward was appended to the paper and accompanied by the corresponding Kypriote characters. An attempt was also made to explain the names (*aleph, beth, &c.*) given to the letters of the Phœnician alphabet by the Semites after they had borrowed it from Egypt, by supposing them to have been already familiar with these names through the medium of the Hamathite hieroglyphics. It was shown that the Phœnician alphabet was really first used by the Aramæans, and the latter may be supposed to have adopted it in place of the more cumbrous Hamathite, just as the Greek inhabitants of the Archipelago adopted the simpler Phœnician alphabet in place of the Kypriote.

IV. *Some Observations on the name of an Egyptian Dog.* By Prof. G. Maspero, Paris.—In this paper the learned Egyptologist identified one of the dogs mentioned in Dr. Birch's paper "On the tablet of Antefna," with the Abakrou dog of the Berber races of Nubia.

Tuesday, June 2, 1876.

S. BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following candidates were nominated for election by the Council :—The Marquis of Bute, K.T., &c.; Dr. Hyde Clarke, F.R.G.S.; Mrs. Gordon Forlong; William Heane, F.R.C.S.E. (Cinderford); Rev. Dr. Knowles, M.A., F.S.A. (Tunbridge Wells); Hon. Colin Lindsay; Rev. G. F. Lovell, M.A. (Vice-Principal St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford); Rev. J. J. Moss (Somerton).

I. *Chronological Remarks on the History of Esther and Ahasuerus or Atossa and Tann-Axares.* By J. W. Bosanquet, F.R.A.S., Treasurer.—It is assumed that the chief object of this Society is to illustrate Biblical History by historical documents and monumental records. Mr. Bosanquet points out four great difficulties amongst many, which at present stand in the way of reconciling sacred history with the monuments :—

1. Many discordant opinions have been put forth concerning the date of the reign of Shalmanezzer the Assyrian king, whose annals are inscribed on the Black Obelisk in the British Museum, who fought with Ahab, Benhadad, and Hazael, and took tribute of Jehu, king of Israel, none of which fall in with any acknowledged system of Scripture chronology.
2. There is a difference of opinion between high authorities concerning the date of the death of Apries, or Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, who was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar at Tahpanhes, or Daphnæ, about the time of a total eclipse of the sun at that spot, in the 27th year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.
3. The years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar are variously fixed by different authorities. The authority of the Canon of Ptolemy is usually followed. But Ptolemy had no astronomical data by which to fix this reign.
4. It is found impossible to fix the time of the reign of Esther and Ahasuerus—which is the main subject of Mr. Bosanquet's paper—within any degree of certainty within a period of 100 years.

Mr. Bosanquet argues that the chief cause of all these difficulties, and the great stumbling block in the way of rightly understanding the history of the Old Testament, is the scholastic fiction of the reign of a king of Media styled Darius Medus, whose first year is placed in B.C. 538. He identifies Darius the Mede

with Darius son of Hystaspes, who married 'Atossa or Esther, daughter-in-law of Cyrus I, and thus brings down the date of the events in the reign of Darius the Mede from B.C. 538 to 493, a difference of nearly half a century. The result of this alteration of dates is that Mordecai, Esther, Daniel, Zerubbabel, Haggai, Zechariah, Ezra, Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah, were all living simultaneously about the time of the dedication of the second temple of Jerusalem in B.C. 485, which agrees with Jewish tradition, when Darius and Artaxerxes (that is Darius and Xerxes, who had just been associated with his father on the throne) confirmed the decree of Cyrus son of Cambyses, issued in B.C. 513, that the temple should be built. (Ezra vi, 14.) It follows of necessity that Cyrus king of Babylon must have been the son, not the father, of Cambyses king of Babylon, and that Cyrus II and Darius son of Hystaspes were contemporary. Mr. Bosanquet supports this position on the following evidence:—

1. The direct evidence of Xenophon, that Cyrus (Koresch), son of Cambyses king of Babylon and of Mandane daughter of Astyages, reigned at Babylon after his father's death, and therefore in the reign of Darius. (Trans., Vol. I, p. 244.)
2. Of Herodotus, that Astyages his grandfather married in the year of the eclipse in B.C. 585, and that the Cyrus who conquered him in B.C. 560 was not therefore Cyrus son of Mandane.
3. Of Ctesias, that it was the father of Cambyses king of Babylon (Kai-Khosru) who conquered Astyages, before Cambyses reigned, and therefore not the son of Cambyses king of Babylon.
4. Of the inscription on the brick from Senkereh, that "Cyrus son of Cambyses" repaired the temples at Babylon, and was therefore the Cyrus who reigned at Babylon.
5. Of Herodotus, that the body of Cyrus father of Cambyses was left unburied on the field of battle, when fighting with the Scythians.
6. Of Arrian, that the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae contained the body of "Cyrus son of Cambyses."
7. Of Megasthenes, that when Cyrus (son of Cambyses) had appointed Nabonadius, the last king of Babylon, as ruler over the province of Carmania, Darius drove him thence (Trans., Vol. I, p. 189); and again, that when the last of the kings of the Medes (called by him Aspanda, perhaps Isfendiar) died, "Cyrus and Darius ruled over the Persian empire for thirty-six years." (Trans., Vol. I, p. 262).
8. Of Lucian, that Cyrus survived his son, the king Cambyses, and died, as he supposed, at the age of one hundred years. (Trans., Vol. I, p. 207.)
9. Of Clement of Alexandria (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., vol. I, p. 250), that Babylon was overthrown in B.C. 510, that is in the reign of Darius; and of Orosius, that about the time when consuls began to rule instead of kings at Rome (B.C. 510), Cyrus conquered Babylon a second time, that is in the reign of Darius.
10. Of Johannes Malalas, who records that Cyrus perished in a naval war between the Persians and Samians, not earlier therefore than the time of Darius, whom he calls son of Cyrus.
11. Of Josephus, copying from Berosus or Megasthenes, that Cyrus and Darius came together against Nabonadius, or Nabonadius, the last king of Babylon, and overthrew him (Ant., x, xi, 2); and how from the captivity of the ten tribes (that is in B.C. 606) to the first year of Cyrus, there were counted 182½ years (that is 696 - 183 = B.C. 513).
12. Of the Book of Daniel, that "Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus" (vi, 28); and again, that "in the third year of Cyrus" (B.C. 511), "the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood him (Daniel) one-and-twenty days," or years, that is till B.C. 491; also that he "remained there with the kings of Persia," that is, with Cyrus and Darius, then at Babylon, in B.C. 511 (x, 13).
13. Of the contemporary sacred historian Ezra, who relates that about the time of Zerubbabel (B.C. 511), or third year of Cyrus (Koresch), when Daniel's release from Babylon was opposed by the "prince of the kingdom of Persia," the building of the temple of Jerusalem was also stopped, and the

decree of Cyrus set at nought, "all the days of Cyrus, even until the (second year of) the reign of Darius," that is, till Darius at about sixty-three years old, in B.C. 591, had taken the kingdom, or empire, just twenty-one years after the contest had arisen between these kings, as stated by Daniel (Ezra iv, 5, 24).

14. The evidence of the Babylonian contract tablets, or tribute tablets of the reigns of Cyrus and Darius, is not yet sufficiently complete to place these conclusions beyond the reach of controversy. We have, however, in the the British Museum a series of six tablets, among others, reaching to the seventh year of the reign of Cyrus, B.C. 507, that is, of course, of Cyrus son of Cambyses, who repaired the temples of Babylon, from which it appears that he was first styled "king of Babylon" on the 28th day of the month Adar, B.C. 511. We have also tablets of the twelfth and thirteenth years of Darius, that is, in B.C. 510 and 509, on the first of which he is styled "king of Babylon," on the second merely "king of the countries," which seems to confirm the statement of Daniel and Megasthenes that both these kings were acting together at Babylon about the first of these years, B.C. 510.

Mr. Bosanquet, having removed the fictitious king Darius Medus from sacred history, then takes the 14th year of Hezekiah, B.C. 689, as the key date of Scripture Chronology, as fixed by the solar eclipse near Jerusalem in that year, and shows how any child may then count without difficulty from the birth of Christ upwards to the fourth year of Solomon, B.C. 990, as the time when the foundation of the first temple was laid. He then examines the second difficulty, viz., that which relates to the date of the death of Pharaoh Hophra, in the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar. Hophra's death is usually placed in the year B.C. 570, and there is no reason to doubt that that was the year in which he was first overthrown by Amasis, and confined to his own palace as prisoner. Nevertheless it is shown from Herodotus that he was not put to death at this time, and from Ezekiel and Jeremiah it is shown that he was put to death at Tahpanhes or Daphnæ about the time of a total solar eclipse at that place (see Ezekiel xxx, 18, xxxii, 6-11) in the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar. Now the only total solar eclipse between the year B.C. 580 and 553 which will meet the words of Ezekiel, by creating darkness at Tahpanhes, is that of the 1st November, B.C. 566, which is the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar counted from his defeat of Pharaoh Necho at Carchemish, in the year of the fall of Nineveh. This astronomical reckoning of the time of Hophra's death by means of the eclipse of November, B.C. 556, is in perfect harmony with the reckoning of the death of Jeroboam II, king of Israel, by means of the total solar eclipse of June, B.C. 763, recorded by the prophet Amos, and also at Nineveh. Egyptian chronology now falls in exactly with Assyrian chronology as set forth in Smith's *History of Assur-bani-pal*, pp. 249, 254, as follows:—

Pharaoh Hophra reigns	25 years from B.C. 555 to 579.
Psammuthis	" (4½) 5 " " 579 to 583.
Necho	" (15½) 16 " " 583 to 599.
Psammetichus	" 54 " " 599 to 653.
The Dodecarchy	15 " " 653 to 668.

These 15 years of dodecarchy (or eikos-archy) of Diodorus Siculus, it is assumed are derived from the passage referred to in *Assur-bani-pal*, leading to the year of that king's accession in B.C. 668 at the close of a soss of 60 years.

From thence are counted	 7 sosses =	420 years, from	668 to 1087
From thence are counted	 2 ners =	1200 " "	1087 to 2287
And from thence 33,480 suns, or days	=	93 " "	2287 to 2379

the year of the deluge, both according to Berosus and Moses.

By this arrangement of Scriptural dates the reign of Esther and Ahasuerus falls naturally into the time of the Captivity at Babylon, and the death of Mordecai about the time of building of the second temple, where Josephus places it. Lastly, the reign of Shalmanezzer, the Black Obelisk king, is adjusted, as first pointed out by Dr. Haigh, by placing the revolt of Assur-dav-pal or

Sardanapalus 67 years before the First Olympiad, as recorded by Abydenus, that is, in B.C. 843, after which the appointment of annual archons ceased for 20 years, till the restoration in B.C. 823 by Shamas-Phul. And thus the years of defeat of Ahab, Benhadad and Hazael, and the tribute paid to Shalmanezzer, fall in exactly with the years so marked in Scripture History.

This paper was illustrated by the exhibition of two large maps of Hebrew and Assyrian chronology, and photo-lithographs of the monoliths of Assurnazirpal and Shamas-Phul.

Tuesday, July 4, 1876.

S. BIRCH, LL.D., D.C.L., &c., President, in the Chair.

The following Candidates were nominated, and by special vote of Council duly elected Members of the Society:—Rev. Canon Collins, M.A.; Rev. Edward Lawson, M.A.; Rev. Thos. Paley, B.D.; W. Harry Rylands.

The following papers were then read:—

I. *Notes on Cypriote Palæography.* By D. Pierides (Larnaca).—This paper consisted of three communications to the President of the Society, describing nine different Cypriote inscriptions which had been discovered during the recent excavations of General di Cesnola. The inscriptions were chiefly of a votive character, and contained several proper names, together with a few variants of the Cypriote characters already known. One of the most curious objects described by M. Pierides was a small seal representing a stag or mare suckling her young one. In the field of the seal were a few well-defined Cypriote letters, of which, together with those of the other eight texts, the author of the paper offered a transliteration and a translation.

II. *Notes on Assyrian Religion and Mythology.* By W. St. Chad Boscawen.—In this paper the author pointed out the close parallel between the Jewish code and the Assyrian as to the effect of prayer as an antidote to sin. Extracts were given from various Assyrian tablets relating to the treatment of penitents, and as to the times and places of prayer. Some of the most important portions were—As illustrative of St. Luke xii, 52, 53:—

(A).—When a man with his god quarrels (lit. breaks away).

When a man with his father quarrels.

When a mother with her daughter quarrels.

When a daughter with her mother quarrels.

When a man with his betrothed quarrels.

When a virgin with her betrothed quarrels.

When a brother with his brother quarrels.

When a friend with his friend quarrels.

The duty of prayer was fully set forth in the lines below, showing that “Watch and pray lest ye enter into temptation” was a rule with the pious worshipper of the great gods:—

(B).—1. Pray thou. Pray thou.

2. Before the couch pray.

3. Before the throne pray.

4. Before the canopy pray.

5. Before the *nadin*, the building of lofty head, pray.

6. Before the rising of dawn pray!

7. Before the fire, pray!

8. Before the light of dawn, pray!

10. By the tablets and Papyri, pray!

11. By the

REVERSE.

(C).—1. By the side of the river, pray!

2. By the side of a ship, or riding in a ship, or leaving the ship, pray!

3. At the rising of the sun, at the setting of the sun, pray!

4. To the Gods of Heaven, at the altars on earth, pray!
5. On coming out of the city, on entering the city, pray!
6. On coming out of the great gate, on entering the great gate, pray!
7. On coming out of the house pray, on entering the house, pray!
8. In the place of judgment, pray!
9. In the temple, pray!
10. On the road, pray!

The remainder of this curious liturgy is a species of litany to the various gods, and *elements* of Assyrian belief, to pardon the sinner. The last lines of this tablet are provided with spaces in which to insert the name of the person using the service. The last line reads, "To remove his sin let him say this." The paper was accompanied by an appendix, giving the cuneiform texts with philological and other notes.

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—R. Cull, F.S.A.; E. R. Hodges; Rev. Albert Löwy; Rev. Josiah Miller; Rev. William Denton; Prof. Seager; Rev. J. M. Rodwell, M.A.; and Dr. Birch, who, in answer to a question from Mr. Cull, described the method by which the Cypriote language was deciphered, and the tests by which the accuracy of the translations were ascertained.



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ERRATA.

Page 313.—*For First Paragraph substitute—*

IN addition to my notes on M. Rydberg's Memoir, I find Ezekiel iv's 390 plus 40 are 430; that 43 Biot's archaic year of $365 \times \frac{1509}{1505}$, is $15,705^d 10^h 17^m 08.6^s$; that $531\frac{5}{8}$ Herodotian months of $365 \times \frac{25}{309}$ is $15,705^d 10^h 25^m 14.6^s$; and that our modern solar year is $\frac{7 \cdot 27 \cdot 7 \cdot 73}{400}$ days, or $14 \times 27 \left\{ 1 - \frac{27}{800} \right\}$.

Page 314, Line 5.—*Paragraph after Table.—omit* "As Noah, &c., to post-diluvian tents."

„ „ *After* "columns," *add* "is noteworthy."

Page 315, Line 4.—*After* "impropriety," *read* "Moabite god Chemish כְּמוֹשׁ is 366 in value. Does the peculiar poetic style indicate the words being acrostics in initials or finals? Thus Dent. xxxii, verse 24, כְּרוּר, and verse 25, מוֹה מְרֻמָּה; verse 38, אֶחָזִי יִין. Lam. i, 1, אֵיב הָרַע; iii, 27, טַל כִּי עֵב."

Page 316, Line 11.—*After* "God?" *omit* "The super-pointed, &c., to (Rabb)," *substitute*, "Did Henoch's learning make his name the type of instruction, like 'Mentor' (Prov. xxii, 6)?"

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sous le Directoire, le Consulat et l'Empire.
Fol. 1831. Paris.
- SAINT MAUR (De Verniac).
Voyage du Luxor en Egypte.
8vo. 1835. Paris.—*Purchased*.
- SALT (Henry).
Essay on Dr. Young's and M. Champollion's Phonetic
System of Hieroglyphics. 8vo. 1825. Lond.—*Purchased*.
- SALVOLINI (François).
Analyse Grammaticale raisonnée de différens textes
anciens Egyptiens. 4to. 1836. Paris.—*Purchased*.

SCHMIDT (F. Sam. de).

Opuscula quibus res Antiquæ, præcipuè Ægyptiacæ.

12mo. 1765. Carlsruhe.—*Purchased.*

SMITH (George).

Assyria (History of). *The Committee of the S. P. C. K.*

STEINSCHNEIDER (Moritz).—*See* Alfarabius.

SUTTON (R.).

Genealogical Chart of Scripture History.

Fol. *n.d.* Nottingham.—*S. M. Drach.*

SYLVESTER (A.).

The Heir of the World; or the Nations of Europe as descended from Abraham. 8vo. 1876. Lond.—*The Author.*

TAYLOR (W. Cooke).

The Pentateuch. illustrated from Egyptian Monuments.

Purchased.

T. C.

M. Botta's Letters on the Discoveries at Nineveh.

Translated from the French.

8vo. 1850. Lond.—*Purchased.*

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY.

"Light for India," quarterly journal of the Society,

Sept. 30th, 1876.

Presented by the Society.

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

November, 1876.—*The Geological Society.*

THOMSON (Captain J.).—*See* De Pauw.

TIELE (Dr. C. P.)

Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst.

12mo. 1876. Amsterdam.—*The Author.*

TISCHENDORFF (Constantine).

Travels in the East by a Pilgrim.

12mo. Lond. 1851.—*Purchased.*

VAUX (W. T. W.).

History of Persia.

The Committee of the S. P. C. K.

VIGERIUS (Franciscus).

De Præcipuis Græcæ Dictionis Idiotismis.

12mo. 1678. Lond.—*Purchased.*

- VITTORE (Il Cavaliere Testa, Prof.)
L'Inscrizione de Mesa, Re di Moab.
1875. Torino.—*The Author.*
- VOSSIUS (Ger. Jo.).
Elementa Rhetorica 12mo. 1724. Lond.—*Purchased.*
- WALCOT (Mackenzie E. C.).
Glossary of Words in the Cambrian Dialect.
8vo. 1867. Lond.—*Purchased.*
- „ The Mediæval Registers of the Bishops of Chichester.
8vo. 1867. Lond.—*Purchased.*
- WALLIS (John).
Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae. 12mo. 1674.—*Purchased.*
- WALSH (John).
Sketches of Hebrew and Egyptian Antiquity.
8vo. 1793. Dublin.—*Purchased.*
- WILKINSON (Sir J. Gardner).
Materia Hieroglyphica. Parts 1 and 2. Corrected by
the Author. *Plates only.* 4to. 1828. Cairo.—*Purchased.*
- WOODROOFFE (Charles).
The Scarabæus Sacer, or Sacred Beetle of the
Egyptians. 4to. 1875. Winchester.—*Miss Woodrooffe.*
- WRIGHT (Rev. Buchan).
The Royal Ring of an Ancient Pharaoh.
12mo. 1876. Lond.—*W. R. Cooper.*
- YEATES (Thomas).
Remarks on the History of Ancient Egypt.
8vo. 1835. Lond.—*Purchased.*
- YOUNG (Thomas).
An Account of some Recent Discoveries in Hiero-
glyphical Literature. 8vo. 1823.—*Purchased.*
- ZIMMERMANN (Carl).
Karten und Pläne zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem.
Fol. 1876. Basel.—*The Author.*

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UNROLLED AT

STAFFORD HOUSE,

15th July, 1875.





CATALOGUE

OF THE

LIBRARY

OF THE

Society of Biblical Archaeology.

9, CONDUIT STREET, W.

LONDON :

HARRISON AND SONS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE,

Printers in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1876.

PREFACE.

IN presenting this Catalogue of the Library of the Society of Biblical Archæology to the Members, the Secretary thinks it desirable to re-state in a few words the circumstances which gave rise to the Society of Biblical Archæology, and the objects which it is formed to carry out.

On the 18th November, 1870, Dr. Birch of the British Museum, Mr. Joseph Bonomi of the Soane Museum, and Mr. W. R. Cooper, invited a few gentlemen interested in the Antiquities and Philology of Egypt, Palestine, and Western Asia, to meet them at the private rooms of Mr. Bonomi, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, to take into consideration the present state of Archæological research, and, if it appeared desirable, to institute an Association for directing the course of future investigations, and to preserve a record of materials already obtained, an Association whose special objects should be "To collect from the fast perishing monuments of the Semitic and cognate races illustrations of their history and peculiarities; to investigate and systematize the Antiquities of the ancient and mighty empires and primeval peoples whose records are centered around the venerable pages of the Bible. In other words, an Association to bring into connexion the labours of individual scholars, and to utilize the results of private enterprize and national munificence—to accumulate data, and to preserve facts—to give a voice to the past, a new life to the future, and assistance, publicity, and permanence to the efforts of all students in Biblical Archæology."

The need of such a Society as it was then proposed to institute was inferred from the facts that existing Societies were generally employed in the study of one special science,

or group of sciences, in which Biblical Archæology had only an interpolated position ; and, that Biblical researches had of late so far outgrown the limits of an occasional paper, or ordinary meeting, and had resolved themselves into so many distinct branches of detail, that the subject required to be treated as a whole. And while no rivalry with any other learned body was intended, yet, at the same time, as the Asiatic, Geographical, Literary, and Palestine Societies had cognate pursuits, it might be expected that they would fraternize and co-operate with the proposed Association.

The issue of the Conference was, that a Public Meeting was convened at the Rooms of the Royal Society of Literature, on the 9th of December ensuing, and at that Meeting, Dr. Birch being in the chair, supported by Messrs. Boyle, Drach, Mills, Smith, and other gentlemen, the following Resolutions were proposed, and carried unanimously :—

“ I. That a Society be initiated, having for its objects
 “ the investigation of the Archæology, Chronology,
 “ Geography, and History, of Ancient and Modern
 “ Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, and other Biblical
 “ Lands, the promotion of the study of the Antiquities
 “ of those countries, and the preservation of a con-
 “ tinuous record of discoveries, now or hereafter to be
 “ in progress.

“ II. That the said Society shall be called THE SOCIETY
 “ OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

“ III. That the following gentlemen be requested to
 “ form a Provisional Council, to prepare the Laws,
 “ and generally to conduct the preliminary business
 “ of the Society :—

“ W. F. AINSWORTH, ESQ., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

“ S. BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A.

“ W. R. A. BOYLE, ESQ.

“ JOSEPH BONOMI, ESQ., F.R.S.L.

“ J. W. BOSANQUET, ESQ., F.R.A.S., M.R.A.S.

“ REV. CANON COOK, M.A.

- " T. CHRISTY, JUN., ESQ.
- " E. DEUTSCH, ESQ., F.R.S.L.
- " S. M. DRACH, ESQ., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.
- " S. HEYWOOD, ESQ., M.A.
- " REV. J. GRIGG HEWLETT, D.D.
- " REV. A. MOZLEY, M.A., F.R.S.L.
- " REV. JOHN MILLS, F.R.G.S.
- " REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.
- " SIR H. C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.
- " REV G., SMALL, M.A.
- " W. H. FOX TALBOT, ESQ., D.C.L., F.R.S.

" W. R. COOPER, *Secretary.*"

The formation of a Library was then started by the presentation of several books by Mr. Bonomi, Dr. Birch, and the Secretary; and on the 2nd April, 1872, the few remaining Members of the following four Societies were incorporated as Life Members of the Society of Biblical Archæology, and chiefly by the exertions of the late Rev. John Mills and John Williams, their respective Libraries and effects were transferred to the said Society.

Syro-Egyptian Society.

Founded on Monday, 26th March, 1844, by Dr. Holt Yates, F. Arundale, Anto. Ameuney, S. Birch, Owen Jones, J. S. Buckingham, William Rothery, J. S. Scoles, and Dr. J. B. Thompson. The books derived from this Society are marked in the Catalogue *S. E. S.*

The Chronological Institute.

Founded at Midnight on the Winter Solstice, 22nd December, 1850, at Hartwell House, Buckingham, by Dr. Lee, Isaac Cullimore, Sir William Betham, W. H. Black. The books derived from this Society are marked *C.*

The Anglo-Biblical Institute.

Founded at Midnight, 26th April, 1852. at Hartwell House, by Dr. Lee, Dr. Joseph Turnbull, J. B. Turnbull, and W. H. Black. The books derived from this Society are marked *A. B. I.*

The Palestine Archæological Association.

Founded at 22, Hart Street, W.C., on 12th September, 1853, by Dr. Turnbull, Dr. A. Benisch, W. F. Ainsworth, and W. H. Black. The books derived from this Society are marked *P. A. A.*

On the death of Dr. Turnbull, on July 9, 1861, the remainder of his library—he having given the bulk of it to form that of the Anglo-Biblical Institute—was purchased by the Members of the Institute, headed by a large subscription from Dr. Lee; the books thus obtained are marked *T.*

The remaining works in the Library have, mostly, been presented by the authors or publishers, noticeably, Messrs. Bagster and Sons, who, on the 3rd November, 1874, presented a selection of thirty volumes of valuable Biblical Works published by their firm.

In the compilation of this Catalogue the Secretary has chiefly followed that of the Anglo-Biblical Institute, drawn up by the late W. H. Black, in 1859, and for the correction of the German titles he is indebted to the kindness of Mr. S. M. Drach, while in the revision of the entire work he has been considerably assisted by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell, Mr. Wyatt Papworth, and Mr. R. E. Graves.

In conclusion, the Secretary begs to call the attention of the Members of the Society to the fact that, as no fund exists for the purchase of books, the increase and utility of the Library mainly depends upon their liberality, and that gentlemen possessing duplicate or unneeded copies of Works on Biblical Archæology will confer a favour on their less fortunate Colleagues by presenting such books to the Library of the Society.

RULES.

Members desirous of borrowing works from the Library are requested to write to the Secretary, who will forward the book or books required by Rail, Parcels Delivery, or Post, at the expense of the borrower.

Books cannot be borrowed for a longer period than two months at a time ; but, if when the two months have expired, the works borrowed have not been demanded by another Member of the Society, then the same may be re-borrowed for two months longer, but no more.

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Permission to borrow books from the Library will be withdrawn from any Member who shall deface or write upon the margins of the books lent.

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Any borrower observing a defect in a book, or other injury, is requested to inform the Secretary of the same at once at the time of loan.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY.

A.

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ABARBANEL OR ABRABANEL (Isaac).—*See* Buxtorf, Johannes.
See Maimonides, Moses.

ABERCROMBIE (John).—*See* Mawe, Thomas.

ÆLIANUS (Claudius).

Historiæ libri xiv. cum notis Johannis Schefferi, &c.,
curante Joh. Hen. Lederlino.

8vo. 1713. Argentor.—*A.B.I.*

ÆSCHYLUS.

Æschyli Persæ. Edidit C. G. Haupt. 8vo. 1830. Lipsiæ.

ACHILLI (G.).—*See* Bible, Italian.

AHMAD BIN ABUBEKR BIN WAHSHIH.—Ancient Alphabets and
Hieroglyphic Characters explained. [Translated into]
English, by J. Hammer. 4to. Lond. 1806.

AINSWORTH (Henry).

Annotations upon the Five Books of Moses, the Booke
of Psalmes, and the Song of Songs or Canticles.

Folio. 1627. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

AINSWORTH (W. Francis).—*See* Benisch, Abraham.

ALARDUS (Nicolaus).

Bibliotheca Harmonico-Biblica, quæ tradit notitiam
scriptorum harmonicorum.

8vo. 1725. Hamburgi.—*A.B.I*

With MS. Notes, and many other Latin pamphlets on similar
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ALBERTUS (Joannes).

Observationes philologicæ in sacros N. Fœd. libros.

8vo. 1725. Lugd. Bat.—*A.B.I.*

AL-JAQUIBII.

Descriptionem Al-Magribi suntam e libro regionum
Al-Jaqubii, quod auspice T. G. J. Junynboll, edidit
M. J. de Gorje.

8vo. 1860. Lugd. Bat.—*S.E.S.*

AL JAZIGI NASIF.

Epistola Critica Nasif al Jazigi ad de Sacyum Versione
Latina et adnotationibus illustravit A. F. Mehren.

8vo. 1848. Lipsiæ.—*S.E.S*

ALLATIUS (Leo).

Græciæ Orthodoxæ tomus primus, in quo continentur
Scriptores, Nicephorus Blemmida, &c., de processione
Sp. Sancti, et alii. [Gr. et Lat.]

4to. 1652. Romæ.

„ Tomus secundus, in quo Joannes Veccus, Patriar.
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31 vols. 12mo. Lond.—*C.*

ALSEDIUS (Johannes Henricus).

Thesaurus Chronologiæ. 8vo. 1624. Nassau.—*S.M. Drach.*
(Imperfect.)

AMASÆUS (Romulus).—*See Pausanias.*

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Journal, Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2. 1843-4. Boston.—*S.E.S.*

AMERICAN BIBLE UNION.

The Bible Union Reporter.

Nos. 1 and 2. 4to. 1855. New York.—*A.B.I.*

„ *See* Bible, English.

AMES (William).—*See* Bellarminus.

ANALECTA GRÆCA MINORA.

Imperfect.

8vo.—*T.*

ANDERSON (Benjamin).

Narrative of a Journey to Musardu, the Capital of the
Western Mandingoes. 12mo. 1870. New York.—*S.E.S.*

ANDERSON (John Corbet).—*See* Rule, William H.

ANDREW (James).

Key to Scripture Chronology. 8vo. 1822. Lond.—*C.*

ANGELUS À S. JOSEPH.

Lingua Persarum (Italicè-Latinè-Gallicè).

Folio. 1684. Amsterdam.—*T.*

Autograph: “Wm. Ouseley, Dort, 1794.”

ANGLO-BIBLICAL INSTITUTE.

Reasons for a complete revision of the Bible by public
authority. 4to. 1856. 1 sheet.

Drawn up by the Librarian, agreed upon 1st April, 1856, and
signed by the then Chairman, Dr. R. Wilson.

„ Petitions for a complete revision of the Authorized
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„ *Catalogue* of the Library of the A.B.I. 8vo. 1859. Lond.

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- „ The Gospel History and Doctrinal Teaching critically examined. By the Author of “Mankind, their Origin and Destiny.” 8vo. 1873. Lond.—*The Author.*
- „ Commencement of the Second Christian Epoch. By a Christian. Part VI. 12mo. 1874. Lond.—*Presented.*

ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Journal to date, 1874. *The Council.*

ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

Journal 1873-74. 8vo. 1873. Lond.—*The Council.*

ANTIQUARY, THE.

4to. 1873. Lond.—*The Publishers.*
(Not complete.)

ANTIQUAIRES DU NORD, SOCIÉTÉ ROYALE DES.

- Ouvrages présentés à la Société. 8vo. 1857. Copenhagen.
- „ Extrait des Mémoires. 8vo. 1859. Copenhagen.—*The Council.*

ANTIQUARIES, SOCIETY OF.

Proceedings. 6 vols. 8vo. 1860-76. Lond.—*The Council.*

APOLLONIUS SOPHISTA.

Lexicon Græcum Iliadis et Odysseæ. Edidit J. B. Casparus de Villosion. 2 vols. 4to. 1773. Paris.—*A.B.I.*

APPEL, C. Monuments of Early Christian Art.

8vo. 1872. London.—*Science and Art Dept.*

ARBUTHNOT (Charles).

Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights, and Measures.

4to. 1727. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL.

Vol. XXXII, 8vo. 1875. Lond.—*The Council.*ARDSCHIR BABEKAN.—*See* Schickard, William.

ARISTOPHANES.

ΝΕΦΕΑΙ, Nubes. MS. Notes. 4to. 1755. Glasgow.—*T.*

ARNOLD (Thomas K.).

Greek Prose Composition. 8vo. 1853. Lond. — *T.*,, A Practical Introduction to Latin Prose Composition.
Part I. 8vo. 1855. Lond.,, *See* Kimber, T.

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AUGUSTINUS (Saint).

Omnia Opera. Folio. 1543. Basil.—*A.B.I.*

B.

BACHMAIER (Anton).

Pasigraphisches Wörterbuch.

12mo. 1865 Augsburg.—*The Author.*

,, Dictionnaire Pasigraphique.

12mo. 1868. Augsburg.—*The Author.*

,, Pasigraphical Dictionary and Grammar.

12mo. 1871. Lond.—*The Author.*

BACON (Francis, Viscount St. Alban's).

Novum Organum.

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BAYLEE (Rev. Joseph).

On the Nature of Human Language.

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Opere.

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BESANGE (P. Hieron.).

Introductio in sancta iv. Evangelia, critico-hermeneutico-historica.

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BETHAM (Sir William).

The Origin and History of the Constitution of England and of the Early Parliaments in Ireland.

8vo. 1834. Dublin.—*C.*

„ Irish Antiquarian Researches.

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BEVERIDGE (William, Bishop of St. Asaph).

Institutionum Chronologicarum.

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Another copy.

4to. 1705. Lond.—*C.*

Another edition.

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BEVERLEY (R. M.).

A Letter, on the present Corrupt state of the Church of England. (*Tracts, A.*)

8vo. 1831. Beverley.—*T.*

BEZA (Theodore).—*See* Bible, Latin.

BIBLE STUDIES.

References to Scripture upon some of the most important subjects. 4to. 1841.(?)—*W. R. Cooper.*

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT), Hebrew :—

Biblia Hebraica. Edidit J. C. Oeder. [Geneva, 1618.]
4to.—*G. Small, Esq.—A.B.I.*

„ Biblia Hebraica sine punctis, ad Leusdenianam edit.
adornata. 12mo. 1701. Amst et Ultraj.—*A.B.I.*

„ תורה נביאים וכתובים. Biblia Hebraica, secundum
ultimam editionem Jos. Athiæ a Johanne Leusden.
Variisque Notis illustrata ab Everardo Van der Hooght.
8vo. 1705. Amsterdam.—*A.B.I.*

„ Everard Van der Hooght. Editio nova, recognita et
emendata a Rev. J. C. Reichardt. 8vo. 1839. Lond.—*T.*

„ Biblia Hebraica, secundum ultimam editionem Jos.
Athiæ a Johanne Leusden denuo recognitam. Edidit
Everardo Van der Hooght. 8vo. 1850. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ Biblia Hebraica, sine punctis : accurante Nath.
Forster, S.T.P.
2 vols. 4to. 1750. Oxon. e typ. Clarend.—*A.B.I.*

A large paper copy, purchased with a donation given by
Dr. Lee, for a memorial of the late Mrs. Cecilia Lee of Hartwell.

„ Biblia Hebraica manualia, ad optimas quasque editiones
recensuit, atque cum brevi lectionum Masorethicarum,
Kethiban et Krijan, resolutione et explicatione, ut et
cum Dictionario . . . edita a Johanne Simonis.
2 vols. 8vo. 1752. Hake Magd.—*A.B.I.*

„ Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum, cum variis lectionibus,
edidit Benjaminus Kennicott, S.T.P.
2 vols. Folio. 1780. Oxon.—*A.B.I.*

„ The Book of Job, in Hebrew, with a German transla-
tion in Heb. Rab. character, by Aaron Wolfsohn.
8vo. 5586 (1826). Basil.—*A.B.I.*

„ The Sacred Scriptures in Hebrew and English, trans-
lated by De Sola, Lindenthal, and Raphael, with
English Notes. Vol. I, Genesis בראשית.
8vo. 1844. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ Liber Psalmorum [Hebr.] ad ed Hooghtianam accu-
ratissime adornatus. 12mo. 1850. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT), Hebrew :—

An Interlineary Hebrew and English Psalter.

8vo. Lond.—*Bagster and Sons*.

- „ Pentateuchus, ex recensione textus Hebræi et versionum antiquarum Latine versus, notisque philologicis et criticis illustratus, a Joanne Augusto Dathio.

8vo. 1781. Halæ.—*A.B.I.*

- „ ספר תורה אור. Pentateuch, with Megilloth, Calendar, Targum Onkelos, Jarchi, Azulag's Nachal Kadmonim, Baal Haturim. 613 precepts. Arveh Nachal, Haphtorahs (Nahal Schmuk, Nahal Eshkol, Rashi on the five Megilloth).

4to. 5612 [1852. Königsberg.]—*A.B.I.*

- „ Biblia Hebraica, or the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament without points, after the text of Kennicott, with English Notes by B. Boothroyd.

4to. *n.d.* Pontefract.—*T.*

- „ The Book of Jonah. The Texts analyzed, translated, and the Accents named. By the Rev. Alex. Mitchell.

8vo. Lond.—*Bagster and Sons*.

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT), Greek :—

Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ editionis, Sixti Quinti Pont. Max. jussu recognita atque edita.

4to. 1599. Antwerp. ap. Plantin.—*A.B.I.*

- „ Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη κατα τους Ἐβραηικοντα. Vetus Testamentum ex versione Septuaginta Interpretum. Juxta exemplar Vaticanum, ex editione Holmesii et Lamberti Bos. 8vo. ap. Valp. Lond. *sine anno*.—*A.B.I.*

- „ Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, Latine recens ex Hebræo facti, brevibusque scholiis illustrata Immanuele Tremellio et Francisco Junio. Accesserunt libri Apocryphi et Nov. Test. ex sermone Syro ab eodem Tremellio, et a Græco a Theodoro Beza, etc.

3 vols. 4to. 1590. Genève.—*A.B.I.*

- „ Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, sive Libri Canonici priscae Judeorum ecclesiae a Deo traditi, Latine recens ex Hebræo facti, brevibusque scholiis illustrati, ab Immanuele Tremellio et Francisco Junio. Accesserunt libri Apocryphi et Nov. Test. ex sermone Syro ab eodem Tremellio, et e Græco a Theodoro Beza.

Folio. 1624. Hanoviae.—*T.*

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT), Greek :—

Septuaginta Interpretum tomus I (—IV), continens Octateuchum ; quem ex antiquissimo MS. codice Alexandrino accurate descriptum, edidit Joannes Ernestus Grabe. 2 vols. Folio. 1707–1720. Oxon.—*A.B.I.*

- „ Ἡ Παλαια Διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς Ἐβραίων, κ.τ.λ.
Vetus Testamentum secundum LXX, e codice antiquo Alexandrino, Moscuæ, auctoritate Synodi Russorum editum, re-impressum, sub auspiciis Synodi Regii Græciæ, sumptibus Societatis Anglicæ, etc.
4 vols. 8vo 1843, 1846, 1849, 1850. Athenis.—*A.B.I.*
- „ The APOCRYPHA. Greek and English.
4to. Lond.—*Bagster and Sons.*
- „ The SEPTUAGINT, with an English Translation.
4to. Lond.—*Bagster and Sons.*

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT), Latin :—

Biblia Sacra ex Sebastiani Castellionis interpretatione cum annotationibus ejusdem [et Apocryphis].

Folio. 1697. Francofurti.—*A.B.I.*

- „ Biblia Sacra ex Sebastiani Castellionis interpretatione.
Vol. 4 only. 12mo. 1726. Lond.—*A.B.I.*
- „ Prophetæ Majores, ex recensione A. J. A. Dathii.
8vo. 1831. Halæ.—*A.B.I.*
- „ Libri Historici Vet. Test., Josua, Judices, Ruth, Samuel, Reges, Chronica, Esra, Nehemia, et Esther, ex recensione A. J. A. Dathii. 8vo. 1832. Halæ.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT), English :—

The Holy Bible, with the Apocrypha. (Genevan translation, with copious notes.) Folio. 1595. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

Black letter edition, with woodcuts. Wanting both beginning and end : the first leaf is f. 9, Gen. xix, 33, “*when she lay downe.*”

- „ A specimen of a new translation of the Book of Psalms. By a Gentleman of Wadham College. (George Costard). 4to. 1733. Lond.—*A.B.I.*
- „ Jonah, a faithful translation from the original, with Philological and Explanatory Notes, etc. By George Benjoin, of Jesus College. 4to. 1796. Camb.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT). English:—

- Hosea, translated from the Hebrew, with Notes (2nd edit.); and a Sermon on Christ's Descent into Hell, by Sammel [Horsley], Bishop of St. Asaph.
4to. 1804. Lond.—*A.B.I.*
- „ Isaiah. A new translation, with a preliminary Dissertation and Notes. By Robert Lowth, Bishop of London. 5th ed. 2 vols. 8vo. 1807. Edinb.—*A.B.I.*
- „ Holy Bible (Scotch Edition). 8vo. 1808. Edin.—*A.B.I.*
- „ An Attempt towards an improved version, etc., of the twelve Minor Prophets. By William Newcome, D.D.
8vo. 1809. Pontefract.—*A.B.I.*
- „ Jeremiah and Lamentations. A new translation, with Notes. By Benjamin Blayney. 8vo. 1810. Edinb.—*A.B.I.*
- „ An Attempt towards an improved translation of the Proverbs of Solomon. By Rev. George Holden, M.A.
8vo. 1819. Liverpool.—*A.B.I.*
- „ The Holy Bible, &c. Appointed, &c. (Cambr. B. & F.B. Soc., 1837.) large 8vo.—*A.B.I.*
- „ Holy Bible. Large 8vo. 1837. Camb.—*A.B.I.*
- „ A New Translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, with Notes by Robert Harkness Carne. (Genesis I to VII only.) 8vo. 1839. Lond.—*S. M. Drach.*
- „ Authorised Version, with condensed Commentary by Ingram Cobbin. Large 4to. 1839. Lond.—*A.B.I.*
- „ The Holy Bible, etc., with an Introduction and short explanatory Notes by B. Boothroyd.
Large 8vo. 1843. Lond.—*T.*
- „ The Holy Bible, with a General Introduction and short Explanatory Notes by B. Boothroyd.
Large 8vo. 1843. Lond.—*T.*
- „ Jewish School and Family Bible. Volume I, containing the Pentateuch, newly translated under the supervision of the Rev. the Chief Rabbi of the United Congregations of the British Empire. By Dr. A. Benisch.
8vo. 1852. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT), English :—

Jewish School and Family Bible. Translated by
A. Benisch. (Vols. I and II only.)

2 vols. 8vo. 1852. Lond.—*T*.

Vol. II, containing the historical parts.

8vo. 1852. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

Vol. III, containing the Books of Isaiah, Jeremiah,
Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve Minor Prophets.

8vo. 1856. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ The Book of Job. Several copies with Professor
Conant's Preface. (American B. U.)

8vo. 1855. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ The Book of Job. Common English Text, Hebrew
Text, and revised version of the American Bible
Union. (Chapters 1 to 28.)

4to. 1856. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ The Book of Daniel. Translated from the original
Hebrew and Chaldee Text, by John Bellamy.

4to. 1863. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ A collation of an English Version of the Old Testament
from the text of the Vatican MS. By Hermann
Heinfetter.

4to. 1865. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ An English Version of the Old Testament, etc.
(Heinfetter)

4to. 1865. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ A Literal Translation of the Old Testament on definite
rules of translation from the Vatican MS. by Hermann
Heinfetter.

4to. 1865. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

(Genesis only.)

„ The Holy Bible, according to the Authorized Version,
with Original Notes and Pictorial Illustrations (*Knight's
Pictorial Bible*.)

3 vols. 8vo. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ Coverdale's English Bible. Reprinted by S. Bagster
and Sons.

4to. Lond.—*Bagster and Sons.*

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT), French :—

La Bible, qui est toute la Sainte Esriture, etc. Le
tout revu et comparé sur les textes Hebreux et Grecs
par les Pasteurs et Professeurs de l'Eglise de Genève ;
augmenté d'indices, etc.

4to. 1622. Genève.—*A.B.I.*

Including the Apocrypha, and followed by the Interpretation
of Hebrew Names, Tables, Psalms in metre with music, Prayers,
Offices, Catechism, and Confession of Faith.

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT), French :

La Sainte Bible. Traduite sur la Vulgate par Le
Maistre de Saci (*i.e.* Isaac Le Maistre.)

8vo. 1838. Paris.—*A.B.I.*

„ La Sainte Bible. Edit. J. M. Mudry.

16mo. 1853. Lond.—*T.*

„ La Sainte Bible, contenant l'Ancien et le Nouveau
Testament. Edit. J. M. Mudry. 12mo. *n.d.* Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ La Sainte Bible, avec Tables Géographiques, Généa-
logiques, etc., par J. F. Ostervald.

Folio. *n.d.* Amsterdam.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT), Arabic :—

The Psalms of David, in Arabic. 12mo. 1819. Lond.—*T.*

„ The Book of Psalms, in Arabic. 12mo. . Lond.—*A.B.I.*

Another copy. 8vo. 1851. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE, German :—

Die ganze Heilige Schrift, mit Apokrypha. Deutsche
Bibl. Anstalt.

16th ed. 1818. Bâle.—*A.B.I.*

„ Die heilige Schrift, transl. by Dr. W. M. L. de Wette.
(Old and New Testament and Apocrypha).

2 vols. in 1. 8vo. 1839. Heidelberg.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT), Hebrew-Spanish :—

ספר כתבי הקודש. Old Testament, with Judæo-
Spanish translation in Rabbinical characters, A.M.
5592. By William Schinpler.

2 vols. 4to. 1832. Ismir (Smyrna).—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (OLD TESTAMENT), Hebrew and German :—

The Pentateuch in Hebrew and German.

8vo. *No date or place.*—*T.*

BIBLE, Dutch :—

Het Heylig Euangelium (and) Het Boek der Psalmen
(with Musical Notes).

16mo. 1775. Amsterdam.—*S. M. Drach.*

BIBLE, Manx :—

Yn Vible Casherick.

3 vols. 8vo. 1772. Whitehaven.—*Charles Wilks.*

BIBLE (NEW TESTAMENT), Hebrew:—

The New Testament in Hebrew. Matthew, Mark, and Luke only. By Richard Caddick.

12mo. 1798. Lond.—*John Smith.*

- „ The Epistle to the Romans in Hebrew and English, translated by Richard Caddick.

12mo. 1804. Lond.—*John Smith.*

- „ : ברית חדשה על פי משיח. Novum Fœdus a Christo: Hebraice.

8vo. 1821. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (NEW TESTAMENT), Greek:—

Νέα Διαθήκη. Novum Testamentum..

4to. 1545. Basil. ap. Froben.—*A.B.I.*

- „ Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine, studio et industria Des. Erasmi Roterodami.

16mo. 1563. Lipsiæ.—*A.B.I.*

- „ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΝΗΣ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ. Per Robertum Stephanum. (*This copy belonged to Dr. Johnson.*)

Folio. 1601. Frankfort.—*T.*

Boswell in his life of Johnson says, that he called upon him one day, and found him reading a folio copy of the Greek New Testament: doubtless this was the very identical copy. *Note by Dr. Turnbull.*—"The Gift of Dr. Johnson to Mr. Hoole" (1781).

- „ Της Καινης Διαθηκης ἀπαντα. Novum Jesu Christi D. N. Testamentum, cum notis Josephi Scaligeri in locos aliquot difficiliore8 nunc primum editæ. (*sic.*)

4to. 1620. Genève.—*A.B.I.*

- „ Jesu Christi D. N. Novum Testamentum, sive Novum Fœdus, cujus Græco contextui respondent interpretationes duæ: una vetus; altera, Theodori Beza. Ejusdem annotationes. Accessit Joachimi Camerarii commentarius.

Folio. 1642. Cantab.—*A.B.I.*

- „ Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΤΟΥ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ.

Folio. 1642. Paris.—*T.*

- „ Ἡ Καινη Διαθηκη. Novum Testamentum una cum scholiis Græcis e Græcis Scriptoribus, opera et studio Jo. Gregorii.

Folio. 1703. Oxon.—*A.B.I.*

- „ Ἡ Καινη Διαθηκη. Novum Testamentum cum lectionibus variantibus, etc., studio et labore Joannis Millii, S.T.P.

Folio. 1707. Oxon.—*A.B.I.*

Another edition.

Folio. 1710. Oxon.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (NEW TESTAMENT), Greek:—

- ‘Η Καινή Διαθήκη. Novum Testamentum. Post priores Steph. Curcellæi, tum et DD. Oxoniensium labores: quibus parallela scripturæ loca, nec non variantes lectiones ex plus C. MSS. Codd. etc., ac tandem crisis perpetua G. D. T. M. D. etc.
8vo. 1711. Amst. ex off. Wetsteniana.—*A.B.I.*
- „ Novum Testamentum Græcum, etc. studio etc. Joannis Millii. Recensuit Ludolphus Kusteras. Ed. secunda.
Folio. 1723. Lips.—*A.B.I.*
- „ ‘Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, ita adornatum ut Textus probatorum editionum medullam margo variantium Lectionum inserviente Jo. Alberto Bengelio.
4to. 1734. Tubingæ.—*T.*
- „ Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græcum, Editiones receptæ cum lectionibus variantibus. Opera et studio J. J. Wetstenii.
2 vols. Folio. 1751. Amsterdam.—*T.*
- „ ‘Η Καινή Διαθήκη. Novum Testamentum, ex editione Wetsteniana MDCCXI.
4to. 1759. Glasg. ap. Foulis.—*A.B.I.*
- „ ‘Η Καινή Διαθήκη. The New Testament collated with the most approved MSS. ; with select Notes in English, Critical and Explanatory, etc. By E. Harwood, D.D.
12mo. 1776. Lond.—*A.B.I.*
(Containing the Gospels and Acts, from the Greek text of the Cambridge MSS.)
- „ ‘Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Textum ad fidem codicum versionum, etc. Jo. Jac. Griesbach (*with MS. Notes by Dr. Turnbull*).
2 vols. 8vo. 1777. Hake.—*A.B.I.*
- „ A Commentary with Notes on the Four Evangelists and the Acts, with a new translation of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. By Zachary Pearce, D.D. Ed. John Derby.
2 vols. 4to. 1777. Lond.—*A.B.I.*
- „ ‘Η Καινή Διαθήκη. Cum scholiis theologicis et philologicis, in quibus loca varia N.T. tam ex celeberrimis Veterum Interpretum Commentariis, etc. Ed. secunda. (a Samuele Hardy.)
2 vols. 8vo. 1778. Lond.—*A.B.I.*
- „ ‘Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. 2 vols. 8vo. 1778. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (NEW TESTAMENT), Greek:—

- ‘*Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη*. Novum Testamentum Græcum manuale, ex iterata recognitione B. Jo. Alb. Bengelii, S.T.D. Quintæ huic ed. accedit spicilegium lect. varr., etc., auctore M. Ernesto Bengelio.
8vo. 1790. Tubingæ.—*A.B.I.*
- .. *Novum Testamentum Græce. Lectiones variantes, Griesbachii judicio iis quas textus receptus exhibet anteponendas vel æquiparandas, adjecit Josephus White, S.T.P.* 2 vols. 8vo. 1808. Oxon.—*A.B.I.*
- .. *Novum Testamentum Græce Lectionis varietatem. J. J. Griesbach. (With many MS. Notes.)* 2 vols. 8vo. 1809. Lond.—*T.*
- .. ‘*Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Μεταφρασθεῖσα εἰς κοινὴν διαλεκτὸν.*
12mo. 1815. Lond.—*A.B.I.*
- .. ‘*Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Cum scholiis Theologicis et Philologicis. (Edit. E. Valpy.)*
3 vols. 8vo. 1816. Lond.—*A.B.I.*
- .. *Novum Testamentum. Textum Græcum Griesbachii et Knappii denuo recognovit, adnotatione cum critica tum exegetica (etc.) instruxit Joannes Severinus Vater.*
8vo. 1824. Halis Saxonum.—*A.B.I.*
- .. ‘*Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Recognovit atque insignioris Lectionum varietatis subinixit Georg. Christian Knappius.* 12mo. 1829. Halis Saxon.—*T.*
- .. ‘*Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. With English Notes, by the Rev. S. T. Bloomfield, D.D.*
2 vols. 8vo. 1832. Camb.—*A.B.I.*
- .. *Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine. Carolus Lachmannus recensuit.*
2 vols. 8vo. 1842. Berolini.—*A.B.I.*
(Two vols. in one.)
- .. *Novum Testamentum Græce. Ad antiquos testes recensuit, lectionesque variantes Elzevirorum, Stephani, Griesbachii, notavit Constantinus Tischendorf.*
8vo. 1842. Paris ap. Didot.—*A.B.I.*
- .. *Novum Testamentum Græce ad antiquos testes recensuit, commentationem isagogicam præmisit Constantinus Tischendorf.* 12mo. 1849. Lipsiæ.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (NEW TESTAMENT), Greek :—

- Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græcè, ad antiquos testes denuo recensuit. Edidit F. Const. Tischendorf. 8vo. 1859. Lipsiæ.—*A.B.I.*
- „ Novum Testamentum Græce. The Codex Zacynthius. Edited by S. P. Tregelles, LL.D. Folio. Lond.—*Bagster and Sons.*
- „ Novum Testamentum Græce. The Codex Montfortianus. Collated with the Greek Text of Wetstein by Orlando T. Dobbin, LL.D. 8vo. *n.d.* Lond.—*Bagster and Sons.*

BIBLE, Romaick :—

- Τα Ἱερα Βιβλία τῆς Παλαιας τε καὶ Καινης Διαθηκης, μεταφρασθεντα εκ των αρχετυπων. (Vetus et Novum Test. ex archetypis in linguam Græcam hodiernam reddita.) 8vo. 1850. Oxon.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (NEW TESTAMENT), Latin :—

- Novum Test. ex versione Erasmi, innumeris in locis ad Græcam veritatem genuinumque sensum emendata. Glossa compendiaria M. Matthiæ Flacii Illyrici Albonensis in Nov. Test. Folio. 1570. Basil.—*A.B.I.*
- „ Novi Testamenti Libri Historici Græc et Lat. Perpetuo. Commentario ex Antiquitate, Historiis, Philologia Illustrati quem Bezae, adornante Balduino Walæo. 4to. 1653. Lugd. Bat.—*A.B.I.*
- „ Novum Testamentum. Duce et auctore Seb. Castellione, suis pariter ac recentioribus Variorum exegeticis et philol. notis illustravit, Laurentius Sahl. 2 vols. 8vo. 1780. Havniæ.—*A.B.I.*
Another copy. —*T.*
- „ Novum Testamentum Vulgatæ editionis. Edente F. F. Fleck. 12mo. 1840. Lipsiæ.—*T.*
- „ Novum Testamentum Latine Interprete Hieronymo ex celeberrimo Codice Amiatino nunc primum edidit Constantinus Tischendorf. 8vo. 1850. Lipsiæ.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (NEW TESTAMENT), Italian :—

- Il Nuovo Testamento del nostro signore Gesu Cristo. Edizione stereotipa. 12mo. 1816. Shacklewell.—*A.B.I.*
- „ Il Nuovo Testamento traduzione dal Greco per cura di G. Achilli. (American Bible Union.) 8vo. 1854. New York.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (NEW TESTAMENT), English:—

The New Testament, carefully collated with the Greek, and corrected; divided and printed according to the various subjects treated of by the inspired writers, etc. By Richard Wynne.

2 vols. 8vo. 1764. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ A translation of the New Testament. By Gilbert Wakefield. 2 vols. 8vo. 1791. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ A translation of the New Testament from the original Greek. 8vo. 1795. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ An Exposition of the New Testament (*really a paraphrase*), pointing out the leading sense and connection of the sacred writers. By William Gilpin.
3rd ed. 2 vols. 8vo. 1798. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ The Four Gospels, translated from the Greek, with preliminary Dissertations and Notes. By George Campbell, D.D. 4 vols. 8vo. 1803. Aberdeen.—*A.B.I.*

„ Paraphrase and Notes on the Revelation of St. John. By Moses Lowman. 8vo. 1807. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ The New Testament in an improved version upon the basis of Abp. Newcome's new translation.
8vo. 1808. Lond.—*A.B.I.*
(C.K.S. 1st ed.)

„ A literal translation of all the Apostolical Epistles, with a Commentary and Notes. By James Mac-knight, D.D. 4 vols. 8vo. 1809. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

„ The New Testament. (Rhemish Version.)
12mo. 1811. Dublin.—*T.*

„ The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated out of the Latin Vulgate, and diligently compared with the original Greek. Stereotyped from the edition published by authority in 1749.
8vo. 1815. Lond.—*A.B.I.*
(The Rhemish R.C. Version.)

„ The Epistles of St. Paul to the Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, and to Titus, and the Epistle of James; from the Greek text of Griesbach, by Philalethes.
12mo. 1819. Lond.—*A.B.I.*

BIBLE (NEW TESTAMENT), English:—

A revision of the common or received English translation of the Gospel and of the three Epistles of John, being an attempt to render clear, etc. 8vo. 1837. Lond.

Dr. Lee's note of gift, written within the cover, ascribes this work to his friend, the Rev. John Webster Hawksley.

- „ The New Testament. Translated from the text of J. I. Griesbach, by Samuel Sharpe.
1st ed. 12mo. 1840. Lond.—*T*.
- „ New Testament, etc. (*interleaved*).
12mo. 1840. Oxford.—*W. R. Cooper*.
- „ The New Testament. Translated from Griesbach's text, by Samuel Sharpe, author of the History of Egypt.
2nd ed. 12mo. 1844. Lond.—*T*.
- „ The Chronological New Testament. Published by Robert B. Blackader.
4to. 1851. Lond.—*A.B.I*.
- „ The Chronological New Testament, in which the text of the Authorized Version is newly divided into paragraphs and sections, with the dates and places of transactions marked, etc. (R. B. Blackader.)
4to. 1851. Lond.—*A.B.I*.
- „ The New Testament. Sharpe.
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Translated by the Rev. A. Löwy. 8vo. 1866. Lond.—*C.*

ZUNZ (Dr.)

Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge d. Juden.

8vo. 1832. Berlin.—*S. M. Drach.*

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

Additional Members to 4th July, 1876.

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SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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SMITH, REV. JOSEPH BERNARD, B.A. Trin. Coll., Dub., Wellington
College, Wokingham.

Lady Members elected July 3rd, 1877.

ROTHSCHILD, BARCESS DE, 148, Piccadilly, S.W.
WARNER, MRS. ROBERT LEE, Tiverton Court, Hereford.

Waiting election at next Meeting.

HENNEDY, DAVID, Whitehall, Bothwell, N.B.
JOSEPH, D. DAVIS, Ty-draw, Pontypridd.
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SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

PRICE LIST OF TRANSACTIONS.

					To MEMBERS.		To NON-MEMBERS.	
					s.	d.	s.	d.
Vol.	I, Part 1	..	..	..	10	6	12	6
..	I, „	2	..	..	10	6	12	6
„	II, „	1	..	..	8	0	10	6
„	II, „	2	..	..	8	0	10	6
„	III, „	1	..	..	8	0	10	6
„	III, „	2	..	..	8	0	10	6
„	IV, „	1	..	..	10	6	12	6
„	IV, „	2	..	..	10	6	12	6
„	V, „	1	..	..	12	6	15	0
„	V, „	2	..	..	10	6	12	6

N.B.—Vol. I, Part 2, cannot be sold separately, or otherwise than with *complete* sets.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

THIS Society is instituted for the investigation of the Archæology, History, Arts, and Chronology of Ancient and Modern Assyria, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, and other Biblical Lands, the promotion of the study of the Antiquities of those Countries, and the record of future discoveries which may be made in connexion therewith.

For this purpose it is proposed to read, and, as far as practicable or desirable, to print, in whole or in part, original papers upon the above subjects, and also to lay before the Members a statement of work done, and discoveries made in relation thereto by other Societies at home or abroad.

To form a fund, if hereafter found expedient, for the exploration of Biblical Countries and their Antiquities.

To collect sketches, photographs, drawings, manuscript notes, data and memoranda bearing upon the above subjects; to become the property of the Society, but reserving to the donor the right of publication, if not published by the Society within twelve months.

To purchase from time to time for the information of the Members such publications as may bear upon the objects of the Society.

This Society shall be named :

“THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.”

It shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Council, Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, two Auditors, and Ordinary Members.

PRESIDENT.

I. Except as provided by the next following clause, the President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, Special, or other Meetings of the Society, and of the Council. In the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents in attendance shall take his place. If no Vice-President of the Society shall be present, then the Treasurer, and in his absence a Member of the Council, or, if none present, then one of the Members of the Society, to be chosen by the Meeting, may preside.

II. The President shall govern the Society by and with the advice of the Council, shall regulate the proceedings, and execute, or provide for the due execution of the Statutes and Bye-laws of the Society; and in all questions of equality in voting shall have an additional or casting vote.

COUNCIL.

III. The Council shall have the management and application of the funds and other property of the Society, the nomination of Honorary Members, &c., the selection of papers to be read at the Meetings, or to be published in the Transactions, and generally the management of all the affairs and concerns of the Society.

IV. The President, Treasurer, and Secretaries shall have keys of all cases, boxes, &c., at the discretion of the Council.

V. Receipts signed by the Treasurer shall be given to all Members for payments made by them.

VI. The Treasurer shall receive on account of, and in trust for, the Society, all moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council.

VII. No money or moneys shall be drawn out of the hands of the Treasurer, or dealt with, but in pursuance of an order of Council, and by cheque signed by at least three Members of Council, countersigned by one of the Secretaries.

VIII. The two Auditors shall be Members of the Society,

and not on the Council, and they shall audit the Annual Accounts, and shall, if necessary, present a Report upon the Society's affairs to the Council for presentation at the Anniversary Meeting.

IX. The Council shall meet at least an hour before each Meeting during the Session, and at such other times as may be deemed necessary for the business of the Society. The Council shall also meet to consider any special business upon a requisition directed to one of the Secretaries, and signed by not less than seven Ordinary Members.

X. Three Members of the Council, of which not more than one may be an Officer, shall form a quorum.

XI. All the Members of the Council shall be summoned to the Meetings by a notice signed by a Secretary.

XII. All the questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman for the time being to have a casting vote.

XIII. At all Meetings of the Council the Chair shall be taken as soon after the time fixed for assembling as a quorum shall be present.

XIV. All Officers of the Society shall be elected from the Ordinary Members.

ADMISSION OF MEMBERS.

XV. Every candidate, whether lady or gentleman, in order to be elected a Member, must be proposed and recommended by at least two Members of the Society.

XVI. The election shall take place in the manner following:—

The names of the proposed candidates shall be first submitted to the Council by the Secretary, after which, if approved by the Council, they shall be announced to the Members present at the next Ordinary Meeting, and put up for election by show of hands at the subsequent Meeting. Three Members may demand a ballot.

XVII. When a candidate is elected, due notice of his election shall be sent to him immediately by the Secretary.

XVIII. The Annual Subscription of each Member shall be one guinea: such Subscription to become payable and due

from the 1st January of each year. The Life composition fee to be ten guineas.

XIX. When any Member of the Society, resident within the United Kingdom, shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Treasurer shall remind him by letter of the arrears being due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months therefrom he shall cease to be a Member of the Society. The Council, however, may modify this rule in the event of any special case arising.

XX. Whenever there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the same; and if at such Meeting at least two thirds of the Members present shall concur in such expulsion, the President, or in his absence the Chairman, shall announce the same at the next Ordinary Meeting, and the Secretary shall forthwith communicate their decision to such Member.

XXI. The number of Foreign Honorary Members shall be unlimited; the number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed twenty.

XXII. All Honorary Members shall have the privilege of attending the Ordinary Meetings of the Society without the right of voting, and copies of the Publications of the Society shall be forwarded to them.

XXIII. Any Member of the Society may resign, upon sending in a formal notice of his intention to the Secretary, and paying up any arrears of subscriptions.

LIBRARIAN AND SECRETARY.

XXIV. All printed Books, MSS., Drawings, &c., are vested in the President and Council as representatives of the Society.

XXV. At the close of each Session the Secretaries shall register and place among the Archives of the Society all papers and other documents.

XXVI. The Librarian shall have the charge of and be answerable for all books, papers, &c., which he shall catalogue and produce whenever required for the use of the Members.

XXVII. No MSS. or Drawings, or Antiquities, except by permission of the Council, shall be lent out of the Society's Rooms. But every Member, or *British* Honorary Member may borrow for two months any printed book belonging to the Society, on the understanding that he is answerable for its safety and due return in good condition, and every Member borrowing a book must sign a memorandum acknowledging its receipt.

XXVIII. The Secretary shall, unless unavoidably prevented, attend all Meetings of the Council and Society, and take and read Minutes, acknowledge Donations, and attend to the general business of the Society.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

XXIX. The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be holden in the first week in January, when the Report of the Council shall be read, the Council and Officers for the ensuing year elected, the audited accounts presented, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined.

XXX. At the Ordinary Meeting of the Society next preceding the day of the Anniversary the President shall give notice of the day and time when the Anniversary Meeting shall be held.

The business of such Meeting shall be :

To elect or supply any vacancy in the office of the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Council, and Secretaries, and other Officers of the Society.

To make Bye-laws, or repeal or alter any then existing Bye-laws, of which previous notice has been given.

To pass any resolution, and to make any regulation having reference to the objects and proceedings of the Society.

XXXI. All motions made at the Anniversary Meeting shall be in writing, and shall be signed by the mover and seconder.

XXXII. The Officers of the Society and Twelve Members of the Council shall be eligible for re-election in the ensuing year.

XXXIII. In these elections the persons, who may have the greatest number of votes, shall be declared duly elected, and if any doubt or difficulty shall happen in relation thereto, or to the particular manner of voting, the same shall be determined by the decision of the President and the majority of the Council for the preceding year, then present.

XXXIV. In the case of an equality of votes, the President or Chairman for the time being shall have the casting vote.

XXXV. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Anniversary Meeting a week at least before the said Meeting.

XXXVI. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Anniversary Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Anniversary Meeting.

XXXVII. All vacancies among the Officers of the Society during the same period shall be provisionally supplied by the Council.

SPECIAL MEETINGS.

XXXVIII. The President and Council shall have power to summon at any time a Special General Meeting, not less than ten days' notice thereof being given.

ORDINARY MEETINGS.

XXXIX. The Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be holden on the first Tuesday in each month from November to June in each Session, at 8.30 p.m. precisely, and the Council shall meet at 7.30 p.m. on the same day—Passion, Easter, Whitsun, and Christmas week excepted. It shall be in the power of the Council to vary the commencement and duration of the Session as may be necessary.

XL. At these Meetings the Minutes of the previous one shall be read, presents acknowledged, new Members nominated, and those proposed at a previous Meeting be elected, communications shall be read, and any other business authorised by the Council be proceeded with.

XLI. Every Member shall be allowed to introduce two

Visitors, at the Ordinary Meetings ; such Members and Visitors shall write their names in the Books of the Society on entering the Meeting Rooms.

XLII. The President for the time being shall have liberty to introduce any number of Visitors.

PAPERS.

XLIII. No Paper shall be read at the Ordinary Meetings of the Society without the sanction of the Council. Polemical and political topics are to be avoided in papers read, or discussions taking place, before the Society.

XLIV. All persons who shall communicate any Papers to the Society, which shall be approved as aforesaid, may read their own Papers, with the consent of the Chairman for the time being.

XLV. Any Member desirous of having separate copies of any Paper which he may have presented to the Society, and which is to be published by it, shall, upon application to the Council, receive free of expense any number of copies not exceeding twelve, provided that the application be made before the type is distributed by the printer.

XLVI. The Copyright of all papers read or submitted remains with the Author.

XLVII. A copy of the Society's Publications issued after his election shall be delivered free to every Member not in arrears with the Society, and if in stock.

XLVIII. The Publications of the Society shall, with the sanction of the Council, be sent to, and exchanged with, those of other Literary and Archæological Societies in England and on the Continent.

XLIX. The name of every person who shall contribute a donation or legacy shall be announced as a Benefactor at an Ordinary Meeting of the Society, and shall be inserted in the ensuing Publications of the Society.



Helmuth Halbach
Buchbindermeister
Königstein i. Ts.

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